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ENGLAND PAUSES TO  
DO SCIENTIST HONOR

Funeral of Lord Lister at Westminster Abbey a World Wide Tribute

LONDON, Feb. 16.—The first part of the funeral services of Lord Lister, who died February 11 at the age of 85, took place in Westminster Abbey this afternoon and was made the occasion of a world-wide tribute to the famous discoverer of the antiseptic system of treatment in surgery.

All the foreign embassies and legations as well as medical and scientific societies in the United Kingdom and abroad were represented at the ceremony, while King George and the German emperor were specially represented.

Given to dear Warwick  
by his loving Mother  
as a memento of  
his visit to England  
June 1900







203

A

# NEW AND COMPLETE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE  
EARLIEST PERIOD  
OF  
AUTHENTIC INTELLIGENCE

TO THE  
PRESENT TIME.

WHEREIN  
EVERY INTERESTING TRANSACTION,  
RELATING TO  
WAR OR PEACE, LAWS OR GOVERNMENT, POLICY OR RELIGION,  
IS IMPARTIALLY RECITED;

THE NOBLE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF  
THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION  
FULLY DESCRIBED, AND TRACED FROM ITS ORIGINAL FOUNDATION:

THE CHARACTERS OF THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS  
ARE IMPARTIALLY DRAWN,  
AND THEIR GENIUS AND LEARNING, THEIR VIRTUES AND THEIR VICES, PROPERLY DISPLAYED.

TOGETHER WITH  
A CIRCUMSTANTIAL HISTORY OF LITERATURE,  
AND THE  
PROGRESS OF THE ARTS IN THIS KINGDOM,  
FROM THEIR FIRST INTRODUCTION TO THE PRESENT PERIOD OF ELEGANT IMPROVEMENT.

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By *TEMPLE SYDNEY*, Esq.

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THOMPSON'S SEASONS.

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MDCCLXXIII.

17 73







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T O T H E

P U B L I C.

Entertainment and utility are blended in the study of history. We are delighted with the actions of the brave, the prudent, and the virtuous. We sympathize with the sufferings of injured merit, and share the sorrows of innocence in distress. We follow the hero engaged in the cause of liberty to the field, and make his labours, his pains, and his conquests our own. The transactions of former times engage our attention; because we are desirous of being acquainted with the actions of men, who have trod the stage of life before us. Pleased with the entertaining narrative, we imperceptibly increase our knowledge by the experience and maxims of others, without labour and without fatigue.

The first study of an Englishman should be the history of his country: a history abounding with events of the most interesting kind. Here he may trace the progress of liberty from its dawn; the arts and sciences from their cradle; and commerce from its infancy. True courage is here fully displayed; and the achievements of the English are equal at least to any thing performed by the boasted heroes of antiquity. But the pen of faction has disguised many important truths; while that of religious bigotry has magnified crimes into virtues. The hand of partiality has drawn the veil of deception over numerous transactions, and the pencil of envy has delineated, in false colours, the characters of the great, the wise and the virtuous.

Stimulated with a desire of correcting these enormities, and of transmitting to posterity a faithful narrative of the events that have happened in his country, the author undertook this *NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND*; and has assiduously laboured to relate every transaction without disguise. His researches have been entirely directed by truth, and his relations dictated by impartiality. Nursed in the lap of liberty, and fearless of the frowns of the powerful, he has exposed oppression though executed by the sceptred hand of royalty, and stripped vice of the flimsy veil that concealed her deformity. He has endeavoured to remove the load of obloquy which slander has heaped upon the worthy, and to place virtue in its genuine light. In a word, he has sincerely endeavoured to present to the world, a faithful and impartial History of England.

In order to this, he has related every fact with candour, clearness and precision. He has avoided, on one hand, that brevity which is too often the parent of obscurity; and, on the other, that prolixity of expression, which enervates narration. Studious to elucidate the principal events in the history of his country, he has endeavoured to withdraw the veil which has long concealed the secret springs of action, and to display the political reasons on which the measures productive of these events were originally founded.

The constitution of England deserves a particular attention. It has long been the admiration and envy of foreigners, and should certainly form one of the great subjects of historical narration. The author has accordingly traced it from its source; and shewn the basis on which the boasted liberties of this country are founded. Nor has the feudal polity, which long prevailed in this island, been neglected: he has endeavoured to explain, with perspicuity, that complicated system, which was productive of so many misfortunes, and so often spread desolation over the kingdom.

Commerce, the genuine source of wealth and power in this country, merits the utmost regard; and the author has endeavoured to trace its gradual progress from its feeble condition under the Roman and Saxon governments, to its present state of perfection. He has been careful to mark every improvement, and to display the advantages flowing from every branch of trade.

The progress of learning in England forms, at once, a pleasing and useful part of the history of this country; and the utmost care has been taken to place it in a conspicuous point of light. Animated with a desire of rescuing from oblivion the memories of those who have laboured for the improvement of posterity, the writer has endeavoured to ascribe every discovery and invention to its real author; to display the merit, and, as far as possible, fix the time when every important acquisition was made.

Through the whole of this performance, the author has assiduously endeavoured to place every transaction in its proper light, to raise merit from obscurity, and to delineate, in genuine colours, the virtues and vices of his countrymen. He has exerted his utmost abilities to merit the attention of the public, and would willingly flatter himself that he has not wholly laboured in vain.







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*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*

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A New and  
Accurate MAP of  
ENGLAND  
By T. Bowen.





## NEW AND COMPLETE

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

## BOOK I.

From the earliest Accounts of Time, to the final Departure of the Romans.

**I**T is generally difficult, often impossible, to discover the original inhabitants of any country. The events that happened during the infancy of nations are in time forgotten, or disguised by fable and fiction; a thick cloud of ignorance and error broods over the transactions of early times. The first inhabitants of almost every kingdom were surrounded with difficulties, and exposed to dangers; the whole country being little more than a continued forest, filled with beasts of prey. Rude and ferocious in their manners, their chief employments were hunting and war. They were strangers to learning, and wanted both leisure and abilities to transmit their history to posterity. It is therefore no wonder that the whole is little more than a series of uncertain conjectures, mixed with a few facts, which glimmer thro' the veil of obscurity; but afford too feeble a light to direct the historian in his researches.

These remarks are unfortunately too applicable to the ancient monuments of the history of England. The origin of the first inhabitants cannot be traced with any degree of certainty: a vague and romantic tradition only remains to lead us through the intricate mazes of fabulous times. Some writers indeed have traced the origin of the Britons from Samothres, one of the sons of Japhet; and others from Brutus, the grandson of Æneas; but both these accounts are evidently fictitious, and have been long since exploded. The most probable opinion is; that this island was peopled at various periods, and from various parts of the continent; but it is impossible, at this distance of time, to determine the æra when the first settlement was made. The earliest expedition to this island founded on historical evidence, happened in the reign of Theutat, or Mercury, king of the Celtes, who, about 1860 years before the birth of Christ, sent a colony into Britain, in order to increase the commerce of his subjects. Others followed their example, and spread themselves into different parts of the island. Every family became a separate society; and those who inhabited the inland parts, having no concern with the commerce carried on by their brethren, became in time a distinct people. They devoted themselves entirely to a pastoral life, and wandered from one part of the island to another in search of pasture for their flocks and herds. They envied not the advantageous traffic of their brethren; they desired not to share in the busy scenes of commercial employment. Strangers to the refinements of luxury, their wants were few, and easily satisfied. Hunting and feeding their flocks formed at once their business and diversions.

In their persons they were tall, well proportioned and robust. Their hair, which was generally yellow, flowed loosely over their shoulders: they constantly shaved their faces, except their upper lip, where they suffered the hair to grow to an enormous length. They stained their bodies of a sky-blue colour with the juice of woad, and wore no other covering than the skins of beasts. Their ornaments consisted of coarse paintings of flowers and animals on various parts of their bodies. Enured to all the inclemencies of the weather, to hardships and fatigue, and greatly addicted to hunting, they acquired a degree of fortitude and valour, which even their brethren on the continent, beheld with astonishment. Their agility was surprising, and the dangers they every day encountered among the rocks and precipices of their country rendered them almost strangers to fear.

Honest, hospitable, and sincere, they considered both the persons and effects of strangers inviolably sacred; they thought it an indispensable duty to afford them protection and defence against every insult. Open and generous, they disdained every species of deceit and artifice: manly and brave, they beheld effeminacy and indolence with detestation. Liberty was their darling object, and they made no scruple of sacrificing their lives in its defence. They were so jealous of that noble acquisition, that it was never entrusted in the hands of a single person. Every tribe had indeed a chief, but his authority was at once both limited and precarious. His power was rather persuasive than coercive; he was revered as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He had no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice; and one act of ill-judged violence was sufficient to pull him from his throne. They were, however, very far from despising all kinds of authority, they were always attentive to the voice of wisdom, which experience has conferred on the aged; and they willingly served under the banners of a chief, in whose valour and military address they had learned to repose their confidence. As a shade to all these virtues, they are charged with unbounded and even incestuous concubinage. But even this declined in proportion, as they became more civilized, and was soon after totally laid aside.

Their habitations were mean huts, sometimes formed of boughs of trees, resembling arbouris, and sometimes of mud and clay, and generally covered with turf. Their towns were nothing more than a number of these huts, irregularly placed at small distances from each other, and situated in the middle of a wood, all the avenues to which were blocked up with felled trees. They often changed the places of their



abode according to the different seasons of the year. In summer they generally inhabited the most fertile valleys, as affording the greatest plenty of pasture and water for their cattle, and in the winter they removed to the hills, as being at once more dry and healthy.

While the Britons lived in this state of natural tranquillity, the Belgæ finding themselves greatly streightened on the continent, sent a colony into Britain. They were hospitably received by the inhabitants, and suffered to settle on the coast, where they applied themselves to commerce and agriculture. Struck with the advantages resulting from the latter, the natives applied themselves to cultivate the soil. The increase was prodigious, and bread became the common food of the natives; the first refinement they received from their more opulent neighbours. The success of these foreigners induced many of their countrymen to follow their example, till their number was so greatly increased, and their settlements extended over so large a part of the country, that the natives feared they should soon want pasture for their flocks.

The tranquillity of the island was now destroyed; discord and faction succeeded to peace and unity. Divitiacus, king of the Sueffones, took advantage of the civil commotions of the Britons, landed a considerable army on the coast, and, being joined by great numbers of the Belgæ, inhabiting the maritime parts of the island, penetrated into the heart of the country, and reduced several of the inland provinces, which he garrisoned with Belgic troops. War and devastation now filled the island with blood and slaughter. The smaller tribes unable to defend themselves against the inroads of the enemy, joined with others, and thus seventeen kingdoms, or principalities, were formed in the island; and each governed by an independent chief.

The names of the inhabitants of these principalities, and the counties they included, are exhibited in the following table.

INHABITANTS.	PRINCIPALITIES.
1 Cantii	Kent.
2 Regni	Surry.
	Suffex.
3 Durotriges	Dorsetshire.
4 Dunmonii	Cornwall.
	Devonshire.
5 Belgæ	Somerfetshire.
	Wiltshire.
	Hampshire.
6 Attrebatii	Berkshire.
7 Dobuni	Gloucestershire.
	Oxfordshire.
	Buckinghamshire.
8 Cattieuchlani	Bedfordshire.
	Hertfordshire.
9 Trinobantes	Middlesex.
	Effex.
	Suffolk.
10 Iceni	Norfolk.
	Cambridgeshire.
	Huntingdonshire.
	Northamptonshire.
	Leicestershire.
11 Coritani	Rutlandshire.
	Lincolnshire.
	Nottinghamshire.
	Derbyshire.
	Warwickshire.
	Worcestershire.
12 Cornavii	Staffordshire.
	Shropshire.
	Cheire.
	Yorkshire.
	Durham.
13 Brigantes	Lancashire.
	Westmorland.
	Cumberland.

## INHABITANTS.

14 Ortadini

15 Silures

16 Ordovices

17 Dimetæ

## PRINCIPALITIES.

Northumberland.

Herefordshire.

Radnorshire.

Brecknockshire.

Monmouthshire.

Glamorganshire.

Montgomeryshire.

Merionethshire.

Caernarvonshire.

Anglesey.

Derbyshire.

Flinthshire.

Caermarthenshire.

Pembrokeshire.

Cardiganshire.

Before the invasion of Divitiacus, the Britons were totally ignorant of all military discipline; they hardly knew an instrument of war. Deficitude of fortifications, they had no other retreat than their mountains, their dells, their forests rendered more difficult by felled trees, and their bogs. Their only arms were sharp-pointed sticks, which they used as javelins, and long poles cleft at one of the extremities to receive a sharp edged flint secured by a band of copper. A bell of the same metal was fixed at the other extremity, with the noise of which they endeavoured to terrify the enemy. But they learned from the Belgæ the use of the sword, the dagger, and the target. They improved the war chariot, which they decorated very superbly, and fixed sharp iron instruments, resembling scythes, to the axles. Their dexterity in managing these destructive chariots was amazing; they drove them with dreadful rapidity through the thickest ranks of the enemy's infantry, cutting down and trampling upon all that opposed their passage. They could stop them in an instant when in full speed, and even on the declivity of a hill, leap from the chariot, run along the pole, and regain their seat, without checking the impetuosity of the horses. When they had penetrated into the center of the enemy, they leaped from their chariots, fought on foot till overcame with fatigue, and then vaulted into their seats. Endowed with uncommon valour and perseverance, and enured to hardships and fatigue, they charged the enemy with a fury scarce resistable by troops not covered with armour. They advanced to the attack with every circumstance that tended to inspire the enemy with terror. They clashed their arms in the most furious manner, raised a dreadful shout, while the hoarse and jarring sounds of uncouth instruments increased the confusion of the wild uproar. The charge was dreadful: the tracks of their chariots were marked with blood and slaughter, and destruction hovered over the field of battle. But their being divided into separate tribes, and governed by different chiefs, gave the enemy an advantage not easily retrieved. They were sensible of this, and endeavoured in some measure, to repair so pernicious a defect in the constitution of their country. When any eminent danger threatened their liberties, the states were assembled, and a general was chosen, who commanded the whole army, and led the combined forces against the enemy. But though he had no equal in command, his power was not unlimited. He was subject to the orders of the assembly. The same authority that conferred, could deprive him of his command; and as soon as the danger was over he resigned the ensigns of his power. A considerable interval of time, however, elapsed, before these precautions could be taken, during which the enemy was too often flushed with victory, and rendered more formidable by success.

Though the inhabitants of the sea-coasts of Britain were addicted to traffic even from the time of Theutat, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to enumerate all the commodities in which their commerce consisted. It is known that the Phœnicians, even before the siege of Troy, which happened 1190 years before

Christ,



Christ, carried on a considerable trade with the western parts of the island for tin, which they sold to other nations; giving the Britons pearls, ivory, silver and gold in exchange. The two former they manufactured, and in that state sold them to the merchants of Gaul. After the Belgæ had introduced agriculture, and extended the commerce of the island, the corn and wool of the Britons furnished valuable commodities, and were purchased with avidity by the traders on the continent. But the islanders were destitute of vessels of burden: the art of ship-building was unknown to the Britons. They had only a few open boats, poorly constructed of wicker, and covered with pitched hides. In vessels so ill adapted to out-live a storm, very short voyages only could be made; the tempestuous seas of Britain were not to be navigated in boats like these. The continent of Gaul was probably the farthest voyage they undertook, and this only in the summer months, and when the weather was calm and serene. Navigation, as well as ship-building, was introduced after the invasion of the Romans.

But though the power of their chiefs was limited and precarious, that of their priests, whom they called Druids, was more absolute and extensive. Their influence in civil affairs was great, and in religious ceremonies absolute and unlimited. They engrossed all the learning of their country, and found their account in continuing the veil of ignorance over the eyes of a superstitious people. Skilled in every art that had a tendency to excite the admiration of an uninstructed multitude, they were revered as something more than mortal, and believed to be inspired with the wisdom of the deity. The education of youth was entrusted to their care, and without their approbation, no criminal could be executed. They were governed by a chief, called the arch-druid, whose power extended to the deposition of kings. He was the supreme arbiter of all disputes, and from his sentence there was no appeal.

Every part of the druidical religion, was calculated to strike the people with the terrors of superstition. Their altars were situated in the dark recesses of some gloomy forest, and human victims were sacrificed to their gods. Their ceremonies were always striking; sometimes dreadfully awful. The knowledge of the druids in astronomy was sufficient for calculating eclipses of the sun, and they always took advantage of these phenomena. The people were summoned to the sacred grove; the arch-druid presided in person; and as soon as the eclipse began, the victims were slain upon the altar. The horror of the slaughter was doubly augmented by the darkness, which the people considered as supernatural. Amidst this scene of complicated distress, the arch-druid, agitated with enthusiastic fury, and his hands reeking with human blood, addressed the gods; and continued his prayers till the darkness was over; when the wrath of heaven visibly appearing to be appeased, he dismissed the people with his blessing.

Persuaded that the powers of nature were entrusted with their druids, and that their prayers were sufficient to call down or avert the wrath of the gods; it is no wonder that an ignorant and superstitious people, almost adored them, and that their power was unlimited. But this power which they gained by art and deception, they used for the noblest purposes. They composed, by their mediation, the civil discords of their country. Their integrity was not to be corrupted; their fortitude and perseverance were uncommon. The great as well as poor trembled at their justice; for neither riches nor power were able to warp the equity of their decisions. Their authority was sufficient to soothe the rage of exasperated armies, when on the very point of engaging. Fearless of the danger, and armed only by their sacred character; they often rushed between the javelins of furious warriors, and calmed the raging storm of contending passions into peace.

The oaks were sacred among the druids; their con-

secrated groves consisted entirely of those trees; and their branches composed all the ornaments of their altars. The mistletoe of the oak was a peculiar object of veneration, being considered as the choicest gift of heaven. It was annually sought for on the first day of the month in the spring, with great caution and anxiety; and its discovery hailed by the acclamations of the multitude. The arch-druid, dressed in a long robe, ascended the tree, and cropped the mistletoe with a golden pruning-knife. With this sacred acquisition in the skirt of his robe, he descended the tree, and offered a sacrifice to the gods, to implore a blessing on their own gift.

It is not easy, at this distance of time, to discover the religious tenets of the Druids. All we know is that they believed in one supreme God, infinite, immortal and omnipotent; that all things derive their origin from heaven; that the soul is immortal; and that the righteous will be rewarded and the wicked punished in a future life. Their idea of the deity was noble and sublime. They believed his presence filled the universe, his power supported the pillars of heaven, and his eye pervaded the inmost recesses of the heart. "It was, says Tacitus, an opinion universally established in all the countries where the religion of the Druids prevailed, that to suppose the presence of the deity to be confined within any enclosed place, to represent him in an human form, or by any material image, was at once derogatory to his honour, and incompatible with his divine attributes."

A. C. 55. Such were the ancient Britons, and such the religious tenets they professed, when Cæsar, after subduing the Gauls to the Roman yoke, meditated the conquest of their country. Animated with the desire of extending the glory of his arms beyond the boundaries of the ocean, he determined to transport his victorious legions into this unknown country: the conqueror of Gaul must also triumph over the armies of the Britons. He pretended, indeed, that the Britons had assisted the Gauls against the Romans; and that they had given refuge to the Belgæ, who had excited a revolt. This was considered as a sufficient reason for hostilities, it having been long a maxim with the Romans to chastise all who had in any manner assisted their enemies.

But whatever was the motive that excited Cæsar to engage in this expedition, it is certain that he took every precaution to insure success. He sent Volusenus in a single ship to survey the British coast, and obtain all the intelligence he could with safety. At the same time, he dispatched Comius, a Briton by birth, but a creature of his own, as ambassador to his countrymen, to persuade them to form an alliance with the Romans, and put themselves under the protection of the conqueror of Gaul. Both these attempts were rendered abortive. Volusenus was not able to make any material discoveries; and Comius was loaded with chains, and treated as a traitor to his country.

No disappointment was, however, sufficient to check the ardour of Cæsar. He embarked two legions on board eighteen ships, sailed from the coast of Gaul at midnight, and reached the British coast on the 26th of August, fifty-five years before the birth of Christ. Jealous of their liberties and religion, and acquainted with the design of the Roman general, the Britons had not been idle in making preparations for the defence of their country. Cæsar on his approaching the island perceived the shore lined with the natives to oppose his landing. His genius only was capable of surmounting the difficulties that now opposed his enterprize. Strangers to the manner of landing in the face of an enemy, destitute of boats, and incommoded by the surf of the sea, the Roman soldiers shrunk from the danger; the conquerors of the world were for once intimidated. Cæsar perceived their confusion, and exerted all his abilities to remove it; but still the Romans refused to leap into the sea amidst a multitude of enemies who threatened their destruction. At length the standard bearer



bearer of the tenth legion, with an intrepidity truly Roman, leaped overboard with the ensign in his hand, exhorting his brother soldiers to follow his example, as the only method to prevent their eagle from falling into the hands of the enemy. The sense of honour now prevailed over the sense of danger, and reproach effected what persuasion had attempted in vain. The whole legion followed their standard-bearer, and the Roman army was soon engaged with the Britons. But here their boasted discipline was of no advantage; the irregular manner of quitting their ships had thrown them into confusion, and they were too vigorously assaulted by the Britons to form their ranks: the fortune of Cæsar was on the point of deserting him. He saw the danger, and by a furious discharge from his engines broke the ranks of the enemy. The Romans took advantage of their disorder and reached the shore. The fortune of the day was now entirely changed. The Romans recovered their ranks, attacked the Britons with their wonted intrepidity, and drove them from the field. The victory, however, was far from being complete; the Britons retreated to a neighbouring forest, and Cæsar thought it prudent not to pursue them. Convinced of the superiority of the Romans, and dreading the effects of farther opposition to an enemy, now considered as invincible, the Britons released Comius, and sent him with their ambassadors to the Roman general, with offers of submission. A peace was concluded; they delivered some hostages, and promised to send others to the continent.

But the scene of war was hardly closed, before a violent storm made dreadful havoc in Cæsar's fleet. It happened in the middle of the night, so that the darkness augmented the horrors of the tempest. Some of the galleys were dashed to pieces, and others that had been drawn up upon the shore, were filled with water. This dreadful misfortune spread such universal terror and consternation among the Roman soldiers, that they seemed not to be the same people. They had no materials for refitting their ships, and provisions began to grow scarce in their camp. The heart of the intrepid Cæsar trembled for the consequence.

The Britons perceived the distress of the enemy, and their innate love of liberty animated them to attempt the recovery of their independence. The warlike spirit of the generous islanders revived; their detestation of slavery roused them to action. Their ambassadors, after carefully viewing Cæsar's camp, secretly withdrew to their countrymen, that they might be more than spectators in the noble struggle for freedom. They collected their scattered forces, and endeavoured to cut off all supplies of provisions from the Roman camp.

Cæsar had foreseen the consequence, and took every precaution to render the attempts of the enemy abortive. He ordered all the harvest of the neighbouring fields to be secured, and a magazine of corn to be collected within the fortifications of his camp. He refitted one of his galleys, and sent her to the continent of Gaul for the necessary materials for refitting the rest. In the mean time the fragments of the ships which the storm had rendered irreparable, were used with assiduity and success. In ten days the remainder of his fleet was completely repaired. The Roman courage again revived, and the flame of conquest once more warmed the breasts of these intrepid veterans. They had gathered in the greater part of the harvest without disturbance, and the passive behaviour of the Britons seemed to convince them, that their alarming apprehensions had no other foundation than their own fears.

The most distant field of corn was still untouched, and the seventh legion dispatched to reap it. But they had hardly begun, when they found themselves attacked by a numerous army of Britons, who had concealed themselves for that purpose in a neighbouring wood. The Romans perceived their danger, and prepared for a retreat: but this was impossible. The

Britons surrounded the field with their war-chariots, whose axes were armed with scythes, and attacked the Romans with a fury to which even these experienced soldiers, nursed in the lap of slaughter, were wholly strangers. Fortunately for them, and fortunately for their leader, the advanced guard of the camp perceived an unusual cloud of dust, and guessed the cause. Cæsar was alarmed, and flew at the head of the guard to the assistance of his distressed legion. His arrival prevented a general slaughter. Overpowered by numbers, and a retreat rendered impossible, a very short interval of time must inevitably have determined the fate of this intrepid legion. The presence of their general inspired them with fresh courage: the attack of the Britons became more languid: they opened their ranks and retired to some distance, and Cæsar, after joining his legion, drew up his forces in order of battle; but the Britons not advancing to the charge, he retired unmolested to his camp. This is the only instance of that general's ever neglecting to pour his vengeance on the foe. Perhaps it is not too much to say, that Cæsar was, for the first time, obliged to leave the palm of victory in the hands of the enemy.

Convinced that the Romans, however powerful, were not invulnerable, and elated with their late success, the Britons imprudently undertook what they were unable to perform. They sent dispatches into all parts of the island, inviting the chiefs of the petty states to join them with all their forces, that they might assault the Roman camp, and pour destruction on the heads of the invaders of their country. A numerous army was soon collected, and the Roman intrenchments attacked with all the fury of an enraged multitude. Cæsar, with great tranquillity, beheld the irregular and unsuccessful assault. He drew out his legions before the principal gate of his camp; and charged the undisciplined Britons with so much impetuosity, that they were unable to sustain the shock. They fled in confusion to their forests, and trembled lest the Romans should follow them to their retreat.

In this dreadful situation, the Britons once more sued for peace; nor was their request disagreeable to Cæsar. Destitute of cavalry, he found it impossible to pursue his advantages by following the enemy into the inland parts of the island, the only method of securing his conquest. The late battle was far from being decisive; the Britons were defeated; but they had still prodigious resources, and their passion for liberty would not yet suffer them to submit to the galling yoke of slavery. Provisions began to grow scarce in his camp, the harvest was over, and his army, though victorious, had suffered greatly, and were averse to winter in an enemy's country, and in an island wholly unknown. Cæsar therefore readily admitted the ambassadors, and signed another treaty of peace with the Britons. Sensible of his own dangerous situation, and that the islanders would observe the peace no longer than they were in a condition to break it, he embarked his legions, sailed on the twentieth of September, and, after a short passage, landed safely on the continent of Gaul.

Whatever lustre may adorn the victories of Cæsar, and whatever applause may be due to his capacity, his conduct, his intrepidity, yet surely his invasion of Britain can be considered in no other light than that of the oppressive act of a lawless tyrant. Actuated solely by ambition, and deaf to the soft whispers of humanity, he trampled on the laws of nations, and deluged the fields of a country to which he had not even a pretended claim, with the blood of its innocent inhabitants. Virtue was sacrificed to ambition, and justice hurled from her seat by the hand of oppression. Let the bold invaders of the natural rights of mankind, view the base acts of tyranny with delight, and applaud the man that spurns at the laws of immutable justice; but let Britons, who pretend at least to found their actions on the solid basis of virtue and honour, withdraw the stamper, which vice has



*Engraved for Sydnucy's History of England.*



*Landing of JULIUS CÆSAR*







woven for deformity, and display, in their genuine colours, the flagitious actions of every oppressor of the human species.

The Britons were no sooner freed from the invaders of their country, than they determined not to observe the peace they had concluded from necessity. Cæsar also made preparations for invading the island in the spring with a more formidable force. Warlike preparations were made in the ports of Gaul with great vigour and dispatch. Ships and military stores were collected in the harbours of Spain, and every precaution taken for riveting the chains of slavery on the arms of the Britons.

Alarmed at these preparations, and determined to exert their utmost force in the defence of their liberties, their country, and religion, the Britons entered into a general association, and elected a commander in chief over all their forces. Two generals, equal in abilities, and equal in valour, were candidates for this important post of dignity and honour. Cassivellaunus chief of the Cassii, or inhabitants of Hertfordshire, and Imanuentius, general of the Trinobantes, or inhabitants of Middlesex, were the two persons between whom the lot of pre-eminence was for some time suspended. The contest was warm and spirited; the suffrages were divided till the death of Imanuentius, who lost his life in the conflict, put an end to the debate. Cassivellaunus was proclaimed general of the British forces, and Mandubratius, the son of Imanuentius, to avoid the fate of his father, fled to Cæsar for protection.

The time of embarkation now advanced apace, and Cæsar saw his fleet increased with six hundred new transports and twenty-eight galleys, which, with the remains of his old squadron, he considered as abundantly sufficient for his intended invasion. This numerous fleet rendezvoused in the port of Itium, now Calais, as nearest to the British shore. Here he embarked his forces, which consisted of five legions of foot, and two thousand horse; and in the beginning of June, fifty-four years before the birth of Christ, left the port of Itium at sun-set. The next morning they approached the British coast, and came to an anchor near Deal, the place where Cæsar made his former descent.

Disconcerted at the appearance of so formidable a fleet, the Britons abandoned their first resolution of defending the shore, so that Cæsar, to his great astonishment, landed his forces without opposition. A convenient spot of ground on Barham Downs was marked out for a camp, and Q. Atrius, at the head of a sufficient detachment, was left to guard the spot, and fortify it with the utmost expedition, that in case of any misfortune, it might afford a secure retreat. This precaution being taken, Cæsar set out at midnight with the main body of his army, in search of the Britons. After a march of twelve miles, he discovered the enemy posted in a very advantageous situation, having the river Stour in their front, and a thick wood in their rear. Their war-chariots were drawn up in great order along the bank of the stream, the passage of which they determined to defend. The attack was begun by the Roman cavalry, who charged the Britons with such impetuosity, that they soon forced the passage, and the Britons retreated into the wood in their rear. All the avenues were fortified with ramparts composed of large trees laid across one another to a considerable height. Nor were these the only defences of this intricate and gloomy retreat. In the center of the wood was a very strong fortress, constructed during the civil wars, which some time before raged in this part of the country.

The difficulty of forcing a passage through those rude, but strong ramparts, was sufficiently apparent. The Roman cavalry made several unsuccessful attempts, in which they were greatly harassed by the Britons, and were at last obliged to abandon the attempt to the infantry. The fortifications for some time baffled all their force; at last, the seventh legion

was successful, and the Britons were driven from their post with great slaughter.

Cæsar now determined to pursue the advantage he had gained over the enemy; but before he could carry his design into execution an express arrived from Q. Atrius, informing him that a dreadful storm, during the preceding night had destroyed the greater part of his fleet. The preservation of his navy now engaged his whole attention, and obliterated the desire of victory. Instead of following the enemy, Cæsar marched to the sea-coast, where he was himself witness of the havoc made by the tempest. Forty of his ships were entirely destroyed, and the rest greatly damaged. He was now convinced that it was necessary to secure his navy from future misfortunes before he could with safety pursue the flying enemy. He ordered his vessels to be drawn on shore above the reach of the waves, and surrounded by the fortifications of his camp. The soldiers applied themselves with great alacrity to this astonishing undertaking; and having completed the design, Cæsar, after leaving a proper force for the defence of his marine camp, marched again in pursuit of the enemy.

This misfortune, which had so greatly alarmed the Romans, revived the courage of the Britons; their numbers daily increased, and they again took possession of the wood they had been forced to abandon. Experience had convinced Cassivellaunus, that his forces were no match for the Romans in the open field; and he therefore took the wise precaution of avoiding a general engagement, and to content himself with harassing the enemy with flying parties, and cutting off their provisions. Cæsar soon felt the effects of these prudent measures. His forces were continually attacked, with amazing impetuosity, by small parties who issued suddenly from their coverts, and as suddenly retreated. They were indeed generally repulsed, but not disheartened; they returned to the charge with the same vigour, and with the same unshaken firmness.

Cæsar was now sufficiently alarmed. He saw the consequence of being distressed for want of provisions, and his troops perpetually harassed by flying parties of the enemy. He therefore determined to fortify his camp, and endeavour to bring the Britons to a general engagement. Cassivellaunus, who watched every motion of the Roman general, thought it prudent to attack them before the ramparts were completed. Accordingly, while the Romans were busily engaged in their works, he rushed upon them with the utmost fury; the advanced guard, unable to sustain the shock, gave way, and a great slaughter ensued. Cæsar saw their distress, and sent two cohorts to their assistance. But intimidated by the dreadful execution of the Britons; they halted instead of joining their companions. Cassivellaunus perceived their consternation, attacked them with his usual force, and routed them with considerable loss. Several Roman officers, particularly Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune, were among the slain.

This success proved fatal to the Britons. Jealous of the honour obtained by Cassivellaunus, several of the petty princes left the camp; abandoning at once the cause of liberty and the interest of their country. The Romans, who expected a second attack, were surprised when the morning discovered only a small number of the enemy on the hills, at some distance from their camp, dispersed in scattered parties, who seemed to decline an engagement. This change of conduct seemed mysterious to Cæsar, who detached three legions of foot, supported by all his horse, on a foraging party, under the command of Tribonius. The desertion of a very considerable part of his army, had no other effect on Cassivellaunus than that of rendering him more circumspect in his conduct. He determined to harass the Roman detachment. Accordingly the horse was attacked with such fury, that they were obliged to fall back upon the foot. This small advantage brought on a general engagement.

Cæsar now led his army to the



The Britons rushed from their retreat, and fell upon the invaders of their country with their usual violence. But the compacted ranks of the Romans sustained the shock, and totally defeated the British army.

This misfortune completed the desertion which jealousy had begun. The confederacy was now almost totally destroyed; and the Trinobantes, who had hitherto been kept within the bounds of their duty, by the power of Cassivellaunus, abandoned the cause of their country, and put themselves under the protection of Cæsar. Strengthened by this acquisition, and freed from the danger of a general opposition, the Roman general turned his whole force against the unfortunate Cassivellaunus, whose country was now devoted to destruction. The Briton perceived the gathering storm, and took every possible precaution to break its force. He crossed the Thames at the head of his diminished army, and determined there to make a stand against the conqueror of the world. He fortified the opposite bank with palisades and intrenchments; and, in the only place where the stream was fordable, he drove into the bed of the river a great number of stakes, which were sharpened at the top and concealed under the surface of the water.

But these artful dispositions were of little advantage to Cassivellaunus. Cæsar was informed of the contrivance by deserters, and took the necessary precautions for rendering the whole abortive. The Roman horse first plunged into the stream, and were followed by the foot with the greatest alacrity, though incumbered with their heavy armour, and the water up to their chins. Struck with astonishment at the ardor and intrepidity of the Romans, whom no obstacle could stop, no difficulty intimidate, the Britons abandoned their intrenchments, and retreated to the woods, where alone they could hope for safety. Cassivellaunus now perceived that all resistance was in vain, and therefore determined to spare the lives of his followers, that when any favourable opportunity should offer, he might be able to revenge the distresses of his country. He therefore dismissed his forces, retaining only four thousand chariots, in order to cut off the straggling parties, and, if possible, prevent the Romans from obtaining provisions sufficient to support their army. This conduct was more alarming to Cæsar than all the attacks of the Britons. He found that the prudence of Cassivellaunus was equal to his valour. The cattle were, by his orders, driven from the fields, and the corn taken from the granaries; so that the Romans had no other subsistence than the scanty pillage of a few inconsiderable farms.

But these prudent measures were rendered abortive, and the Romans enabled to pursue their march by the pusillanimous behaviour of the Ceni magni, or inhabitants of Surry; who perceiving that the Trinobantes were freed from the calamities of war, and lived in tranquillity under the protection of Cæsar, determined to follow their example. They sent an embassy to the Roman general, with offers of submission. Their ambassadors met with a favourable reception. A peace was concluded, and the Ceni magni furnished the Roman army with provisions. Cæsar now pursued his march to the capital of Cassivellaunus, marking his rout with blood and devastation. Every village was laid in ashes, and the whole country rendered a smoking desert.

The capital of the British general consisted only of a number of huts, situated in the center of a wood, the avenues to which were strongly fortified with ditches, ramparts of earth, and felled trees. These fortifications, though formed in the rudest manner, appeared formidable to the Romans. They had before experienced the difficulty of storming ramparts defended by troops driven to despair. Cæsar saw the danger, and therefore ordered the fortifications to be attacked at two different places. The stratagem succeeded. Cassivellaunus had no assistant capable of defending the rampart against the enemy. His presence was necessary at both the avenues attempted;

and wherever he commanded, the Romans were repulsed. But he could not divide his attention, and therefore thought it more prudent to retreat. The Romans now forced the rampart, and possessed themselves of the deserted capital. They found, however, great quantities of corn and cattle, Cassivellaunus having made this place a general magazine of provisions, and a retreat for his subjects with their flocks and herds.

Defeated by his friends, and defeated by his enemies, his capital taken, and his territories laid waste, Cassivellaunus was supported only by his own greatness of soul. He still retained the noble spirit of his ancestors. He preferred liberty in distress to slavery in affluence; and though unable any longer to support the cause of his country, he planned an expedition, which had it succeeded, would have overwhelmed the invaders with distress. Cæsar had left his navy within the intrenchments of his camp on the shore, and was now above eighty miles distant. The Kentish princes were still firm in their alliance, and ready to act against the invaders of their country. Cassivellaunus thought a favourable opportunity now offered for destroying the Roman fleet. He sent expresses to the princes of Kent, with orders to collect their forces privately, and attack the entrenchments of the enemy before they received any intimation of their design. His orders were strictly obeyed; but unfortunately for the Britons, the ramparts of the Romans resisted all their efforts. They were repulsed, and the Romans, not content with defending their fortifications, sallied out upon the assailants, put them to flight, and took their general prisoner.

Cassivellaunus was now convinced that all opposition was in vain. He saw that his continuing any longer in arms contributed only to prolong the miseries of his country; and was therefore desirous of sheathing the destructive sword of war. He sent an ambassador to Cæsar, who listened to his offers, and concluded a general peace with the Britons on the following conditions: that they should submit to the Roman state, pay an annual tribute, and send a number of hostages to Rome, as a security for the performance of their engagements. It was also agreed, that Mandubratius should continue unmolested in his dominions.

A general pacification having taken place, Cæsar returned to his naval camp, and prepared for his departure. His ships were launched and refitted with the greatest expedition, and about the middle of September he sailed for the coast of Gaul, which he reached after a safe and quick passage. On his return to Rome, he offered a crosier of British pearls at the shrine of Venus Genetrix, from whom he was said to be descended; and to fix a lasting remembrance of his expeditions into Britain, he employed his prisoners in adjusting the tapestry scenes of the theatre, on which the victories he gained over the Britons were represented; while others of a more robust constitution, were employed in carrying the sedans of the senators and principal nobility.

If we candidly examine the second expedition of Cæsar, it will appear rather splendid than effectual. He penetrated indeed much farther into the island, and formed alliances with several of the petty princes; but he retained not a foot of ground, nor procured any solid advantage to his country. He did not think it prudent to winter in the island, nor even to leave part of his army in garrison to keep the Britons in subjection. He retired rather as a defeated general, than a conqueror; and after laying part of the country waste, and manuring the fields with the blood of their masters, he left the Britons to repair the devastations, and cultivate with new ardor the lovely plant of liberty and independence. The treaty he concluded can be considered only a temporary submission, and of which he took no care to secure the continuance. All the honour therefore that justly belongs to that celebrated general, consists in his having carried the Roman arms, beyond the boundaries of the ocean,



ocean, and defeated the inhabitants of an island known to his countrymen only by the name.

The death of Cæsar lighted up the torch of civil discord in Rome, and the affairs of Britain was forgotten amidst the distractions that filled the capital of the world. The Britons themselves were either too ignorant or too careless to transmit to posterity the transactions of their country. An interval of several years intervened without affording any remarkable events to fill the page of history. All that can be collected is, that Cassivellaunus severely chastised the Trinobantes, for having joined the invaders of their country; and that at his death he left his crown to his nephew, Tinuantius, who was succeeded by his son Cunobline, a prince of great talents, improved by an excellent education at Rome.

Soon after Augustus was settled on the imperial throne, he undertook to compel the Britons to observe the treaty they had made with Julius Cæsar, and accordingly advanced into Gaul to carry his design into execution. A revolt in Pannonia rendered his return necessary, and for some time suspended his expedition. But as soon as the tranquillity of that province was restored, Augustus once more marched into Gaul, where he was met by an embassy from Britain, and a peace was immediately concluded. From this period the Britons maintained a friendly correspondence with the Romans during the reign of Augustus, and that of his successor Tiberius. They paid no other tribute than a small duty on merchandize exported to Gaul, the only remaining mark of subjection in all other respects they were a free and independent people; This intercourse between the Britons and the continent softened their ferocious manners; they grew insensibly enamoured of the Roman arts, and began to cultivate them with success. Several of the British princes resided at Rome, and others sent their sons thither for their education.

But though the Britons were not opposed by any foreign enemy, civil discord frequently raged among the petty chiefs of the island. Cunobline, the most powerful prince in Britain, was properly the chief of the Cassivellauni, but he had reduced the Trinobantes, the Dobuni, and several other provinces to subjection, so that he was now the most powerful prince in the island. He coined money, to pay the duties imposed by the Romans on British merchandize imported into Gaul.

During his reign, a detachment of Roman troops under the command of Germanicus, in their return from the victory they had gained over Armenius on the banks of the Weser, were ship-wrecked on the coast of Britain. These unfortunate veterans were received by the natives with the greatest humanity, and afterwards conveyed safely to their country in ships provided by Cunobline. That prince had hitherto enjoyed a continued series of prosperity. Beloved by his subjects, and esteemed by foreigners, he was considered as one of the most fortunate princes of his age: but a cloud of domestic distress obscured the evening of his life. Adminius his eldest son, was of a cruel tyrannical temper. He trampled on the laws of justice, and endeavoured to raise an unnatural rebellion against his father. The people were distressed and laid their complaints at the foot of his throne. Persuasion and reproof were tried in vain, Adminius was not to be reformed. Parental fondness on the one hand, and a love of justice on the other, harassed the breast of Cunobline: the latter prevailed, and Adminius was banished. Exasperated at a sentence which he considered as cruel, and determined to revenge the disgrace, he repaired to Rome, and persuaded Caligula, who then swayed the imperial scepter, to undertake the conquest of his country. He represented the Britons as a weak and divided people, averse to union, and unable to defend their country against the attack of a feeble enemy: the very appearance of the Roman emperor would be sufficient to reduce them to obedience.

A. D. 39. Pleased with the hopes of making so

important a conquest without danger or fatigue, the weak, the proud, the pusillanimous Caligula, embraced the design of subduing Britain, a task which even the great and intrepid Cæsar had attempted in vain. He assembled an army of two hundred thousand men, and advanced in person to the northern coast of Gaul, in order to invade the British island. Elated with the idea of reducing a people that had hitherto supported their independence against every attempt, he hastened the embarkation of his troops, and seemed desirous of treading in the steps of his great ancestor. But before his ships were ready to sail, advice arrived, that the Britons, informed of the intended invasion, were drawn up in order of battle on the shore, and determined to spill the last drop of their blood in defence of their country. The emperor was intimidated; the very idea of danger was sufficient to induce the dastardly Caligula to disembark his forces. But his vanity was equal to his cowardice: he was desirous of receiving the honours of a triumph, without treading the thorny path of conquest; and of wearing the wreath of victory, without facing an enemy. He ventured out to sea in his galley attended by his principal officers, and after surveying, at a great distance, the British coast, he returned with all the pomp and parade of a conqueror: ordered his soldiers to fill their helmets with shells, which he called the spoils of the ocean, and sent them to Rome as the trophies of his victory. A triumph was decreed him by the venal senate, and Caligula entered Rome in all the parade of a victor over a people he dared not attack. And to perpetuate this ridiculous expedition, or rather to transmit his own folly to posterity, he erected a watch-tower on the strand, on the top of which a fire was kept burning, during the night, for the direction of mariners. The remains of this structure may still be seen at low-water, on the sands near Boulogne.

The long intercourse the Britons had now carried on with the Romans, had greatly abated their aversion to that people. They cultivated their arts and imitated their manners. These would indeed have proved happy acquisitions, could they have been introduced without alloy: but unfortunately for our countrymen, they imported their luxuries with their arts. The hardy Britons sunk into indolence and ease; their natural love of liberty and independence was softened by effeminence, and that union which forms the only bond of security in times of distress, was dissolved: the Britons had lost their liberty before they were sensible of their danger.

While Caligula wore the imperial crown, no danger was to be feared, and this tended to increase the inattention of the Britons: they slept supinely on the couch of security. Claudius, who succeeded Caligula, was not less timid than his predecessor, but wholly governed by favourites. These sycophants, either desirous of increasing the reputation of their master, or of sharing in the spoils of so important a conquest, persuaded the emperor to undertake the reduction of Britain. The resolution being taken, pretences soon offered for beginning hostilities. Beric, a British prince, who had been banished from his country for endeavouring to excite a rebellion in favour of Adminius, repaired to Rome, and complained of having been unjustly condemned; offering at the same time, to assist Claudius in the reduction of the island. Before any answer could be given to Beric, an embassy arrived from Britain, to demand the British fugitive. They were received with contempt, and given to understand, that if the long neglected payment of the tribute was still delayed, it would be demanded at the head of a Roman army.

Confounded at so unexpected a reception, the ambassadors made no reply. They left Rome immediately, and repaired with the utmost expedition to their country. Cunobline had some time before paid the debt of nature, and his two sons Caractacus and Togodumnus, taken possession of the government. These princes highly resented the ignominious treat-



ment of their ambassadors, and rejected the demand with disdain. They prohibited all future intercourse with the Romans, and took every precaution in their power to defend the liberty and independence of their country. They raised a numerous army, and encamped near the sea-coast, in order to prevent the landing of the enemy.

A. D. 43. Claudius, confident of success, gave the command of his army in Gaul, to Aulus Plautius, a citizen of great reputation, and famous for his military capacity, with orders to transport a considerable army into Britain; enjoining him at the same time, not to finish the conquest himself; but send him timely information, that he might reap the fruits of victory in person. The emperor was desirous of enjoying the honours of a triumph, without experiencing the fatigues of a campaign.

Plautius, in obedience to the imperial orders, led a large body of troops to the sea shore, where a sufficient number of ships were provided for transporting them into Britain. The embarkation was hardly begun, before a mutiny appeared among the soldiers. They declared they were ready to follow their general to any part of the continent; but would not pass the boundaries of the ocean: they refused to plant the Roman eagles in what they called a new world. Astonished at the behaviour of the legions, and perceiving that no arguments could prevail, Plautius suspended the embarkation and dispatched an express to the emperor, who sent Narcissus, a person universally despised, and who had lately been freed from slavery by his master. He ascended the rostrum in order to harangue the troops; but his attempt was vain. Exasperated at seeing the place, which had always been sacred to intrepid generals, who had shared in common with the dangers and fatigues of war, profaned by a slave, the soldiers set up an universal cry, in which the voice of Narcissus was totally lost: they would not suffer a person destitute of merit, and hardly free from the shackles of slavery, to interpose in the cause of a Roman army. The uproar increased; the banners of mutiny were displayed; and the imperial orders no longer regarded. Plautius perceived the gathering storm, and trembled for the event. But generosity prevailed, when power had exerted its force in vain. The soldiers revered the virtues of Plautius, as much as they despised the effeminacy of the minion, and returned to their duty. The troops were immediately embarked, and, after a short passage, landed in Kent without opposition.

The Britons had been informed of the mutiny in the Roman army; and concluded the danger was over. They thought it unnecessary to guard the coast when no enemy was expected, and broke up their camp just before the Roman legions appeared. It was now too late to regain the advantage they had lost; and instead of joining in a general body and attacking the enemy before they were ready to receive them, they retired into the inland part of the country, and divided their forces into small parties. The two principal bodies were commanded by Togodumnus and Caractacus, both celebrated for their military abilities, their intrepidity, and their virtue. But jealousies prevailed among the petty princes of Britain: they envied the talents they could not equal, and sacrificed the liberties of their country to the spirit of malignity. After defeating several parties, Plautius marched into Oxfordshire, where he attacked the army of Caractacus, and put them to flight. Instead of retreating before an enemy flushed with victory, Togodumnus, determined to give battle to the Roman forces. He suffered the passion of revenge to gain the ascendancy over his prudence. He attacked the enemy and was defeated. These misfortunes, though they weakened the power, did not depress the spirit of the Britons. They repaired from all parts to the standard of Caractacus, who, after joining his brother, encamped on the banks of the Thames in the country of the Regni. The Romans appeared on the opposite side of the river; but the stream was too deep and rapid to

be forded; even by cavalry. This lulled the Britons into a fatal security. They saw the enemy; but made no preparations for defence. In the army of Plautius was a large party of German soldiers, who had long been accustomed to swim across the most rapid rivers in their armour. These plunged into the stream with so much intrepidity, that the astonished Britons abandoned their camp, and retired in confusion. A body of the Roman infantry, animated by the example of the Germans, followed them under the command of Flavius Vespasian, and his brother Sabinus. Having reached the opposite bank, and formed their ranks, they marched in search of the enemy, who had retreated to the neighbouring woods. A slight skirmish ensued, in which the Britons were obliged to retreat; but as night was coming on, it was not thought prudent to pursue the advantage. The Britons were now roused to a sense of their danger: they saw the gathering storm that threatened to overwhelm their liberties, and determined, if possible, to prevent its effects. They attacked the enemy with an impetuosity, that even the boasted discipline of the Romans could not resist. They broke through their ranks, and, with all the fury of men exasperated to madness, thinned the squadrons of the enemy. A short interval of time would have stripped the wreath of laurel from the Roman brow, had not C. Silius Geta turned the scale of victory. That able officer, who was supposed to have been taken prisoner, found means to disengage himself and his whole corps from the enemy; and wheeling about, fell upon the Britons in the rear. This assault was decisive; they faced about to repel the attack, and by that means gave the main body of the Romans time to recover. The unfortunate Britons now found themselves charged both in front and rear. They stood firm for some time; but the Roman discipline at last prevailed, and the Britons were put to flight. In the beginning of the action, Vespasian himself was surrounded, and must have lost his life, had not his son bravely rescued him at the hazard of his own. This victory, fatal to the liberties of the Britons, was dearly purchased by the Romans: another battle, fought with equal obstinacy, would have rendered the expedition abortive. The Roman senate themselves were so sensible of the important service of Geta, that they decreed him a triumph, though they hardly ever conferred that honour on an officer of his rank.

Despair now seized the spirits of the Britons. They retreated along the banks of the Thames, and being well acquainted with all the shallow places, crossed the stream a little above Greenwich, the lowest place where it was then fordable. The marshes on the north side of the river offered a retreat which they thought secure, and there they encamped. Encumbered with their heavy armour, and harassed by fens and marshes, which rendered the march both tedious and painful, the Romans followed the Britons, and the German infantry having discovered a ford, they passed the Thames, and surrounded the camp of the enemy. A battle ensued, when the Britons were again defeated, and Togodumnus, revered for his military talents, fell in the action.

This victory, though obtained with far more ease than the former, considerably increased the loss of the Roman army, and the death of Togodumnus, raised such a spirit of resentment in the Britons, that Plautius thought it imprudent to face the gathering storm. He had already experienced the fury of the enemy, and dreaded the consequence that might result from the last efforts of a people driven to despair, and fired with a sense of an irreparable injury. He therefore fortified his camp, and dispatched letters to Rome, requesting a reinforcement, and inviting the emperor to repair to Britain, in order to finish the conquest of the island in person. But Plautius was soon sensible that he could not continue long in his present situation. Provisions began to grow scarce in his camp, and the flying parties of the Britons cut off most of his convoys. The treachery of the Dobuni now preserved







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*The BRITONS submitting to CLAUDIUS.*



preserved the army of Plautius. They had already permitted a Roman garrison to be settled among them, and now afforded a secure retreat, and plenty of provisions to the invaders of their country.

A. D. 44. Pleased with the hopes of triumphing over the Britons, and of finishing a conquest which even the great Cæsar himself had attempted in vain, Claudius embarked at Ostium for Marseilles, proceeded from thence by land to Boulogne, and crossed over into Britain, where he arrived in the month of August. The junction of the emperor's forces with those of Plautius, formed a more powerful army than had ever before appeared in the island. The Britons perceived the strength of the enemy, and prudently avoided a general engagement. But the desire of retaliating the injuries they had received from the enemies of their country, animated them to hover round the Roman camp, by which means they cut off many of their straggling parties. Claudius, who had now taken upon himself the command of the Roman army, left his post, and marched in pursuit of the Britons. The cavalry effected what the infantry had attempted in vain; they cut off the retreat of the enemy, and forced them to a general engagement. The first charge was dreadful: the tracts of the British war-chariots were marked with the slain, and the standard of destruction waved over the field of battle. But the Roman discipline prevailed: the desultory attacks of the Britons were repelled, and their whole army put to flight. Claudius did not, however, pursue the enemy; he applied himself to make settlements in order to secure his conquests. He took the city of Camulodunum, now Maldon, in Essex; but used the inhabitants with great kindness. His generosity completed what his victorious army had begun. Fearful of his power, and charmed with his moderation, great numbers of the Britons came to his camp with offers of submission. Whole provinces followed their example, and firmly established the Roman power in Britain. The natives, though vanquished, were left in the quiet possession of their estates and effects; they exchanged their liberty for domestic peace. The clemency of the emperor was extolled to the skies, by a conquered but grateful people: they erected temples to his honour, and adored him as a deity.

Pleased with the success of his expedition, in which he had not only defeated, but also gained the affections of the Britons, Claudius left Plautius to command the army, and returned to Rome, where he received the united acclamations of the people. The conquest of Britain was considered as the greatest acquisition: the Roman dominions were extended beyond the limits of the ocean. Intoxicated with glory, and lavish of their honours, the senate bestowed upon Claudius the surname of Britannicus, and decreed him a most magnificent triumph. Plautius soon after received an honourable recall to Rome, and was received with the greatest marks of regard by the emperor.

A. D. 50. P. Ostorius Scapula succeeded Plautius in the government of Britain; but as some interval of time elapsed between the departure of Plautius and the arrival of Scapula, the Britons had seized the opportunity to attempt the recovery of their liberty; and the new governor found the affairs of the island in great confusion. Caractacus, inspired with the noble spirit of his ancestors, had collected a powerful army, and carried fire and sword into the territories of the Romans. Ostorius landed about the latter end of October, and though the season was so far advanced, immediately led his forces against the Britons. This sudden march was fatal to the designs of Caractacus. Persuaded that the Roman general would not take the field till the winter was over, and determined to chastise the inhabitants who had submitted to Claudius, his army was dispersed into small parties, and in that condition were easily defeated by the Romans. Peace being thus restored, Ostorius, in order to render it lasting, determined to disarm all the Britons that had

formed an alliance with Rome. Provoked at an attempt to rivet the chains of slavery on a people who had hitherto remained faithful, the Iceni refused to deliver up their arms. They appointed a general rendezvous in Cambridgeshire, and having marked out a camp in a very advantageous situation, they fortified it with a rampart of earth and felled trees, leaving only one avenue, which they paved with sharp flints, in order to prevent the approach of the Roman cavalry. But nothing could abate the ardour of Ostorius. He led on his infantry to the camp, and attacked it with the utmost vigour, and all the precaution of an experienced general. The Britons made a noble defence, and more than once repelled the assaults of the Romans. But their resistance was in vain; their rude intrenchments were forced, and the Iceni fled to their woods for safety.

Ostorius had hardly gained this important victory, before a new army appeared in another part of the island. Alarmed at the success of the Roman governor, and determined to defend their liberty to the last extremity, the Cornavii flew to arms; Ostorius marched against them at the head of his legions, and endeavoured to bring the Britons to a general engagement. But all his attempts proved abortive: the Cornavii had adopted the prudent measures of Cassivellaunus. They concealed themselves in woods and marshes, and harassed the Romans in their march, cut off their straggling parties, and intercepted their convoys. Ostorius saw the danger to which his army was exposed, and took every prudent precaution in his power to prevent the consequences of this irregular war. But before he could reduce the Cornavii, a more formidable enemy engaged his attention. The Brigantes had collected a numerous army, and made a dreadful inroad into the Roman territories. Ostorius returned with the utmost expedition to the assistance of his allies; but as he was marching by the side of Hatfield forest, his army was attacked with the utmost fury by the Britons, who had concealed themselves in the wood. The success which attended the first assault proved fatal to the Brigantes. They thought themselves sure of victory, and took no measures to secure their retreat. The Romans recovered their ranks, and the Brigantes were totally defeated.

A. D. 51. Convinced by experience that conquests, without securing the advantages, are empty honours, Ostorius erected a chain of forts along the banks of the Severn and Avon, in order to prevent any future inroads by the Britons. Having finished these fortifications, he made Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni, a citizen of Rome, and confirmed him in the possession of his territories. By this prudent measure he acquired a firm and powerful ally, who garrisoned the forts Ostorius had erected, and put a final period to the inroads of the Silures.

But these precautions were not sufficient to intimidate the Britons. Liberty was still their darling object; they preferred death to the chains of slavery. The Brigantes, though defeated, were not discouraged. They joined the Silures, and under the command of Caractacus, determined to make a noble effort against the invaders of their country. Nursed in the lap of adversity, and a stranger to fear, Caractacus led his forces against the enemy. His military abilities were uncommon; his fortitude was invincible. His measures were prudent and vigorous; his resources prodigious. The Romans at once revered and dreaded his talents. Headed by so able a general, the Britons prepared to encounter Ostorius with uncommon ardour and intrepidity. Caractacus well knew that the Britons were no match for the Romans in the open field, and therefore endeavoured to supply that defect by prudent measures, and advantageous posts. He transferred the seat of war into the country of the Grovices, as being more inaccessible to the Roman army. He formed his camp on the summit of a lofty mountain, very difficult of access. The foot of the mountain was washed by a river, deep and rapid; and to increase the natural strength of the post,



Caractacus fortified the bank of the river with ramparts of stones faced with sharp-edged flints. In this position he determined to wait the approach of the Romans.

Sensible of the danger of attacking forces fired with an enthusiastic love of liberty, and led by a general, prudent, intrepid, and vigilant, Ostorius led his legionary troops, composed of Roman veterans, against the Britons; and omitted no precaution to secure his army from the irregular attacks of the flying parties of the enemy.

As soon as the Roman army appeared, Caractacus drew up his forces, and conjured them to act like men on this important occasion. He told them the hour was approaching that must restore them to freedom and independence, or reduce them to the most abject state of slavery. He exhorted them to remember the glorious examples of their renowned ancestors, who drove the ambitious Cæsar from Britain, and delivered their country from the oppressive violence of Rome. He invoked the shades of their great predecessors in this important day of trial, in this final struggle for liberty and freedom. The Britons answered by a general shout of applause. They declared their resolution of preserving their liberties, or perishing in the glorious attempt.

Ostorius heard the acclamations of the Britons, and was alarmed for the event. He carefully surveyed the deep and rapid river, the rampart faced with flints, and defended by resolute troops; the hanging crags, and the close embattled ranks of the enemy. The prospect was gloomy, the difficulties hardly surmountable, and the attempt almost desperate. But the ardour of the Roman troops could not be repressed. Dangers tended only to awaken their courage, and augment their desire of glory. The prize of victory was displayed, and every difficulty vanished in the prospect. Ostorius perceived their eagerness, but would not suffer them to engage till he had discovered the shallowest part of the stream, where they might cross the river with the least obstruction.

At last the signal for the attack was given, and the Romans crossed the stream with great alacrity. A dreadful carnage ensued. The Britons defended their rampart with that unshaken firmness which results from despair. The ground was strewn with dead, and the groans of the wounded augmented the horror of the tumult. But the Roman discipline at last surmounted the difficulty; the rampart was thrown down, and both armies came to a close engagement. The Britons rushed upon the Romans like men regardless of destruction. The balance of victory was for some time equally poised, and Fortune seemed undetermined where to bestow the palm of conquest. At length the Roman veterans removed the dreadful uncertainty. Covered with armour, the swords of the Britons made little impression, while death attended every blow struck by a Roman arm. Caractacus perceived the contest was unequal, and retreated to his camp on the summit of the mountain. The ascent was steep and tedious, but the ardour of the Romans was superior to every difficulty. They gained the summit, and attacked the camp of Caractacus. The contest was dreadful; the Britons fought for liberty, the Romans for glory. Urged on by despair, the Britons assailed the ranks of the enemy with a fury bordering on madness. But their efforts were in vain; they met death on every side, and the camp became a horrid scene of blood and devastation. The victory was complete, and the standard of British liberty fell to the ground. The wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus, with many other persons of birth and fortune, were taken prisoners.

Caractacus himself escaped, with a few friends, the dreadful destruction of his army. Distracted at the irreparable loss he had sustained, he flew to Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, for safety. A moment's reflection would have been sufficient to have

prevented this inguarded step. He knew that Cartimandua had long been a friend to the Romans, though her husband Venutius was one of the champions of liberty. Pleased with the opportunity of acquiring the favour of Ostorius, she basely loaded Caractacus with chains, and in that ignominious manner delivered him into the hands of the Romans; an action that has branded her name with eternal infamy.

Rome had been long acquainted with the military reputation of this illustrious hero. He had several years supported the dying remains of that noble confederacy headed by Cassivellaunus, for the defence of British liberty, and had given many signal proofs of his prudence and intrepidity. The news of his captivity was received with uncommon acclamations, and the Romans were desirous of seeing a man whose power was sufficient to check the flight of the imperial eagles. Caractacus and his whole family were accordingly sent to Rome, in order to be exposed as a public spectacle to the populace. The whole city attended; the prætorian guards were under arms, and the emperor was seated on a magnificent tribunal, adorned with the trophies of war. The servants of Caractacus walked first in the mortifying procession, and were followed by the brothers, the wife and daughter of Caractacus, whose tears sufficiently demonstrated that their spirits were equally depressed with their fortunes. Not so the brave Caractacus; he marched on with a steady countenance and noble deportment; his soul soared far above his present condition; he looked down with contempt on the malice of his enemies. He approached the imperial tribunal, and thus addressed himself to Claudius.

"Had my moderation been adequate to my birth and fortune, I had entered this capital not as a captive but a friend. Nor wouldst even thou, O Cæsar! have disdained to rank in the number of thy friends a prince descended from a long race of royal and illustrious ancestors, and the commander of many nations. My present condition adds lustre to your glory, though it reflects dishonour upon me. I was once master of men and arms, of horses and chariots of war, of riches and power. Can you wonder that I fought to preserve them, and that I lost them with regret? If the Romans are desirous of universal empire, does it follow that all mankind should submit tamely to the yoke? Had the hand of perfidy sooner betrayed me, I should have been less distinguished by misfortunes, and you by glory. Had I fallen in battle, both my name and fortune had been consigned to oblivion. Punish me with death, and I shall soon be forgotten; suffer me to live, and the generous action will remain an eternal monument of your clemency."

Claudius, who had distinguished himself by many acts of moderation, was deeply affected by the manly address and majestic air of Caractacus. He ordered the British hero, and all his family, to be set at liberty, and loaded them with favours.

The senate was assembled, and the victory over Caractacus compared with the brightest periods of the Roman glory. They decreed to Ostorius the honour of a triumph; but this was the period of his good fortune. Fired with resentment at the ignominious treatment of their favourite leader, the Britons were roused to vengeance. They had acquired by fatal experience some knowledge of the Roman discipline, and carried on the war with more prudence and better success than formerly; while the Romans, flushed with victory, grew indolent and careless. The legionary cohorts left to complete the chain of forts on the Severn, were attacked and defeated. A body of Roman foragers shared the same fate. Animated with these successes, the Britons attacked the Roman army, maintained the battle till night put an end to the contest, and then retired with very little loss. The Romans were no longer considered as invincible. The standard of liberty was again displayed,



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Caractacus betrayed into the Hands of the Romans by*  
**CARTISMANDUA**











*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Murdering the DRUIDS and Burning their GROVES*



played, and the Britons flattered themselves with being able to retaliate the injuries they had received on the invaders of their country.

A. D. 59. Ostorius, who now stooped under a weight of years and infirmities, exerted the last remains of life to finish a war so successfully begun. But he was unequal to the task: he found it impossible to check the progress of the British arms, and sunk into the grave with grief and dejection. Aulus Didius Gallus was sent from Rome with the title of proprætor, to take the command of the Roman forces in Britain. But before he reached his government, Manlius Valens, a tribune, who headed the troops on the death of Ostorius, had been defeated by the Silures, who now committed dreadful devastations in the Roman province. Aulus exerted all his abilities to recover the losses sustained before his arrival, and, by his indefatigable application, put a stop to the victories of the Silures.

About this time Claudius paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded in the imperial throne by Nero, a prince who had no ambition for military honours. He devoted his time to pursuits of a very different kind, and would probably have declined all farther attempts against the Britons, could he have done it with safety to himself. But the people considered Britain as one of the fairest jewels in the Roman diadem; and Nero thought it prudent to tread in the steps of Claudius, whose memory he highly respected.

During these transactions at Rome, a civil war of a very different kind broke out in Britain. Cartimandua, the infamous betrayer of Caractacus, to fill up the measure of her iniquity, had taken Volcatius, one of her menial servants, to her bed. Exasperated at such shocking injuries, her husband Venutius repaired to the Silures, represented, in the most forcible manner, the detestable conduct of Cartimandua, and expatiated on the irreparable injury she had done her countrymen, by basely betraying their intrepid leader. He did not plead in vain. Roused by the ignominious treatment of their beloved general, they expressed their resentment with a fury nearly allied to madness; and bound themselves, by the most solemn acts of their religion, either to take ample vengeance on the infamous betrayer of their country, or perish. The Brigantes readily joined the confederacy; and the deserted Cartimandua, who had preferred the gratification of a lawless passion to conjugal virtue, and the friendship of the Romans to the liberty of her country, found herself abandoned by the greater part of her subjects, and exposed to the vengeance of an enraged people. She flew immediately to the Romans for succour, and was received with kindness and respect. Supported by forces that she considered as invincible, she set no bounds to her passion, and looked upon the threatened vengeance of the Britons with contempt.

But the Roman power was become fallacious. Discipline had given place to licentiousness, and effeminacy had enervated the strength of the conquerors of the world. The Britons advanced with confidence and intrepidity, and the Romans marched out to meet them. A dreadful battle ensued; the field was covered with slain, and it was with the greatest difficulty the Romans prevented Cartimandua from falling into the hands of an enraged and injured people. All her dominions fell into the hands of the enemy. Didius, who was very old and infirm when he first came over into Britain, could not lead in person his army against the Britons: he entrusted the command to generals much inferior in merit, and the consequences reflected a stain upon the honour of the Romans. Didius saw with grief this sudden reverse of fortune, and fell a victim to the complicated attacks of disease and vexation.

A. D. 61. As soon as the news of the death of Didius reached Rome, Paulinus Suetonius, one of

the most celebrated generals of the age, was sent to supply his place. A leader of abilities was never more wanting than at present. Elated by their success, and exasperated by the injuries they had received, the Britons threatened the Romans with destruction. Suetonius saw the danger, and took the most prudent methods to prevent it. The greater part of the Roman army was encamped in the country of the Ordovices, near the strait which separates the island of Mona, now called Anglesea, from the coast of North Wales. Mona was principally inhabited by the Druids; it was their university, the residence of their pontiff, a place more immediately consecrated to their religious worship, and therefore esteemed sacred by all the Britons. It had also for some years been a common asylum for the enemies of Rome, and was now very full of people. Convinced that the Britons could never be reduced to obedience while the Druids continued in their authority, Suetonius determined to destroy this seat of their superstition. He knew that enthusiasm supplied the Britons with a kind of frantic courage. Persuaded that those who fell in battle against the enemies of their religion, passed immediately into a state of perfect happiness, they did not consider the loss of life as an evil. They rushed undaunted into the thickest part of the battle, and smiled in the agonies of death. It was in vain to hope that force only could ever reduce to subjection a people inspired with such sentiments. A mind filled with superstitious notions is deaf to the voice of caution. Mona must be laid waste, the source of enthusiasm destroyed, and the Druids themselves extirpated, before the Romans could triumph over the liberties of the Britons.

The arm of the sea which divides Mona from the adjacent coast, could not be forded by the infantry; a sufficient number of boats were therefore collected for transporting the legions, while the horse crossed the strait. Suetonius perceived the inhabitants were drawn up at some distance from the water's edge, and therefore landed his troops with very little opposition. But the Britons soon advanced with the utmost fury upon the Romans, who were struck with a superstitious terror at a scene which was now presented to their view. Behind the British army were a multitude of women running about like furies with dishevelled hair, and flaming torches in their hands. Amidst these frantic women were the Druids pouring out the most dreadful imprecations, and, with their hands lift up to heaven, imploring the vengeance of their gods upon the enemies of their religion. The Romans stood for a time motionless; they seemed as it were transfixed with horror, and became an inactive mark to the missiles of the Britons. Suetonius saw their terror, and trembled for the event: he flew from rank to rank, and endeavoured, by threatenings and exhortations, to rouse them into action. At last the love of glory prevailed over enthusiastic horror. They attacked the enemy with their usual intrepidity, and, after a short resistance, drove them into the woods, with a dreadful slaughter. Being thus master of the island, Suetonius applied himself to destroy every place dedicated to the superstitious worship of the Britons. He cut down their sacred groves, and burnt the Druids on those very altars that had been so often stained with human blood.

But while he was employed in demolishing the structures and groves of the Druids, he was recalled by an event that threatened the total destruction of the Roman power in Britain. The vices of Nero were risen to such a shameful height, that a new species of taxation had for some time been introduced into all the provinces of the Roman empire, to supply his extravagance. The taxes levied on the Britons were grievously oppressive. They complained; but, instead of redress, they were treated with insolence, their misfortunes were insulted, and their miseries made a subject of ridicule. These acts of wanton tyranny raised a general spirit of resentment,



ment, and the whole nation was ripe for a revolt, when an incident happened which kindled into a flame the latent sparks of vengeance.

Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, had long lived in friendship with the Romans; and having no son to inherit his dominions, bequeathed his immense treasures to the emperor, and his two daughters, as joint-heirs; hoping by that means to procure a powerful protector for his children. But he was fatally deceived. Catus Decianus, the procurator, a monster of vice, avarice and injustice, seized upon the whole, and the dominions of Prasutagus became a prey to the licentiousness of the Roman centurions. Boadicea, the wife of Prasutagus, remonstrated warmly against these iniquitous proceedings, and loudly exclaimed against the injustice of depriving her daughters of their inheritance; but instead of redress, she was treated in a manner that reflects disgrace upon humanity. Catus added insolence to injustice: he ordered Boadicea to be publicly scourged, and suffered the soldiers to violate the chastity of her two daughters.

These inhuman proceedings roused the Iceni to vengeance. They were joined by the Trinobantes, under the command of the intrepid Venutius; the band of union, which had been so long cancelled, was again revived; and the authors of these shocking acts of brutality devoted to destruction. Boadicea, who inherited all the spirit of her ancestors, animated the Britons to vengeance by her irresistible eloquence; while the druids, whose sacred groves Suetonius was then destroying, inspired them with a religious fury.

The first place which felt the vengeance of the Britons was Camelodunum, which was taken by storm, and every torture that an exasperated enemy could invent was practised on the unfortunate inhabitants. Boadicea severely retaliated in kind on the Roman women the injuries offered to herself and her daughters. The garrison retired to the temple of Claudius, imagining, perhaps, that the Britons would spare a structure dedicated to religion. A moment's reflection would have been sufficient to have convinced them how fatally they were mistaken. The destruction of Mona had roused a spirit of religious fury which nothing could restrain. They forced the temple, put every Roman to the sword, and laid the structure in ashes.

Elated with this success, the Britons continued their ravages, spreading devastation over the whole country subject to the Romans. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the assistance of his countrymen, and was met by the Britons. A dreadful conflict ensued, in which all the foot of the legion were cut to pieces, and Cerealis obliged to fly, with his horse, to his fortified camp. But the infamous procurator escaped the vengeance his crimes so justly deserved. Conscious of having occasioned this dreadful insurrection, he fled to Gaul, and by that means eluded at once the fury of the enemy, and the rage of his Romans.

In the mean time Suetonius was marching with the utmost expedition to the relief of his friends, and reached London before that city had felt the vengeance of the Britons. But finding it impossible to defend the place with his small army against the numerous forces of the enemy, he retired to a considerable distance, in order to take possession of some advantageous post, and bring on a general engagement.

Informed that the Roman general had reached London, Boadicea led her army to that capital; but finding it abandoned by the enemy, she put near seventy thousand Romans to the sword, and laid the city in ashes. These sacrifices were, however, far from being sufficient to appease the fury of Boadicea; nothing less than the total extirpation of the Romans could satisfy her vengeance.

Aware of the enterprising spirit of that heroine, and sensible that an insatiable thirst of revenge in the

breast of an incensed woman, at the head of a numerous army, would carry her beyond the bounds of prudence, and urge her to acts of imprudent impetuosity; the Roman general posted his forces, which now amounted to ten thousand men, in such a position as might best enable him to sustain the fury of the first attack. Accordingly he made choice of a spot of ground accessible only by a narrow defile, having an open plain in his front, and a large wood in his rear. In this situation he prepared to withstand the dreadful assault of the Britons. He placed his legionary troops in the center, the light-armed on each side, and his cavalry in the wings. In this order he waited the approach of the enemy.

Flushed with conquest, and elated with the hopes of exterminating at once the Roman power in Britain, Boadicea led her army into the plain in the front of the enemy. The number of the Britons was not less than two hundred and thirty thousand men, eager for retaliating the injuries they had received on their tyrannical masters. They did not entertain a doubt of obtaining the prize of victory, and accordingly brought their wives and children with them into the field; that they might be spectators of the vengeance they were going to pour on the heads of the enemy, and assist in plundering the invaders of their country. These being placed in waggons posted in the rear of the army, rendered a retreat extremely difficult.

At the head of the British army appeared Boadicea, drawn in a chariot, with her two daughters. She passed between the ranks of her army; and addressing herself to the heads of every tribe, represented, with the most powerful eloquence, and in the most pathetic manner, the inhuman insults that had been offered to herself and her two daughters. "But," added she, "the desire of revenging mine own injuries; however great, is the least motive that induced me to attack the tyrants of the world. It is the universal slavery that is preparing, the chains that are forging for my brave and numerous people, that have roused me to vengeance. I have taken the field to defend the liberties of my country; but if there be any here who prefer the yoke of slavery to freedom; who can tamely behold their wives and daughters ravished, and stoop so low as to kiss the feet of an insolent master; they will do well to depart. For myself, I am absolutely determined to conquer or perish."

A general shout of applause resounded in the British army, and Boadicea immediately led her forces against the Romans. The first assault was made by the Britons with the utmost fury. They valued not the swords of the enemy; they seemed rather to court than decline destruction. But the Roman ranks could not be broken; they stood firm amidst a dreadful shower of javelins, darted with violence from the nervous arms of the enraged Britons. The legionary troops now sallied out upon the enemy, and were followed by the auxiliaries. A horrid slaughter ensued. The victory was long doubtful, and the field of battle covered with the slain. But the heavy armed forces of the Romans at last bore down all opposition; and the retreat of the Britons being in a manner cut off by their own waggons, a dreadful carnage succeeded; near eighty thousand of them perished. The unfortunate Boadicea perceived with distraction the defeat of her army, and disdaining a submission, put a period to her life.

The Britons were now convinced that all opposition was in vain. They retired to their respective places of abode; but Suetonius, with a cruelty that has stained his character, pursued them with unremitting vengeance. The whole country became a scene of blood and slaughter; even the women and children were put to the sword; the villages and towns reduced to ashes, and large districts totally laid waste. A dreadful famine ensued, which depopulated those parts of the island which the sword of the Romans had spared.

Driven



Driven to despair by cruelty, and exasperated to madness by the loss of every thing they held dear, the Britons had once more recourse to arms; and many of the Romans felt the weight of their resentment. They never attempted to face the enemy in the open field, but hovered continually round their quarters, and put to the sword every Roman that fell into their hands. Death, even in its most horrid shape, had lost its terror: the Britons were rendered invincible by distress. Barbarity only increased the evil, and slaughter had no other tendency than that of depopulating the country. Julius Classicianus, who had succeeded Catus as procurator, beheld the perseverance of the Britons with astonishment, and rightly imputed their obstinate inflexibility to the haughty severity of Suetonius. He was penetrated with compassion at the sufferings of a brave and hardy people; and wrote to Rome, informing the emperor, that there would never be an end to the war, unless Suetonius was recalled. His letter had its proper weight with the emperor, and Suetonius received orders to repair to Rome.

A. D. 62. He was succeeded by Përronius Turpilianus, who, by the mildness of his administration, and his great affability, soon effected what the legions of Suetonius had attempted in vain. Instead of harassing the Britons by military executions, and keeping alive their resentment by new injuries, he suffered them to enjoy unmolested repose. By this prudent conduct, their rage abated, their losses were forgotten, peace once more extended her olive branch over the desolated country, and plentiful harvests crowned the fields that the sword of war had laid waste.

A. D. 65. After three years residence in Britain, Turpilianus returned to Rome, where he was received with universal applause: triumphal honours were decreed him; and the Romans were convinced from experience, that moderation and lenity were more effectual in subduing the Britons, than persecutions and tyranny. The same measures were pursued by several successive governors; and the Britons, though many of them still retained their love of liberty, did not look upon the Romans with the same malignity as before.

A. D. 78. But the glory of subduing the Britons was reserved for Julius Agricola, whose virtues and talents have been rendered immortal by the pen of Tacitus. Agricola was no stranger to the Britons; he had served under Suetonius with great reputation. Soon after his arrival, he received advice that the Ordovices had surprised and cut to pieces a body of Roman horse stationed on their frontiers. This sudden commencement of hostilities greatly alarmed the Romans; and Agricola, though the summer was far advanced, and the cohorts lay dispersed in different parts of the country, wisely resolved to check the insurrection in its birth. He accordingly assembled the legions and auxiliaries with the utmost expedition, and marched against the Ordovices. On his approach, they abandoned the plains, and retired to their strong holds and fortresses in the mountains, places which had hitherto been considered as inaccessible to an enemy. But Agricola was not to be deterred by dangers, nor stopped by difficulties: he ascended the mountains at the head of his army, and drove the enemy from their retreats. Harassed in every part of the country, and destitute of any place of safety, the Ordovices submitted to the Roman governor, and peace was once more restored in Britain.

A. D. 79. As soon as the winter was over, Agricola marched his army to the sea-side, in order to reduce the island of Anglesey, an undertaking which Suetonius had left unfinished. After carefully surveying the strait which separates the island from the coast of Wales, he discovered a ford, by which his forces passed into the island without opposition. Intimidated at the sight of the Romans, the inhabitants flew into the woods for safety; but soon

after sued for peace, and gave him possession of the island, which still retains several monuments of his victory.

Agricola now applied himself to cultivate the arts of peace; and, in order to render his attempts successful, he made himself well acquainted with the tempers and dispositions of the people he was to govern. He began his civil administration by acts of justice and clemency. He was particularly careful to reform the discipline of his army, and to restrain the licentiousness of his troops, that no fresh cause of dispute might arise from their insolence and oppression. He was severe, but not cruel. He punished crimes with rigour, but often pardoned faults. The common soldiers became modest and agreeable, the officers generous and humane. He was an inveterate enemy to every species of corruption. No rigour was practised in collecting the tribute; no iniquitous impositions were suffered. He coveted not respect when it owed its origin to fear; but cherished obedience when it flowed from the heart. The Britons were happy under his government, they revered him as a parent, rather than feared him as a tyrant. They cherished a real attachment for his person, and imitated his conduct.

A. D. 80. At the beginning of summer Agricola took the field, and penetrated into several provinces which had not hitherto been subdued; and by sometimes harassing and alarming the inhabitants, and at others inviting them to submission by every possible allurements; he, by degrees, prevailed upon several capital cities to receive Roman garrisons. In this manner, partly by persuasion, and partly by his military abilities, he subdued the whole island, and returned to his head-quarters at the end of the campaign. He was joyfully received by the Britons; and he assiduously applied himself to finish the civil regulations he had so happily begun. He erected temples, courts of judicature, and other public structures. He encouraged the building of private houses, and inspired a noble emulation among the Britons, by rewarding the active and diligent, and punishing the indolent and slothful. He established schools and seminaries, where the British youth were instructed in the liberal arts: he extolled their genius, he applauded their assiduity. They were pleased with his encomiums, and soon became fond of the arts and manners of the Romans. Agricola conquered the Britons by kindness and persuasion: they cultivated the Roman language, and put on the Roman habit: they cherished the Roman luxury, they visited their baths and their banquets. At last they buried in the grave of voluptuousness their natural simplicity and integrity, together with the very remembrance of their former independence.

A. D. 81. Having provided for the domestic tranquillity of Britain, Agricola led his army to the northern parts of the island, and penetrated as far as the frith of the river Tay in Scotland; the Caledonians, though a robust and intrepid people, retiring before his victorious legions. Here he erected a chain of forts to secure his conquests, and stop the ravages of the Caledonians. These forts were constructed with so much art, and their situations so advantageously chosen, that it is said not one of them was either forced, surrendered, or quitted as untenable, during his residence in Britain. These forts were well supplied with provisions, and garrisoned with brave and intrepid soldiers, who, by occasional sallies, kept the enemy in continual alarms.

A. D. 82. Early in the spring he led his army a considerable distance to the northward of the forts he had erected, and subdued several of the smaller tribes. He now erected a chain of forts across the isthmus between the Clyde and the Forth. During this expedition he saw the coast of Ireland, and meditated the conquest of that island; but this design was never executed.

A. D. 83. Desirous of being acquainted with the coast of Scotland, Agricola sent out a fleet to make discoveries



discoveries of the creeks and friths in those parts, while he himself marched forward at the head of his army. Alarmed at the appearance of this formidable squadron, the Caledonians attacked the forts of Agricola with great fury. Exaggerated accounts of the number of the enemy intimidated the Roman officers, who advised their general to retreat. But Agricola was not to be intimidated; he determined to continue in the enemy's country, but took every prudent precaution to preserve his army. The Caledonians were headed by Galgacus, a prince admired for his military abilities: he had served under the Romans, and was no stranger to their method of making war. Intrepid by nature, and nursed in a camp, he was a stranger to fear, and knew too well the great advantage that always attends the aggressor in the field. He knew that forces flushed with conquest were almost invincible, and that distress had no tendency to render an army formidable. He therefore attacked the forts of Agricola with great fury, before the Roman general could carry fire and sword into the heart of his country. The Caledonian army was greatly superior in numbers to the Roman, but almost destitute of discipline. Agricola saw the danger of keeping his troops in one body, almost surrounded by a numerous and active enemy, who would not fail to cut off his provisions. In order therefore to avoid the fate of perishing by famine in an enemy's country, he divided his forces into three bodies. Frustrated in his design of surrounding the Roman army, Galgacus united his forces, and fell suddenly upon the weakest division of the enemy. The advanced guard was cut to pieces, and the barbarians poured like a deluge into the Roman camp. Astonished at this unexpected attack, which appeared more terrible from having been made in a dark and tempestuous night, the legionary soldiers were unable to exert their usual intrepidity. Fortunately for them, Agricola was informed by his spies of the intention of Galgacus, and immediately dispatched a reinforcement of light armed troops to their assistance. As soon as they reached the camp, they gave a general shout, which intimidated the enemy, and animated with fresh vigour the despairing legion, who were on the very point of being cut to pieces. The palm of victory was now wrested from the Caledonians, who were obliged to retreat to the neighbouring woods for protection. But, though defeated, they were not dispersed. The spirit of liberty was roused, and the whole country entered into a general association against the invaders of their country. An army far more numerous than the first was raised with the utmost expedition, and their wives and children sent to places of safety. But, before they were ready to take the field, the season was too far advanced to decide the dreadful contest.

A. D. 84. Early in the spring Agricola renewed his military operations, by sending his fleet before him with orders to land occasionally in different places, and spread the alarm along the coast of Scotland; while he himself marched to the Grampian hills, where the Caledonian army was assembled. It consisted of thirty thousand men, headed by the intrepid Galgacus. As soon as he perceived the Roman army, he harangued his troops with all the eloquence of a consummate general. He told them, in the most pathetic manner, that the issue of the ensuing battle would be the recovery of their freedom, or perpetual slavery; for their situation having rendered a retreat impracticable if vanquished, they must either conquer, submit to slavery, or perish.

Galgacus drew up his army on the declivity of the mountain, by which means their whole number was exposed to the view of the Romans, and exhibited a very formidable appearance. Agricola formed his army into two lines; the first consisted of eight thousand auxiliary foot and three thousand horse forming the wings; the second was wholly formed of Roman legions. As soon as the signal was given, both

armies began the contest with amazing intrepidity. The battle was fierce and obstinate, and, for some time, greatly in favour of Galgacus. Agricola perceived the danger, quitted his horse, and, at the head of his legions, closed upon the enemy, and engaged them sword in hand. This attack turned the scale of victory. The javelins of the Caledonians, on which they chiefly depended, and which they darted with the greatest dexterity, were rendered useless, and their swords were too unwieldy to be used with advantage. Unable therefore to stand the shock of the legionary forces, they gave way; and the Romans, after penetrating the first line, soon put the whole army into disorder. The Caledonians now attempted to drive their war-chariots through the ranks of the enemy, but the unevenness of the ground prevented the design. Galgacus exerted his whole power to rally his forces, and lead them once more against the enemy, but found it impossible; and the night coming on apace, he retired, with the scattered remains of his army, into the inaccessible parts of the mountains. Ten thousand Caledonians fell in this fatal battle, while the loss of the Romans did not exceed three hundred and fifty. The scene of desolation which ensued is shocking to humanity. Driven to despair, and dreading captivity more than death, the Caledonians set fire to their huts, and massacred their wives and children, that they might not fall into the hands of the Romans. Such are the dreadful effects of unbounded ambition; the laws of immutable justice are sacrificed to the desire of conquest, and the soft whispers of humanity plead in vain!

This victory, so destructive to the Caledonians, was fatal also to Agricola. The infamous Domitian, who now filled the imperial throne, grew jealous of the reputation of his general. The conquests of Agricola were terrible to Domitian. He was recalled, under pretence of being promoted to the government of Syria, but in reality, that a final period might be put to his victories. He returned to Rome, where triumphal honours and a statue crowned with laurel were decreed him by the senate. But he soon fell a victim to the suspicious fears of the cowardly Domitian, who found means to take him off by poison. Thus fell the renowned and accomplished Julius Agricola, the celebrated governor of Britain. He introduced the Roman arts, the Roman language, and the Roman luxuries into this island; and spread desolation and slaughter through an extensive country, because the inhabitants refused to part with their liberties, and tamely submit to the Roman yoke of slavery. He waded through a sea of blood to crop the laurels of victory, and fell a sacrifice to that ambition which led him on to conquest. As a general, as a governor, as a civil magistrate, he deserves the highest honours. His talents were great, his judgment was sound, his memory was tenacious: he was fruitful in resources, and intrepid in danger; a friend to merit, and an implacable enemy to extortion. But he stained his laurels with the blood of a people who never injured him, and against whom he had no other complaint: than their being tenacious of their liberties, and true friends to their country.

A. D. 87. Lucullus succeeded Agricola in the government of Britain; but our accounts of his administration are very imperfect. The Caledonians, immediately after the departure of Julius Agricola, issued again from their mountains; and, by their example and conduct, animated the Britons to resume the spirit of their ancestors, and to join in the common cause of extirpating the Romans. But this was an undertaking that required years to bring to perfection. In the mean time Lucullus was put to death by Domitian, merely because he had given his own name to a new kind of lance he had invented.

A. D. 111. No governor was sent from Rome to succeed Lucullus till the attempts of the Caledonians



nians rendered the presence of an able general necessary. They broke through the chain of forts erected between the Forth and Clyde by Agricola, and laid great part of the country waste. Alarmed at this irruption of the northern people, Julius Severus was dispatched to drive the Caledonians back into their own country. He was a person of great military abilities; but, before he could lead his forces against the enemy, he was recalled; a rebellion having broke out in Syria, and Severus was the only general thought capable of reducing the insurgents, and restoring peace to that fertile province. The Caledonians took advantage of the absence of Severus, and continued their inroads with great success. Lucius Antoninus, who commanded the Roman forces in Britain, advanced against the northern invaders. A battle ensued, in which the Romans were defeated, and Lucius himself dangerously wounded.

A. D. 120. There was now a necessity for sending an able general to head the Roman army. The late defeat had rendered them timid and cautious, and the relaxation of discipline less able to contend with barbarians flushed with victory. The danger was pressing; a little delay might have been fatal to the Romans. Priscus Luscinus was immediately dispatched into Britain, and was soon after followed by the emperor Adrian in person. The Caledonians thought it imprudent to face the Roman army headed by the emperor, and retired to their fastnesses in the mountainous parts of their country. Adrian, however, proceeded as far as York, determined to chastise the enemy for their late insults, and put the frontier into a better state of defence. But some old officers who had served under Agricola, gave him so dreadful an account of Scotland, and painted the difficulties that attended the march of an army through bogs and forests, and over the most frightful precipices, in such striking colours, that the emperor thought proper to lay aside his intended expedition. He was, however, determined to provide for the future security of the Roman provinces. Accordingly he continued his march to the forts erected by Agricola; but thinking they were situate at too great a distance from the main body of the Roman forces, he relinquished these fortifications, and erected a wall, or rather rampart of earth, above eighty miles in length, extending across the island, from the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Frith. Garrisons were placed, at proper distances, along the whole line; and every necessary precaution taken to prevent the future inroads of the enemy. Having provided for the safety of his people, Adrian applied himself to correct the abuses that had crept into the government. This task required the authority of the emperor, and he accordingly succeeded: after which he returned to Rome, and was honoured with the title of "The Restorer of Britain."

A. D. 138. On the death of Adrian, Antoninus Pius ascended the imperial throne, and, like his predecessor, was more solicitous to preserve than to enlarge his dominions: but hearing that the northern invaders had ruined several parts of Adrian's wall, and renewed their incursions into the Roman territories; he sent Lollius Urbicus to chastise the Caledonians, and put a stop to their depredations. Urbicus soon drove them back into their own country; and, to prevent their incursions for the future, he erected a wall of stone covered with turf, extending from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde. From this period to the death of Marcus Aurelius, Britain enjoyed the blessings of peace. The invasions of the Caledonians were not renewed; possibly the wall of Antoninus was too strong a barrier for them to force, while the garrisons were well supplied with provisions, and the soldiers regularly relieved.

A. D. 180. But, on the death of Aurelius, the face of affairs was altered. Commodus, who assumed the purple on the death of his father, was famous only for his vices. His indolence and timidity rendered him contemptible; his criminal ex-

cesses, an object of detestation. The Caledonians thought this a proper opportunity for attacking once more the territories of the enemy. Accordingly they made a breach in the wall of Antoninus, near one of the principal forts; cut the Roman garrison to pieces, and poured like a torrent into the adjacent country. The contiguous stations were abandoned by the Romans, and the invaders suffered to pursue their inroads without resistance. Roused from the slumber of indolence by the danger that threatened Britain, Commodus sent Ulpius Marcellus, a general of great reputation, to chastise the insolence of the northern invaders. On his arrival, he found the Roman discipline sunk into a state of sloth and licentiousness. The hardy veterans were become effeminate; and much sonder of the couch of indolence, than the honours which result from a vigorous campaign. Ulpius saw the necessity of restoring the ancient discipline before he led his forces against the enemy. He applied himself to the task with great assiduity, and his endeavours were soon crowned with success. This difficulty being removed, Ulpius led his forces against the Caledonians, and drove them back into their own country with great slaughter. But merit is never rewarded by the ungenerous and the cruel. The success of Ulpius excited the jealousy of Commodus: he was recalled; and it was with the utmost difficulty he escaped with his life.

The Roman empire was now distracted with internal convulsions. On the death of Commodus, different pretenders to the imperial purple started up, and every part of the empire became the dreadful scenes of blood and slaughter. Violence and oppression usurped the seat of justice, and anarchy erected her throne in the capital of the world. The affairs of Britain were disregarded in this general confusion; and the Roman forces in the island became debilitated by luxury. The hardy veterans slumbered on the couch of indolence, and the desire of acquiring glory lost its force.

A. D. 207. At last Severus having defeated all his competitors for the imperial purple, determined to pass over into Britain, in order to chastise the insolence of the Scots and Picts; who, during the distresses of the Roman empire, had made inroads into Britain; and laid a considerable part of the country waste. The very name of Severus, though now old and infirm, appeared terrible to the northern invaders. As a general, he had no equal; as a friend to justice, he punished delinquents with rigour. The Caledonians feared his resentment, and determined, if possible, to divert the storm which was gathering round them. On his arrival, they sent ambassadors to sue for peace. But Severus was not to be diverted from his purpose: he dismissed the ambassadors with an equivocal answer; and having made the necessary preparations, marched into the enemy's country.

A. D. 208. His army was too powerful for him to fear any opposition from the Caledonian forces; but he met with difficulties of a different kind. The country was covered with woods, and intersected with bogs and marshes. Sometimes a frightful precipice opposed his march, and sometimes a broad and rapid river: His forces were destroyed without fighting, and intimidated without facing the enemy. The Caledonians perceived the distress of the Roman army, and renewed their requests for a peace. Severus, who had now lost above fifteen thousand men; in this dreadful march through the territories of the enemy, listened to their proposals, and a peace was accordingly concluded. But knowing that the Caledonians would observe the conditions of the treaty no longer than they were compelled by force, he applied himself to form a stronger barrier. Accordingly he faced Adrian's wall with stone, erected forts at proper distances, and finished the whole in so firm and substantial a manner, that it reflected an honour on his reign. Having finished his expedition, he returned to York, and took the title of Britannicus Maximus.



**A. D. 209.** The two sons of Severus, Caracalla and Geta, inherited not the virtues of their father. Both were cruel, and both enervated with vice. Caracalla was left to guard the pretence, but his imprudent conduct soon exasperated the ferocious Scots to break the peace they had so lately concluded. He suffered his soldiers to make incursions beyond the wall, and to treat the inhabitants with insolence and cruelty. Exasperated at these repeated acts of flagitious tyranny, and desirous of recovering their former independence, the Scots and Picts had again recourse to arms, and severely retaliated on every Roman soldier, who ventured beyond the wall, the miseries they had suffered from Caracalla.

**A. D. 218.** Severus, ignorant of the behaviour of his son, was so highly provoked at this breach of faith, that he determined to take a severe revenge. The orders he issued for chastising the Caledonians were couched in the most rigorous expressions; nothing less than the total extirpation of that people could satisfy the wrath of Severus. But he lived not to see his threatenings executed: his distempers continually increased; and, before the necessary preparations for the march of the army were completed, he died at York in the fifty-seventh year of his age; and his obsequies were performed with a splendor suitable to a Roman emperor.

The virtues of Severus, however great, were not without alloy. As a private man, he was covetous; as a commander, he was too susceptible of revenge. Where-ever he conquered, he ruined; the sword of destruction followed the wreath of victory. His spirit was dauntless, and superior both to danger and fatigue. He was a stranger to lassitude, and never wearied by the most minute enquiry into every article of his government. To his personal friends he was extremely grateful; to his personal enemies contemptuously disdainful. As an emperor, he was moderate in his expences; in public buildings of every kind, magnificent, if not profuse. He heard causes with the utmost exactness and patience: he entered the courts of justice at break of day, and stayed there till noon. His abilities were excellent, and improved by learning. He had more than the fondness of a father; he forgave Caracalla's frequent attacks upon his life. He was careful of the education of his sons; and, at his death, jointly bequeathed to them his empire. The soldiers who loved Severus paid an entire submission to his will; they readily took the oath of fidelity to both the brothers. But the manners of the Britons were not sufficiently polished to render their country a pleasing retreat to persons long acquainted with the luxuries of Rome. They made a peace with the Scots and Picts; and taking with them their father's ashes, they both repaired to the capital of the empire, and deposited the remains of Severus in the tomb of Adrian. But Caracalla, whose soul was deeply tinged with ambition and cruelty, could not bear to see a partner in the throne: he considered Geta as an enemy rather than a brother; and basely caused him to be assassinated.

**A. D. 286.** From the departure of these princes, till the reign of Dioclesian, who associated Maximian with him in the throne, nothing remarkable occurs in the history of Britain. Anarchy and confusion prevailed throughout the world. The continent was filled with rebels, and the sea covered with pirates. The coasts of Britain and Gaul were infested with the fleets of the Franks and Saxons. These disorders called for an immediate remedy; and one Carausius, a person of mean extraction, but famous for his courage and experience at sea, was commissioned to put a stop to the ravages of the pirates. He was very successful in his first attempts, and the barbarians were obliged to desist from their depredations. His station was near Boulogne, a port well situated for making him acquainted with the coasts, the harbours, and the inhabitants of Britain. Carausius soon found himself at the head of a powerful fleet,

and was wise enough to know the weight, power, and dignity of his post. He saw himself the indisputable sovereign of the sea, and determined, if possible, to wrest the imperial scepter from the hands of the emperors. He redoubled his attention to increase his navy; he became rich by the spoils of the pirates; he formed a strict alliance with the Britons. Had Carausius been a land officer, all his schemes must have proved abortive; but from those few particulars of his life which have reached our times, he appears to have been as successful as he was ambitious, as bold as he was powerful, and as fit to command as he was ready to execute. To him we owe the first dawnings of our naval power; from his conduct we are apprised of our natural strength as an island, and from his example we have learned to set all the power of the continent at defiance.

Alarmed at the power, and exasperated at the conduct of Carausius, a person was dispatched from Rome by the emperors, with a commission to assassinate him. The attempt miscarried, the assassin was discovered, and Carausius determined to publish his claim to the imperial sceptre. The officers of his fleet applauded his resolution, and unanimously declared they would support him to the last extremity. His first attempt was upon Boulogne, which he took by assault, and fortified the place as an occasional retreat.

But his chief confidence was placed on Britain. The situation as an island rendered it impregnable to all but a maritime force, and his navy was superior to any fleet the Romans could bring against him. Accordingly he had no sooner finished the fortifications of Boulogne, than he sailed to Britain, where he was received with the greatest acclamations of joy by the inhabitants. The Roman army proclaimed him emperor, and invested him with the purple robe.

**A. D. 287.** A triumvirate of emperors was an unusual phenomenon; but the Roman power was so very tottering and precarious, that neither Dioclesian nor Maximian were in any degree strong enough to destroy the acquisitions of Carausius. Some faint preparations of resistance were made by Maximian; and Carausius was proclaimed a pirate and a traitor to his country; but necessity soon after compelled the Romans to lay aside their hostile intentions, and to sign a treaty of peace; by which inglorious compact, this proclaimed pirate was declared Pius; this maritime robber was acknowledged Felix; and this avowed usurper was surnamed Augustus.

Carausius who was nothing more than a nominal emperor in Rome, was a real monarch in Britain; and he held the reins of government worthily. The Britons were no longer subject to the Roman power; they paid obedience only to their own sovereign, and the laws of their country. Justice and equity were dispensed with an even hand; the commerce of the kingdom was encouraged; and the British seas were cleared of pirates.

The Scots and Picts, persuaded that the Britons unassisted by the Roman power, were unable to defend their country, renewed their ravages, and broke through the walls of partition. Carausius immediately marched against the invaders, defeated them in several engagements, and drove them back into their country with considerable loss. But having signalized his courage, and convinced the Caledonians that he was at once a powerful and vigilant enemy, he offered them peace on very advantageous terms, hoping by that means to unite the whole power of the island, and render abortive any attempt that might be made by the imperial armies of Rome.

**A. D. 289.** The power of Carausius, and the alliances he had formed with other maritime powers, alarmed the Romans. The imperial throne was now filled by Maximian Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus. Forces were raised with the utmost expedition, and every precaution taken to prevent the allies from joining the fleet of the British monarch. Carausius saw the gathering storm, and took the most prudent measures



measures to break its force. He collected his fleet, and stationed troops in every part of the island where the Romans could hope to land their forces. Small vessels were kept continually cruising on the coasts of Gaul, in order to give him the most early intelligence of the appearance of the enemy.

A. D. 293. But while he was thus preparing for the safety of his kingdom, he was basely assassinated by the treacherous Alectus, one of his officers, and his bosom friend. That perfidious wretch did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of his villany. He seized indeed the reins of government, but lost the affections of his people. At once ambitious and cruel, he was detested by the Britons; they paid him only the obedience of fear, and were ready to join the Romans on their first appearance.

Alectus saw his danger, but wanted capacity to avoid it. He increased his navy indeed, but not for the defence of his country. He employed his maritime forces rather as a pirate than a prince: instead of encouraging the trade of his subjects, he destroyed it. The intercourse between Britain and Gaul was cut off; and the commerce of the Roman provinces interrupted. The losses and distresses of his people greatly affected Constantius. He redoubled his efforts to collect a fleet sufficiently powerful to engage the navy of Alectus; and was at last successful.

No time was lost in unnecessary preparation. The forces were immediately embarked, and Constantius sailed for the coast of Britain. Alectus, informed that the imperial navy had left the harbours of Gaul, stood off to sea to meet them; but a thick fog concealed both fleets from the sight of each other; and the Romans landed without opposition on the coast of Sussex.

Constantius knew that it would be impossible to defend his fleet from the attacks of the enemy, after his forces were landed, and therefore prudently set his ships on fire. The Britons were pleased with this magnanimous action. They saw that Constantius was determined to conquer or perish, and therefore flocked from all quarters to his standard, imploring his protection against the treacherous tyrant of their country.

The genius of Alectus was not fertile in resources. He was superior at sea, but wanted prudence to make use of that advantage. He abandoned the only acquisition that rendered him formidable to Constantius, and madly determined to meet the Roman army on the land. He should have reflected that a number of raw forces, strangers to military discipline, without armour, and without affection for their leader, were no match for the Roman veterans. Alectus was convinced of this when it was too late; the greatest part of his soldiers went over to the enemy, and the rest were soon put to flight. Despair now seized the heart of Alectus; he threw away his purple robe, rushed into the thickest part of the Roman army, and was cut to pieces.

A party of the Franks, who had escaped the general slaughter, marched directly to London, plundered the city, and fell down the river in vessels loaded with the spoils they had taken; but were met in their passage by a division of the Roman fleet, which had been separated from the rest by the late fog. A battle ensued, the Franks were totally defeated, and the Romans recovered all the booty taken by the enemy.

The Britons, now delivered from the tyranny of Alectus, once more applied themselves to cultivate the arts of peace. Constantius laboured incessantly to render them a happy people. He published a general pardon to all that had been concerned in the late revolt; he restored to the proprietors all that had been taken from them, even by his own soldiers. He dispensed justice with impartiality; he permitted the free exercise of the Christian religion, which had for some time before been planted in the island. He cleared the sea of pirates, restored the British commerce, and chastised the northern people, who, dur-

ing the late troubles, had renewed their ravages. So many good qualities rendered him dear to the Britons; they considered him as their deliverer, and forgot that they were again subjected to the Roman power.

The arts which had been introduced by Agricola had arrived to some perfection during the reign of Carausius. The city of London was decorated with elegant structures; it was become considerable for its extent, its beauty, and its riches: it was the center of commerce, and the residence of many wealthy merchants. Constantius was pleased with these improvements, and encouraged them by his munificence. He viewed with delight the dawnings of science, the first essays of genius in a ferocious people. He thought the island worthy of his residence, and applied himself to cultivate the rising merit of a people who considered him as their father. Perhaps his passion for the celebrated Helena, who, according to our best historians, was a native of Colchester, contributed to increase his affection for the Britons. She was a woman of extraordinary accomplishments: the many noble works she carried on at her own expence sufficiently display her public spirit; and her liberality, which attracted the love and veneration of the Britons, was unbounded.

A. D. 306. The Britons were happy under the administration of Constantius, but it was of no long continuance. He died at York in the twelfth year of his reign, and left the Britons to lament his loss. His son Constantine, surnamed the Great, arrived soon enough to pay the last duties to his father, who named him for his successor. His choice was universally approved of; and, on the decease of Constantius, he was declared emperor by the army.

Constantine was formed for empire: his genius was piercing; his memory tenacious; his learning uncommon; his liberality unbounded. Affable, polite, equitable and humane, he won the hearts of all his subjects: they revered him as a father; they loved him as a friend. No person ever retired dissatisfied from his presence; no person ever implored his assistance in vain. Inflexibly impartial in the administration of justice, and deeply affected with every species of distress in others, he often repaid from his own coffers the loss which the needy had justly sustained by his sentence. His soul was a stranger to cruelty. His laurels of conquest were never stained with the blood of the vanquished. The sword of rapacity never followed his victories; the forfeited estates of his most inveterate enemies were restored. To be unfortunate was a sufficient recommendation to his protection, and the sufferer was always sure of finding relief. He openly declared himself a Christian, and by that means gave a fatal blow to Pagan superstition. His life was the best comment on the tenets he professed; the refined morality of the gospel directed all his actions.

Under the government of such a prince the Britons could not fail of being happy. No disturbance, no insurrection happened during his whole reign, though extended to an uncommon length. Possibly his political regulations had some tendency to promote this series of tranquillity. He divided the island into four governments, viz. Britannia Prima, comprehending the country between the Thames and the English channel; Britannia Secunda, including that part of the island that lies between the Severn and the Irish sea; Flavia Cæsariensis, containing Cornwall, Somersetshire, and part of the counties of Wilts and Gloucester; and Maxima Cæsariensis, including the northern counties, together with Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Lincolnshire.

A. D. 337. Constantine the Great paid the debt of nature on the twenty-second of May, after a prosperous reign of thirty-one years, and divided his empire between his three sons. To the eldest, who was of the same name with his father, he bequeathed Britain, France, Spain, and part of Germany. But



he did not long enjoy the crown, being killed in the battle of Aquileia, three years after his accession, in attempting to make himself master of the dominions of Constantius his brother.

A. D. 343. Constantius having acquired the inheritance of his brother Constantine, passed over into Britain, in order to repel the incursions of the Picts and Scots, who, on the death of Constantine the Great, renewed their ravages on the northern frontiers. This prince possessed not the virtues of his father; he was a stranger to the noble qualities that rendered Constantine amiable. He was not anxious to promote the happiness of his people; he listened not to their complaints. Immersed in luxury, and delighting only in the diversions of the field, he left the cares of government to others who abused his confidence. His subjects were oppressed, and his revenues wasted by persons of detestable characters. Exasperated by cruelty supported by power, an insurrection ensued. Magnentius, a Gaul of British extraction, headed the tumult, and Constantius was soon after put to the sword.

A. D. 350. The family of the great Constantine was, by this catastrophe, reduced to the youngest son, named Constantius; but the vices of his brother had alienated the affections of the Britons, who now declared for Magnentius; and had that usurper been contented with the sceptre of the island, he might, in all probability, have supported his power against all the attempts of his enemies; but he grasped at empire. He was ambitious of wearing the purple robe, and rashly passed over to the continent at the head of an army. He fought two battles with Constantius, and was unfortunate in both. Driven to despair, and having only the wretched alternative of falling into the hands of the conqueror, or perishing by his own hand, he chose the latter; and falling on his sword, put an end to his life.

A. D. 354. The sufferings of the Britons began with the death of Magnentius. The emperor was implacable. They readily submitted to his authority; but their defection in favour of Magnentius was not to be forgiven. He sent over a covetous and unfeeling wretch, called Paulinus, a notary by profession, to discover the adherents of Magnentius, and, on conviction, to confiscate their estates. Nursed in the lap of extortion, and proof against the most complicated distress, he executed his commission with outrage and cruelty. Martin, the deputy of the province, saw his proceedings with grief; the sufferings of an injured people excited his compassion. He warmly expostulated with Paulinus, and even threatened to leave the island, in order to lay his conduct before the emperor. Exasperated at the threats of Martin, and terrified at the consequences of having his conduct publicly examined, he suborned witnesses to accuse Martin of crimes against the state. The deputy saw his danger, and determined not to suffer the intended disgrace. When called before the court, he looked sternly at Paulinus, drew his sword, and made a thrust at the tyrant's heart; but missing his blow, he turned the weapon against himself, and plunged it in his own bosom. Paulinus did not long, however, enjoy the fruits of his perfidy; he was, a few years after, burnt alive, by the command of Julian the apostate.

A. D. 363. From the death of Martin till the reign of Valentinian, nothing remarkable happened in Britain. The northern nations, indeed, continued their desultory war, but were always repelled before they made any considerable progress; their attempts were not sufficient to disturb the general tranquillity of the province. But a scene now opened, which more than repaid the inactivity of many years. The fleets of the Franks and Saxons committed the most dreadful ravages along the coasts; while the Scots and Picts, having broke through the walls of partition, laid the inland parts of the country waste. The Roman general advanced against the invaders, at the head of his forces; but fell into an ambuscade,

and was slain. The condition of the Britons was now truly deplorable, and some forces were sent to their relief; but they were unable to stem the torrent, and the barbarians continued their ravages with greater cruelty than before.

A. D. 364. Convinced that nothing but a powerful reinforcement, headed by a general of abilities and experience, could save the province from destruction, Valentinian dispatched Theodosius, reckoned the best soldier of his time, at the head of a choice body of troops, to chastise the ferocious barbarians, and restore tranquillity in the island. The arrival of Theodosius entirely changed the face of affairs: he defeated the invaders in different parts of the country, recovered the spoils they had taken, and returned them to the original owners. These acts of justice soon endeared him to the Britons; they followed his standards with alacrity, and nobly assisted in repelling the barbarians. He pursued his advantages, and, by degrees, drove the Caledonians into their own country. But Theodosius well knew that he had yet effected only a temporary relief; the barbarians were repelled, but not rendered incapable of making another attempt. He therefore formed the country, between the walls of Adrian and Antoninus, into a separate province, which he called Valentia, in honour of the emperor. He repaired both the walls, added new works, and placed strong garrisons at proper distances, that a sufficient force might always be ready to render abortive any attempt of the Caledonians. The ravages of the Franks and Saxons now called for his attention; a strong fleet was fitted out, and the pirates totally defeated.

A. D. 370. Having thus restored tranquillity in the island, Theodosius applied himself to regulate the internal police of the state, in order to render it lasting: he corrected many abuses, and committed the department of the administration of justice to a civilian equally famous for his parts and integrity. He lessened the taxes, demolished such imposts as were burdensome to trade, and encouraged the commerce of the Britons by every method in his power. By these acts of prudence and clemency, he became the idol of the people; they considered him not only as their deliverer, but their common father. And, when he left the island, he was attended to the ship by multitudes of people, testifying, in the warmest expressions, their regret and sorrow for his departure. The emperor received him with the most public demonstrations of friendship and affection; and the senate decreed him a statue, ordering it to be placed among their most celebrated ancestors.

Among the officers that served under Theodosius in Britain, was Maximus, a soldier of great merit and experience, and descended from a noble family in Spain. Soon after the departure of Theodosius, Maximus was advanced to the chief command in Britain; and, by forming his conduct after the model of his illustrious predecessor, acquired the love and esteem both of the army and inhabitants. A profound peace reigned in the island; for the barbarians, intimidated by the valour and alacrity of Maximus, had laid aside their incursions, and continued quiet in their own country.

A. D. 375. During this period of repose and tranquillity, Valentinian paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded in the western empire by his son Gratian, a youth in every respect incapable of supporting the weight of the imperial diadem. He was wholly addicted to pleasures, and governed by favourites chosen from the lowest class of the people. His talents were mean, his learning superficial, his knowledge confined: his abilities were those of a huntsman, rather than a monarch. He was much better qualified to preside at the feasts of debauchery, than to sway the sceptre of Rome. Gratian soon perceived his own inability to hold the reins of government, and chose Flavius Magnus Theodosius, son of the great general of that name, to be his associate in the empire.



A. D. 385. Maximus could not behold the sudden rise of young Theodosius with temper. They had both served under the celebrated conqueror of the Caledonians; but Maximus being the older officer, was superior in command. His ambition would not suffer him to serve under a person he had been used to command. He complained loudly of the injustice which had been done him; and found means to prevail upon the soldiers to join in his resentment. The Britons, who were greatly prejudiced in his favour, followed the example of the Roman forces; and declared themselves his friends. Elated with this dawning of success, he collected all his forces, consisting of Romans and the flower of the British youth, and passed over into Gaul, where the legions quartered in that country and the neighbouring parts of Germany joined his standard. He fixed his residence at Tiers, and was acknowledged emperor by most of the provinces on this side the Alps.

But while Maximus was enjoying the pleasures of royalty, the Britons were reduced to a state truly deplorable. Deprived of the assistance of the Roman veterans, whose very name was terrible, and drained of their native forces, the Britons were in no condition to repel the attacks of the ferocious Caledonians. They broke through the pretences, and laid the country waste with fire and sword. Maximus rejected their repeated solicitations for succour: the calls of ambition rendered him deaf to the soft whispers of humanity.

A. D. 387. But it was now necessary for him to exert his whole strength: Gratian advanced against him at the head of a powerful army. Maximus drew up his forces; but just before the signal for engaging was given, the greater part of Gratian's legions went over to the enemy. Deserted by his troops, and in no condition of collecting a second army, he fled to Lyons, and there perished by the hand of Andragathius.

Intoxicated with success, and ambitious of possessing the whole Roman empire, he pursued his conquest with unremitting vigour, and grasped in idea the whole dominions of Constantine the great. Theodosius was not intimidated by his rival's success: he advanced against him at the head of an army of veterans, used to conquest under his standard. The battle was fierce and bloody; but the fortune of Theodosius at last prevailed, and the troops of Maximus were obliged to seek their safety in flight. He himself fled to Aquileia, where he was taken prisoner and put to death.

A. D. 388. Theodosius, though surrounded by enemies, listened to the solicitations of the Britons. Their condition, indeed, merited pity. Without troops to repel the attacks of the ferocious Caledonians; without a fleet to guard their coasts; and without generals to lead them against the invaders, they became an easy prey to the enemy, and seemed to have lost the power of resistance. But on the arrival of Chrysanthus, sent into Britain at the head of an army by Theodosius, the face of affairs was totally changed. The Caledonians were driven back to their country, the fleets of pirates, which had for some time infested the coast, were defeated, and the harassed Britons once more enjoyed the blessings of peace.

A. D. 395. While Theodosius filled the imperial throne, the Britons were happy; their commerce flourished, and the barbarians were confined to their own mountains. But the death of that great prince, put a period to their tranquillity. The Roman empire was indeed grown feeble under the weight of conquest. A deluge of barbarians pouring in from the north, attacked a power which oppressed the world. An inundation of warlike nations overflowed the plains of France and Italy. It became necessary for Rome to exert her utmost strength to repel the attacks of the ferocious inhabitants of the north. The legions were recalled from Britain, and the inha-

bitants who had exchanged their freedom for slavery, left to defend themselves.

These fierce tribes of barbarians, who came to take vengeance on the empire, either inhabited the various provinces of Germany, which had never been subdued by the Romans, or were scattered over the northern parts of Europe and Asia, now inhabited by the Danes, Swedes, Russians, Tartars and Poles. They were driven from their native country by that restless disposition which actuates the minds of barbarians; and induces them to roam from their native seats in quest of plunder or new settlements. The first invaders met with a powerful resistance from the superior discipline of the Roman legions; but this, instead of daunting men of strong and impetuous tempers only roused them to vengeance. They returned to their companions, acquainted them with the unknown conveniences and luxuries that abounded in countries better cultivated, or blessed with a milder climate than their own; they informed them of the battles they had fought, of the friends they had lost, and warmed them with resentment against their oppressors. Exasperated at the misfortunes of their countrymen, and animated with a desire of possessing kingdoms so far preferable to their own, multitudes of armed men, with their wives, children, slaves, and flocks, issued forth like regular colonies, in quest of fresh settlements. New adventurers followed them. The lands which they deserted, were occupied by more remote tribes of barbarians. These, in their turn, pushed forward into more fertile countries, and, like a current continually increasing, rolled on, and swept every thing before them. Blood and slaughter marked the route of the barbarians. They ravaged or destroyed the countries round them. They respected neither age, nor sex, nor rank: all fell in one promiscuous carnage. Perhaps there is not a period in the history of the world more pregnant with calamities and distress, than that which commenced at the death of Theodosius, and terminated with the settlement of the Lombards in Italy. The cotemporary writers who beheld that dreadful scene of desolation, are at a loss for expressions to describe its horrors. "The scourge of God, the destroyer of nations," are the dreadful epithets by which they distinguish the most noted leaders of the barbarians.

The Britons had their share of these dreadful calamities. Deprived of the Roman legions, strangers to military discipline, and immersed in luxury, they were unable to defend their country against the ferocious inhabitants of Caledonia; who broke through the pretences, and laid the country waste with fire and sword. In vain the Britons opposed their incursions; they had slumbered too long on the bed of effeminacy, to be a match for the hardy inhabitants of the north; who ravaged the fields of their debilitated neighbours, and threatened them with the loss of those advantages, for which they had bartered their freedom.

A. D. 408. Driven to despair by their formidable enemy, they implored, in the most pathetic terms, the protection of the emperor. But their request could not be granted. Alaric the Goth pressed the Romans on every side, and threatened the destruction of their powerful empire. Honorius, who then filled the throne of the Cæsars, informed them, that no forces could be spared for their relief; and therefore advised them to arm in their own defence, and chastise with their own forces, the lawless invaders of their country. Tumult and confusion, instead of unanimity, now filled the councils of the Britons. They several times elected a king, and as often hurled him from the throne. Like the idols of some savage nations, they were set up, worshipped, and trampled to pieces. The names of these monarchs of a day are insignificant, their actions as sovereigns immaterial and uncertain: they were elected, adored, and destroyed. Affairs were now become desperate;



desperate; and the Romans who resided in Britain, persuaded that all resistance was in vain, buried their treasures, and fled to the continent for safety.

A. D. 423. Valentinian III. who succeeded Honorius in the imperial throne, could not view the distressed state of the Britons without commiserating their misfortunes. A single legion was sent to their relief, and even this small force was sufficient to drive back the ferocious Caledonians to their country. The pretences were now repaired, and the northern frontiers put once more into a posture of defence. Tranquillity was restored, and the Britons began to cultivate the arts of peace. While the Romans continued in the island, the Picts and Scots remained quiet in their own country; but the legion was no sooner withdrawn, than the northern barbarians renewed their ravages: the frontier provinces were again filled with blood and slaughter. The fields were laid waste, and every species of cruelty, that a savage enemy could invent, was practised on the wretched inhabitants.

A. D. 446. The Britons, unable to repel the attacks of their neighbours, applied again to the emperor for protection; and another legion, under the command of Gallio, an experienced general, was sent to their relief. Success again attended the Roman standards; the barbarians were driven back to their mountains, and peace extended her olive wand over the island.

A. D. 447. But Gallio plainly told the Britons that this was the last assistance they must ever expect from Rome. He therefore assisted them in repairing or rather rebuilding the wall of Severus: exhorted them to practice the military discipline of the Romans, and to unite themselves firmly in one body for their defence. He gave them every necessary instruction, taught them the method of making the instruments of war, and pointed out the natural advantages they possessed from their situation. Having performed these good offices, he embarked with his legion, and took a final leave of the Britons.

No farther assistance indeed could be expected: the Roman empire itself soon became a prey to barbarous nations. Its ancient glory, vainly deemed immortal, was effaced, and Adoaces, a barbarian leader, sat down on the throne of the Cæsars. The irruptions of these ferocious people were, indeed, gradual and successive. The amazing fabric of the

Roman empire was the work of ages; and it required the labour of several centuries to demolish it. The military discipline of the ancient Romans was so efficacious, that the remains of it descended to their successors, and must have rendered them superior to all their enemies, had it not been for the vices of their emperors, and the universal corruption of manners that prevailed among the people. Satiated with the luxuries of the known world, the emperors were at a loss for new provocatives. The most distant regions were explored, the ingenuity of mankind was exerted, and the revenues of provinces expended on a favourite dish. The tyranny and wickedness that prevailed under the Cæsars, could only be equalled by the barbarity of those nations who demolished the empire of the Romans.

It is well known that the christian religion was introduced into Britain during the government of the Romans; but the exact time is uncertain. Some have indeed maintained that St. Paul preached the gospel in Britain; but there is no other foundation for this opinion than a passage in Clemens Romanus, not rightly understood; and with regard to the fable of Joseph of Arimathea, it has long been acknowledged to have owed its rise to the dreams of some superstitious enthusiast. All we know is, that our ancestors received the glad tidings of the gospel in very early times, when they groaned under the yoke of foreign tyranny; and that this event happened before the conclusion of the second century; because in the general persecution under Dioclesian and Maximinus about the year 303, the christians in Britain were very numerous. St. Alban, and several others, suffered martyrdom for their faith during that persecution.

What progress the Britons made in literature during this period, is uncertain. They were, doubtless, acquainted with the Roman arts; but whether any of them excelled, is unknown. No traces of their learning have been handed down to us: not a single book written by the Britons has reached our time. Architecture and sculpture flourished during the reign of Carausius; and further improvements were made in these and other polite arts, during the peaceable reign of Constantine the great; but the names of the artists are forgotten; they are perished with their works, and sunk together in the gulph of oblivion.









*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*HENGEST and HORSA meeting KING VORTIGERN,  
in the Isle of Thanet.*



## BOOK II.

## From the final departure of the Romans till the establishment of the Saxon Heptarchy.

A. D. 448. **T**HE Britons were now no longer the ferocious islanders who opposed the arms of the mighty Cæsar: they lost their courage with their liberty, were become a pusillanimous people, and an easy prey to the Scots and Picts. They applied, in the most abject manner, to Ætius, whose valour at that time protracted the fall of the empire. The letter they addressed to that general, displays at once the miseries of their country, and their own cowardice. "The barbarians (said they) drive us towards the sea, the sea throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the wretched alternative left us, of perishing by the sword, or by the waves." But their request was in vain: Ætius himself was so closely pressed by the Goths and Vandals, that no forces could be spared to assist the distressed islanders: the ravages on the continent were at least equal to those committed in Britain.

Denied assistance by the Romans, and incapable of forming any generous effort, the Britons abandoned themselves to despair; they flew for shelter to their forests, and neglected the cultivation of their lands. A dreadful famine succeeded, during which multitudes of them perished for want of food. The ferocious Caledonians themselves severely felt the consequences of their inhuman ravages. They found it impossible to subsist in a country they themselves had laid waste, and retired to their mountains with the spoils they had taken from their effeminate neighbours.

The retreat of the enemy revived the spirits of the Britons: They returned to their former habitations, applied themselves to agriculture, and soon restored plenty to their country. But they enjoyed this interval of tranquillity without taking any care to render it permanent; they made no preparations for their future security. They were divided into parties, by the heresy which their countryman Pelagius had lately introduced among them; and even the dread of the ravages of a ferocious enemy was not sufficient to procure unanimity in their councils. Their northern neighbours, whose trade was rapine, soon threatened them with a new invasion. Alarmed at the horrors they had so lately experienced, and trembling at the thoughts of depending on their own power, a resolution was taken to procure the assistance of foreigners. Vortigern, who had made his way to the throne by the murder of his predecessor, proposed that a number of Saxons might be invited into the island. The motion was approved, and ambassadors were immediately sent to the continent to enter into a treaty with that people.

At that time the Saxons inhabited the sea-coast from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland. Valour and the love of liberty formed the distinguishing characteristics of that people. Their chiefs, who led them to battle, and presided in their councils, were far from enjoying a despotic power; they were subject to the regulations of the state, and to the voice of the people, who always came armed to the council, in order to declare their sentiments. The attachment of the Saxons to their leaders was remarkable. When any of them fell in battle, they thought themselves obliged to revenge their death, and never to survive a defeat. They were almost strangers to agriculture; they had no lands they could properly call their own, a new division being made every year, lest the love of property should

lessen their military ardour, which they considered as the true support of their state. They generally carried their wives and children with them into the field, that the presence of these objects of their affection might augment their intrepidity in the day of battle, and prevent their turning their backs upon the enemy.

Such were the Saxons; whom the Britons invited into their country, in order to defend them against the ravages of the Scots and Picts. But surely there wanted no great degree of foresight to perceive the danger that threatened them from so powerful an ally. It was nothing less than exchanging a partial for a perpetual tyranny. For a moment's reflection is sufficient to convince any thinking man, that a nation of so warlike and ferocious a disposition as the Saxons, would not omit to subdue a people who were sunk into the abyss of effeminacy, and accustomed to the yoke of slavery.

The offers of the Britons could not fail of being agreeable to a people nursed in a camp, who lived by rapine, and whose country was overstocked with inhabitants. Hengist and Horsa, two of the most famous leaders of the Saxons, entered into a treaty with the deputies of Vortigern. They were brothers, and no strangers to Britain, having often visited the coasts of that island in their piratical cruises. Nor did these ferocious generals find any difficulty in persuading a sufficient number of their countrymen to follow their standards. The northern parts of Europe were full of barbarian tribes, who were continually sending out multitudes of people in search of new settlements, so that it was in vain for them to hope they should be able to extend the limits of their country on the continent. Britain was fertile, the inhabitants opulent, and the climate inviting; charms more than sufficient to attract the wishes of a rude and indigent people, and render them desirous of exchanging their dreary and sterile soil for the beautiful plains of a country smiling in all the charms of nature, improved by the unwearied hand of assiduous cultivation.

A. D. 450. Hengist and Horsa having increased their army to sixteen hundred men, embarked their forces in three ships, and landed in the isle of Thanet, where they were met by Vortigern and his court. Hengist and Horsa approached the British monarch in the attitude of ferocious warriors, having in their hands their short broad swords, which they used with so much dexterity and effect. Their troops followed them in the same posture, in order to convince the Britons, that they had not applied to a nation incapable of protecting them against the northern invaders of their country. Before the Saxons reached the British coast, the Scots and Picts had renewed their ravages, and penetrated as far as Lincolnshire, committing the most dreadful outrages in their march. The Saxons joined the Britons, and soon convinced these northern invaders, that victory was not confined to the Roman standards. They were unable to withstand the valour of the Saxons; they fled in confusion towards the frontiers of their country, abandoning all the spoil they had taken, which fell into the hands of the conquerors. This easy victory gave the Saxons a very mean opinion of the power of the Britons, who were unable to repel the desultory attacks of so undisciplined a foe: they perceived their



their own superiority, and determined to improve it to their own advantage. Little sincerity is to be expected from barbarians; their great virtue is to conquer for their own emolument. Ambitious of being masters of a country they were called to defend, and desirous of procuring a desirable settlement for their Saxon friends, they informed them of the great fertility of the island, and the effeminate manners of the inhabitants; at the same time inviting them to attempt a conquest of the utmost importance, and attended with very little difficulty.

Their invitations were not made in vain. Desirous of sharing in the good fortune of their countrymen, and settling in a country so much superior to their own, a very considerable number of the Saxons passed over into Britain, and joined the army of Hengist and Horsa. The Britons beheld this increase of the Saxon forces with anxiety. The auxiliaries, in whom they had placed their confidence, were become their terror. They had been witnesses of their valour against their northern enemies; and dreaded the consequences that would inevitably ensue, should they turn their swords against their employers. They perceived the folly of the step they had taken; and were desirous of retrieving it.

A. D. 451. But it was now too late; the Saxons were landed; and their forces daily augmenting. Reasons are seldom wanting when a barbarous army are determined to attack the possessions of a rich and indolent people. Hengist and Horsa, under pretence that the Britons had refused the subsistence they had promised; ravaged the adjacent country, formed an alliance with the Scots and Picts, and laid waste, with fire and sword, the territories of a people who had called them to their defence.

Exasperated at the perfidy of the Saxons, and scandalized at the vices of Vortigern, the Britons flew to arms, hurled the guilty potentate from his throne, and placed the sceptre in the hands of Vortimer his son. Under the banners of that active prince, the ancient valour of the Britons began to revive: they fought several battles with the Saxons; and, though generally defeated, convinced their perfidious auxiliaries, that the intrepidity of their ancestors still subsisted among the Britons. In a battle fought near Ailsford, the Britons were victorious; and Horsa, one of the Saxon generals, fell in the conflict.

A. D. 457. The Saxons were alarmed at this change of fortune, and saw the necessity of repairing their loss. But their numbers were too much reduced for them to venture a second engagement with a people flushed with conquest; and therefore retreated to their camp, in order to wait the arrival of fresh succours. The interval was of no long continuance; a large body of Saxons landed in Britain, and marched immediately to the camp of Hengist. Vortimer perceived the cloud of destruction gathering round him, and laboured assiduously to break its force; but the army of the enemy was too numerous to be opposed with success by the undisciplined Britons. Hengist now took the title of King of Kent; and the Saxons sallied from their camp, marking their route with blood and devastation. Neither age nor sex were spared; the priests were burnt upon their altars, and the prince and the peasant shared the same fate. The structures dedicated to religion were levelled in the dust; and the whole country through which they passed exhibited the most dreadful spectacle of horror and desolation.

A. D. 465. Vortimer saw with grief the ruin of his country, and exerted his whole power to stop the barbarous ravages of the Saxons; but before he could accomplish this desirable end, death put a final period to his labours, and the Britons were left without a leader. The fate of their country was too critical to admit of delay; so that the destructive parties that usually prevailed at the election of a prince were now forgotten; and Ambrosius, a Briton of Roman descent, was, by the unanimous voice of

the council, placed in the seat of power. A more proper person could not have been chosen to hold the reins of government at this dangerous crisis; he was humane, prudent, and intrepid: his conduct and valour were equally eminent; he was not to be intimidated by the power of the enemy, nor provoked to rash measures by their cruelty.

Hengist perceived the alteration in the conduct of the Britons, and was alarmed for the consequences. Instead of extending his ravages, he found it difficult to keep possession of his kingdom of Kent. Assisted by the famous Arthur, whose exploits have given rise to so many fables, Ambrosius defeated several detachments of the Saxons; and filled with alarms the camp of the enemy. Hengist, to avoid the destruction of his army, sent for another tribe of his countrymen, under the command of his brother Octa; but, instead of joining the Saxons in Kent, he ordered him to land in Northumberland, in order to divide the attention of Ambrosius. But still the Saxons were in no condition to undertake any thing of consequence against the Britons; several years elapsed before they were able to make settlements in any other part of the kingdom.

While the Saxons lay inactive, new tribes of adventurers were daily arriving from Germany. Among these the Angles made a conspicuous figure, both with regard to number and military abilities. They were of a different nation from the Saxons; but being of the same religion, speaking the same language, and coming upon the same errand, they joined the forces of Hengist, and acted with them in concert against the forces of Ambrosius.

A. D. 477. The affairs of the Britons now wore a lowering aspect. The former ravages were renewed, and the standard of desolation again erected in their devoted country. In the midst of these confusions, Ella, a Saxon chief, landed, at the head of his forces, on the coast of Sussex. He was bravely opposed by the Britons, and obliged to wait for fresh succours before he could make any settlement in the country. This opposition raised the fury of Ella; he thought it an unpardonable offence in the inhabitants to defend their property, and therefore spared neither age or sex; every person that fell into his hands he put to the sword, without distinction. The wretched inhabitants that escaped the fury of their invader, took refuge in the forests, and left their possessions a prey to the conqueror, who took the title of King of the South-Saxons.

A. D. 495. About eighteen years after Ella had founded the kingdom of Sussex, Cerdic, and his son Kenrick, landed in the western parts of England, at the head of a powerful army of Saxons. But though his forces were much superior to those of Ella, he met with more difficulties in making a settlement. He was opposed by the celebrated Arthur, whose valour was now the principal support of his country. He attacked the Saxon chief with all the vigour of an ancient Briton, and defeated him in several battles. But fresh reinforcements continually arriving, Cerdic conquered all opposition, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Wessex.

A. D. 527. The attention of the Britons was now called to another part of the country. No less than three armies landed about the same time on the eastern coast of the island. The first of these consisted chiefly of Angles, headed by Uffa, a celebrated leader of that nation. Little opposition was now made by the Britons; multitudes of them were destroyed, and others had taken shelter in the mountainous parts of the island. Uffa therefore easily defeated the few forces that opposed him, and founded the kingdom of East Anglia. Crida laid the foundations of the kingdom of Mercia; and Erkenwin established that of Essex, or the East Saxons.

A. D. 547. Though the Saxons had been, for many years, settled in some parts of Northumberland,



land, they were not able to subdue the inhabitants, till they were joined by Ida, a celebrated leader, at the head of a numerous detachment. The arrival of this chief raised the drooping courage of his countrymen. He attacked the Britons, drove them, with great slaughter, from their possessions; and assumed the title of King of Bernicia, including the counties of Northumberland and Durham. While Ida was employed in conquering the northern parts of the kingdom, Ella, another Saxon prince, subdued Lancashire, and the greater part of Yorkshire, which he formed into a kingdom, under the title of Deiri. These counties were afterwards united by a marriage between the grandson of Ida, and the daughter of Ella, under the title of the kingdom of Northumberland.

Such was the establishment of the Heptarch, or seven Saxon kingdoms in Britain. History furnishes few examples of revolutions that have been more general, or more complete: for if we except Cornwall and Wales, the whole southern part of the island had changed its inhabitants, its manners, its language, and its government. Exasperated by a long series of opposition, the ferocious Saxons depopulated the country. They were not satisfied with the possessions of the unfortunate Britons; their lives were also necessary to satiate their inhuman cruelty. They stained their laurels with the blood

of the innocent, and founded their power on the massacre of the inhabitants.

The history of literature, during this period, is confined to a very narrow compass. The Saxons were ignorant of letters; and, among the Britons, very few were capable of recording the transactions of their country. The long and dreadful wars which wasted their country, had almost obliterated the arts they had learned from the Romans. A few particulars indeed may be gleaned from some ancient writers, but most of them are founded on doubtful authority, and their number is too small to form a connected history. The names of Merlin, a reputed prince and prophet; Pendragon, the celebrated Arthur, Thalieffin, whose writings are said to be still extant, and a few others of less note, compose the whole catalogue of the learned in this dark period of historical narration. Literature, science, taste, were words scarce heard of in this ferocious and barbarous age. The human mind, neglected, uncultivated, and depressed, sunk into the abyss of ignorance. The taper of learning was extinguished, and a cloud of more than Egyptian darkness hovered over Europe.

Previous to the history of the Saxon Heptarchy, it will be necessary to point out the counties which formed these respective kingdoms; and these will appear in the following table.

#### KINGDOMS OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

1. Kingdom of Kent.
2. Kingdom of the South Saxons.
3. Kingdom of Wessex.
4. Kingdom of Northumberland.
5. Kingdom of the East Saxons.
6. Kingdom of the East Angles.
7. Kingdom of Mercia.

#### COUNTIES CONTAINED IN EACH.

1. Kent.
2. Suffex.
3. Surry.
4. Berkshire.
5. Hampshire.
6. Wiltshire.
7. Somersetshire.
8. Dorsetshire.
9. Devonshire.
10. Northumberland.
11. Durham.
12. Lancashire.
13. Yorkshire.
14. Cumberland.
15. Westmoreland.
16. Part of Scotland to the Frith of Edinburgh.
17. Part of Hertfordshire.
18. Essex.
19. Middlesex.
20. Norfolk.
21. Suffolk.
22. Cambridge, with Ely.
23. Huntingdonshire.
24. Derbyshire.
25. Nottinghamshire.
26. Leicestershire.
27. Northamptonshire.
28. Rutlandshire.
29. Warwickshire.
30. Bedfordshire.
31. Buckinghamshire.
32. Part of Hertfordshire.
33. Oxfordshire.
34. Gloucestershire.
35. Herefordshire.
36. Worcestershire.
37. Cheshire.
38. Shropshire.
39. Staffordshire.



## B O O K III.

From the establishment of the Saxon Heptarchy, to its final dissolution  
by Egbert.

**T**HE history of the Saxon heptarchy is involved in obscurity. The events which happened during this period are blended together, and form rather a chaos of perplexity, than a regular series of facts proper to fill the page of history. Several writers have, indeed, laboured, with the utmost assiduity, to unravel this intricate web of political confusion, woven by the hands of ignorance and neglect; but their efforts have proved abortive, and the same doubts, the same uncertainties still continue. Historical monuments are wanting, and it is impossible to supply the defect. The historians of those times were ignorant, bigotted monks; they wanted penetration to perceive what was really necessary to be known; and learning, to convey to posterity those facts which they thought of sufficient importance. Guided entirely by the spirit of enthusiastic credulity, and wanting either abilities or honesty to detect the frauds and examine the narratives of artful men, they have adopted the most absurd fictions, and given, as historical facts, relations

that shock the ear of reason. At the same time, they have often either omitted, or blended with improbable, and sometimes contradictory circumstances, such civil transactions as are necessary for continuing the thread of historical narration. All, therefore, that can be attempted with success, in this dark period, is to collect the few scattered particulars which form the outlines of the Saxon heptarchy, without pretending to finish the picture.

But it will be necessary, previously, to remark, That the Anglo-Saxon kings, during the heptarchy, usually chose one who was placed at the head of their political confederacy, for regulating their concerns, but without any jurisdiction in the dominions of others. He was general in chief, and led the combined forces of the heptarchy against the common enemy in times of war, and presided in the general council of the confederacy in times of peace. This council was never assembled but when some imminent danger threatened the existence of the whole heptarchy, and then only the whole was subject to its decisions.

## THE KINGDOM OF KENT.

**H**ENGIST, the great leader of the Saxons, and founder of the kingdom of Kent, had, by his valour and conduct, rendered it the most formidable of all the Saxon heptarchy; but his two immediate predecessors may be said to have inherited his conquests, rather than imitated his example. They sat down supinely on the throne of their great ancestor, without taking any care to render the ambitious designs of the neighbouring potentates abortive. While the original inhabitants of the island were able to make head against the invaders of their country, the Saxons were closely united, and formed one strong compacted body; but the Britons were no sooner rendered incapable of disturbing the peace of the heptarchy, than the Saxons turned their arms against one another. Ambitious of power, and envious of the prosperity of their neighbours, they could not behold the prosperity of another without repining; and made no scruple of sacrificing the laws of equity and conscience to the thirst of empire.

The first who disturbed the peace of the heptarchy was Ceaulin, king of Wessex. He unjustly seized the sceptre of Suffex on the death of Cissa; and not content with this acquisition, he formed a scheme for becoming master of the whole heptarchy. He had for some time observed the indolence of the Kentish princes, and thought this a proper time for carrying his plan into execution.

Ethelbert, the great grandson of Hengist, now filled the Kentish throne. He saw with grief the declining state of his kingdom, and determined to restore it to its original lustre. Possessed of all the intrepidity of Hengist, and superior to him in mental acquisitions, he was beloved and feared by the other Saxon princes. The ambitious designs of Ceaulin were sufficiently evident, and required the abilities of Ethelbert to render them abortive. He summoned the other princes of the heptarchy to a

general council, and convinced them of the necessity of arming in their own defence. Ceaulin saw the storm that was gathering round him, and exerted his whole force to defend himself against its fury. He marched against Ethelbert, who led the combined forces, and gave him battle. The conflict was dreadful, but the fortune of Ethelbert prevailed: Ceaulin was totally defeated, and died soon after. Deprived of their leader, and the greater part of their army, the Mercians were in no condition of opposing the combined army of the heptarchy; they submitted to Ethelbert, who restored the kingdom to the lawful heir, though under such conditions and limitations as greatly augmented his own power.

But the most remarkable event in the reign of Ethelbert, was the introduction of the Christian religion. The Britons had, for several centuries, enjoyed the light of the gospel; but the Saxons were still involved in the thickest night of ignorance and error. They worshipped a plurality of gods, and had blended with their own the grossest superstitions of other nations. Their principal deity was Woden, the god of war, from whom they pretended their ancestors were descended, and to whose assistance they were indebted for all their victories. But, as their religion had no political institutions to support it, and many of their brethren on the continent had exchanged its absurdities for the precepts of the gospel, they were induced to entertain no very favourable opinion of the religion of their ancestors, and prepared to listen to the arguments brought in support of another.

Ethelbert had, for some time, been married to Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, king of Paris; and it was stipulated by the marriage articles, that she should enjoy the free exercise of her own religion. Adorned with all the charms peculiar to her sex, and with the unaffected piety which adds a lustre to greatness,







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*St. Austin Preaching before*  
**K. ETHELBERT & Q. BERTHA**



greatness, she was at once beloved and adored by the king and his whole court. She was attended by Luidhard, a prelate venerable at once for his learning and a life of exemplary goodness. The church of St. Martin, built in the time of the Romans, was allotted to Bertha for the exercise of her religion; and there the pious Luidhard preached the doctrines of the gospel to very crowded audiences. The Saxon nobility listened with pleasure to his eloquent and pathetic discourses, and several of them became converts to christianity. These favourable circumstances induced pope Gregory the great to entertain the pleasing hopes of being able to destroy the superstitious worship of the Saxons and establish on its ruins the tenets of the gospel. To execute this noble design, he sent Augustin or Austin, with four other monks, on a mission to the court of Ethelbert. But the monks, on their arrival in France, were so intimidated by the accounts they received of the ferocious manners of the Saxons, their consummate ignorance, and their superstitious attachment to the religion of their ancestors, that Austin thought proper to suspend the expedition, till he received orders from his holiness. Gregory saw the dangers which threatened the missionaries, and wrote a letter to queen Brunehaut, who, though stained with the most enormous vices, was capable of promoting the interest of the church, requesting, in the most pressing manner, her assistance in this pious undertaking. He solicited not in vain. Brunehaut exerted all her power to render the attempt successful; and furnished the missionaries with interpreters from among the Franks, who still spoke the language of the Saxons.

A. D. 597. Furnished with interpreters, and letters to queen Bertha, recommending the monks to her protection, Austin and his followers embarked on their mission, and, after a short passage, landed in the isle of Thanet. He immediately dispatched a messenger to court, informing the king of the intention of his coming, and requesting his permission to preach the doctrine of the gospel publicly. Ethelbert, without either granting or denying his petition, ordered him to continue in the isle of Thanet, and soon after came thither in person, with his queen, attended by his whole court. The stupidity of this prince, though the most learned and polite of all the Saxon potentates, was so great, that he received the missionaries in the open air, in order to break the force of their enchantments, should they employ magic and sorcery against him. The monks advanced to audience with a slow and solemn pace, chanting their litanies with all the marks of unaffected devotion. Austin explained the doctrines of the gospel, with which Ethelbert seemed deeply affected, but without declaring himself convinced of the great truths delivered by the missionary. He, however, granted him permission to preach them openly to his people. Austin acquitted himself nobly; and added strength to his doctrines, by the austerities of his life. The Saxons were persuaded that the followers of a religion which mortified every passion, must act from conviction; and that the tenets they professed must be founded on a basis more than human. Ethelbert was convinced of the truth of the gospel, and suffered himself to be baptized. The example of kings

is always powerful. The nobles and people flocked to Austin, and the christian religion triumphed over the idolatry of the Saxons. Austin was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; the churches that had fallen to decay were repaired; the heathen temples were consecrated to the worship of the true God, and a seminary of learning was opened in the capital of Kent.

A similarity of sentiments in religion is generally productive of civil connections. This observation was now sufficiently verified. The Anglo-Saxons opened an intercourse with the nations on the continent, and from them conceived an idea of more cultivated manners. They saw the many advantages that resulted from a polite and generous behaviour; from connections founded on virtue; from reciprocal acts of kindness and benevolence; and wished to imitate the practice. Ethelbert, desirous of promoting the happiness of his people, enacted a body of laws, and caused them to be written and published, that none might plead ignorance of the contents. The remaining part of the reign of Ethelbert, is marked with no transaction of importance, except the death of the virtuous Bertha: no disturbance happened; his people were happy, and Ethelbert, after a prosperous reign of fifty-two years, paid the debt of nature in the bosom of peace and tranquillity.

A. D. 616. Eadbald ascended the throne on the death of his father. But blinded with an incestuous passion for his mother-in-law, he abandoned his religion, that he might indulge his criminal excesses without restraint. Many of the nobility followed his example, and the tenets of the gospel were in danger of falling a sacrifice to heathen superstition. Laurentius, the successor of Austin, found means to prevent so dreadful a misfortune. Fearless of danger when religion demanded his assistance, he laboured with the utmost assiduity to make Eadbald sensible of the enormity of his vices; and at last succeeded. Convinced by the arguments of Laurentius, he renounced the pagan religion, divorced his incestuous consort, and became a remarkable penitent for his crimes. He demolished the idolatrous temples, broke the statues of the gods in pieces, and firmly established the christian religion in his kingdom. He extended his care for the interest of the gospel beyond the limits of his territories; he greatly contributed by the force of his arguments, and more by his exemplary piety, to the conversion of Edwin, king of Mercia. He died after a reign of twenty-four years; with the character of an excellent and pious prince; beloved by his subjects, and revered for his virtues, even by the pagan monarchs of the heptarchy.

This kingdom continued in the royal line of the founder till the year 794; but no event that deserves the notice of historians happened after the death of Eadbald. On the extinction of the Hengist family, the kingdom was rent with factions, and the crown became the sport of fortune. The towns were laid in ashes, and the fields manured with the blood of their owners. Nor were these troubles terminated, till Egbert united in his person the seven crowns of the Saxon heptarchy; after Kent had continued a distinct and separate kingdom during an interval of 372 years.





## The Kingdom of SUSSEX, or the SOUTH SAXONS.

**T**HIS small kingdom, which contained only the county of Sussex and part of Surry, makes the least figure of any in the Saxon heptarchy. Its whole extent was inconsiderable; and a very large part of this little territory was covered with woods and forests. At the same time it was but thinly inhabited, and therefore incapable of making any effectual resistance against the attempts of an enterprising enemy.

It has been already observed, that this kingdom was founded by Ella, who landed at the head of a considerable reinforcement, to strengthen the interest of Hengist. He died after a reign of twenty-three years. Ella was possessed of great military talents, and, on the death of Hengist, placed at the head of the Saxon heptarchy.

A. D. 514. Cissa, the only son of Ella, succeeded him in the throne; but did not possess the abilities of his father. He built the city of Chichester, and laboured incessantly to promote the happiness and

tranquillity of his subjects. He engaged not in the quarrels of the heptarchy, nor endeavoured to conquer any of the territories of his neighbours. This placable disposition prevented his kingdom from becoming a scene of war and desolation. His age, and the length of his reign were both uncommon; they were both extended beyond the common limits of mankind. He paid the debt of nature after a peaceful reign of seventy-six years, and in the one hundred and seventeenth year of his age.

A. D. 590. On the death of Cissa, who left no issue, the crown was seized by Ceaulin, king of the West-Saxons, which occasioned a confederacy to be formed against him, as has been already mentioned in the history of Kent. After this event the kingdom of Sussex was subject to several revolutions; and, at length, totally subdued and united to that of the West-Saxons in the year 754.

## The Kingdom of WESSEX, or the WEST SAXONS.

**N**ONE of the Saxon kingdoms met with greater opposition in their infancy than that of Wessex. Cerdic, one of the greatest generals among the Saxons, found two powerful enemies in Ambrosius and Arthur; nor was he able to establish his kingdom till after the death of these two great leaders, who for several years supported the falling liberties of their country. With them the powerful resistance terminated; and Cerdic sat down in peace on the throne he had founded in the blood of an innocent people. He paid the debt of nature about sixty-one years after his arrival in England, and left the Saxons in possession of the estates they had wrested from the inhabitants.

A. D. 540. Kenrick, the son of Cerdic, ascended the throne on the death of his father. He came with him from Germany, and was very instrumental in defeating the Britons, and settling the kingdom. His reign, after the death of his father, was an interval of peace; no enemy made any attack upon his territories, no restless subjects disturbed his tranquillity: he died in peace, after holding the sceptre of Wessex four years.

A. D. 544. He was succeeded by his eldest son Ceaulin, who inherited the military abilities and ferocious passions of his grandfather, but without his milder virtues. His sole delight was war: he had no regard to the justice of his cause; the cries of a people, who never injured him, were fruitless and vain. He first turned his arms against the Britons who inhabited the counties of Devon and Cornwall; and laid great part of their country waste. But the territories of the ancient inhabitants was a field too small to circumscribe the ambition of Ceaulin. He formed a design of making himself master of the whole heptarchy: he could not bear the thoughts of an equal; he grasped at the sceptre of a kingdom, whose bounds were those of the whole island. Warmed with the dreams of general monarchy in Britain, and fearless of the danger that must oppose his progress, he marched his victorious army into Sussex, and soon became master of that little kingdom. But conquest now forsook the standard of Ceaulin. Alarmed at his progress, and exasperated at his conduct, the Saxon states entered into a confederacy to

blast his laurels. Ethelbert, king of Kent, led the combined army against the invader, and totally defeated him. The cruelty of his disposition had alienated from him the affections of his subjects; they obeyed him only from fear. This defeat, therefore, could not be retrieved. He was driven from his kingdom, and died in misery.

A. D. 568. The victorious Ethelbert placed Ceolric, the nephew of Ceaulin on the throne of Wessex. He was entirely devoted to his benefactor, and had even joined the confederacy against his uncle; but nothing further is recorded of his reign, except that his kingdom enjoyed an uninterrupted peace while he filled the throne of Cerdic.

A. D. 597. Ceolwulph, the nephew of Ceolric, was placed in the seat of power, on the death of his uncle. The military abilities of this prince were great, and his talents for government equally conspicuous. His whole reign was one continued interval of war. He courted peace indeed, but she fled from him. Ever active and vigilant, he supported the dignity of his kingdom, and even enlarged the boundaries, though surrounded by powerful enemies. His most formidable opposer was Redwald, king of East-Anglia; then at the head of the Saxon confederacy. The contest between them was violent and bloody; but Ceolwulph at last prevailed, though he did not long enjoy the honours he had acquired. He died before he could reduce the South Saxons to obedience.

A. D. 611. Ceolwulph dying without issue, Kinegils, or Cinegils, his nephew, obtained the throne of Cerdic; and, in the first year of his reign, associated his brother Quinchelm with him in the government; and they reigned together in the greatest harmony. During two years the kingdom enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but at the end of that interval, the Britons began to make inroads into the territories of the Saxons. Roused by the injuries received from the enemy, Kinegil and Quinchelm advanced at the head of their forces, and met the invaders near Bindon in Dorsetshire. A dreadful battle ensued, in which the Britons were totally defeated, and above two thousand of them killed upon the spot.







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*BERINUS. Converting the SAXONS to Christianity.*



A.D. 634. Though the Christian religion had, for some years, been planted in the kingdom of Kent, yet the West Saxons were still immersed in all the errors of Pagan superstition. The torch of truth had not yet been lighted up in this part of the island, to dispel the darkness of bigotry and error. But the period was now arrived when the absurd worship of the Saxons should be abolished, and the true religion established in its stead. Berenius, an Italian ecclesiastic, after being consecrated by the pope, was sent into Britain, to assist in converting the Saxons to christianity. Kinegils listened to the preaching of Berenius, declared himself convinced of the truth of the gospel, and was immediately baptized. His example was followed by numbers of his subjects; churches were erected for the worship of the true God; the heathen temples were, in many places, demolished; and Berenius was invested with an episcopal character as bishop of York. Quinchelm did not, however, follow the example of Kinegils immediately; but being seized with a violent fever, embraced the faith, and died immediately after his baptism. Kinegils survived his brother about eight years, and laboured incessantly to promote the happiness of his people.

A.D. 643. Kenwaloch, or Kenwal, succeeded his father Kinegils in the throne, but was a stranger to his virtues. Headstrong, cruel, and voluptuous, he at once oppressed and impoverished his people. He embraced christianity with his father, but was not guided by its precepts. Soon after his accession to the throne, he married one of the sisters of Penda, king of Mercia; but, not long after, he repudiated his wife, without assigning the least reason for his conduct, and renounced his religion. Exasperated at the affront offered to his sister, Penda, without giving him time to prepare for a defence, entered his dominions at the head of a powerful army, laid great part of his kingdom waste, and obliged Kenwal himself to fly to Annas, king of East-Anglia, for protection. Penda took possession of the kingdom of Wessex, and kept it three years. During that interval, Annas laboured incessantly to render Kenwal ashamed of his vices: he happily succeeded; Kenwal again professed himself a christian, and was, by the assistance of Annas, replaced on the throne of his ancestors.

A.D. 652. He was hardly fixed in the seat of power, before a rebellion broke out in his kingdom, and once more threatened him with exile. But the insurgents were too hasty in their measures: they engaged the royal army near Bradford, in Wiltshire, before they were joined by their friends in different parts of the kingdom, and were totally defeated.

A.D. 658. But though the rebellion was thus happily extinguished, peace was not yet restored to this distracted kingdom. The Britons had long waited for an opportunity of retaliating on the Saxons the many injuries they had received, and thought this a fortunate moment for striking the blow. Accordingly they invaded the kingdom of Wessex, committing the most dreadful outrages in their route. Kenwal collected all his forces, and took the field at the head of a powerful army, determined, if possible, to bring the enemy to a general engagement. He marched, with the greatest expedition, towards the place where the Britons had committed the greatest disorders; but, as he was passing along the declivity of a hill called Pine, in Shropshire, the Britons fell with so much fury upon his army, that the Saxons were obliged to give way, and victory seemed ready to desert the standards of Kenwal. But the Saxons recovering from their surprise, closed their ranks, and attacked the Britons with so much intrepidity, that they were obliged to seek their safety in a precipitate flight.

A.D. 661. Tranquillity was not, however, yet the lot of Kenwal. He was hardly returned from chastising the Britons, before his dominions were invaded by Wulphur, king of Mercia. The two

armies met at Pontesbury, in Shropshire, and a furious engagement ensued. But the event of the battle is uncertain: some historians positively say, that Kenwal was defeated; while others assert, that he gained the victory. But however that be, this battle was productive of a peace, which soon after took place between the two kingdoms.

Kenwal now enjoyed some respite from the fatigues of war. Misfortunes and adversity had convinced him of his errors. He applied himself, in the evening of age, to make some amends to his subjects for the cruelties he had committed in the morning of youth. He built the cathedral church of St. Peter at Winchester, which soon after became the see of a bishop. But he did not long enjoy this interval of tranquillity. He was desirous of conciliating the affections of his people: but, before he could entirely effect it, death put a period at once to his labours and his life. He died without issue, and left his kingdom to his wife Saxeburga.

A.D. 672. Few women were better qualified to hold the reins of government than that princess. Intrepid by nature; of a piercing genius, improved by an excellent education, she held the sceptre with honour to herself, and advantage to her country. The good of her people was her principal care. Vigilant and careful to provide for the safety of her dominions, she gave her enemies no advantage, nor did she attempt to invade the territories of others. But her subjects did not long enjoy the happiness of her protection; she paid the debt of nature after a short reign of twelve months.

A.D. 674. On the death of Saxeburga, Efwinn, descended from one of the collateral branches of the Cerdic family, ascended the throne of Wessex: but the fury of parties was now arrived to such a pitch, that he was obliged to share his power with Kentwin, brother to the late Kenwal. For some time they enjoyed the crown in peace; but the restless ambition of the Saxon princes would not suffer any potentate to enjoy a long series of tranquillity. Wulphur, king of Mercia, once more invaded the kingdom of the West Saxons. Efwinn, who commanded the army, marched at the head of his forces, and met the Mercian troops at Bedwin, in Wiltshire. The contest was long doubtful; at last victory declared for the Mercians; but the advantage had been so dearly purchased, that Wulphur was in no condition to continue in the territories of the enemy. Efwinn survived this battle only two years, when he paid the debt of nature, and left the throne to Kentwin.

A.D. 676. Historians have been silent with regard to the Mercian war. Probably a peace was concluded soon after the defeat of Efwinn; because we find Kentwin, soon after the death of his partner in the throne, was at leisure to lead his army against the Britons, whom he defeated, and obliged their king, Cadwallader, to pass over into Bretagne to procure assistance. While Kentwin was employed in his wars with the Britons, his nephew, Ceadwalla, formed a scheme for seizing the crown; but before his plot was ripe for execution, Kentwin returned to his capital, and obliged Ceadwalla to fly for safety to the forest of Anderwald, in Suffex. Here he was joined by great numbers from Kentwin's army, and committed the most inhuman barbarities on the inhabitants of that small kingdom.

A.D. 686. On the death of Kentwin, Ceadwalla was placed on the throne of Cerdic. This acquisition of power enabled him to prosecute his brutal ravages with more success. He invaded the Isle of Wight, and committed such cruelties as are shocking to human nature. He had not indeed yet embraced the doctrines of Christianity, though he had been very liberal to the church; a species of devotion, which, in that ignorant age, was thought a sufficient atonement for the greatest crimes. Soon after his conversion, he repaired to Rome, where he was publicly baptized by Sergius II. who then filled the



the papal chair; but survived the ceremony only a few days. He was buried in St. Peter's church, where his tomb may still be seen; and, from a pompous inscription engraven on it, we learn, that he was only in his thirtieth year when he died.

A. D. 689. When Ceadwalla departed from England, he resigned his crown to Ina, his nephew, though he had two sons, then in their infancy. Ina was one of those princes who deserves to be mentioned with honour amidst a multitude of barbarous wretches, many of whom were a scandal to humanity. He had united in his person the civil and the military virtues. He was formed to shine either in the council or the field; to lead his people to conquest, or teach them to cultivate the arts of peace. His abilities were so conspicuous, that he had not sat a year upon the throne before he was elected chief of the Saxon confederacy. He composed a body of laws, which, in the next century, formed the basis of those enacted by Alfred the Great. After conquering the Britons in Somersetshire, he did not follow the inhuman custom of his predecessors, of exterminating the people; he treated them with kindness, permitted them to retain their possessions, and incorporated them with his subjects by intermarriages, and the allurement of equal laws.

After a glorious reign of thirty-seven years, he made a pilgrimage to Rome; and, during his residence in that city, he erected the English college; and, for the support of that seminary, imposed a tax upon his subjects, afterwards called Peter's-pence. This was the last act of his reign. He resigned his sceptre, took the habit of a monk, and died in obscurity. His wife followed his example; she took the veil, and spent the evening of her life in a monastery.

A. D. 727. Ethelhard, to whom Ina had resigned his crown, found a powerful competitor in Oswald, a branch of the royal family. He was supported by many of the nobility, and appeared at the head of a powerful army. Ethelhard, who was a stranger to fear, led those troops, who had learned to conquer under the standards of Ina, against the usurper. A furious battle ensued, in which the forces of Oswald were totally defeated. Peace was immediately restored; and Ethelhard enjoyed an uninterrupted series of tranquillity, till death put an end to his life in the seventeenth year of his reign.

A. D. 733. On the death of Ethelhard, Cuthred, his relation, was placed on the throne of Mercia. Peace seemed now to have taken her flight from the territories of the West Saxons; tumult and disorder marked the whole reign of Cuthred. The ferocious nobility conspired against him, and his son fell a victim to their envy. The standard of rebellion was now displayed, and the army of the insurgents was headed by Edelhun, the most able general of his time. The royal army was far superior in numbers to that of the rebels; but, animated by the example, and conducted by the prudence of Edelhun, they attacked the forces of Cuthred with such fury, that victory was on the point of declaring in their favour, when unfortunately their intrepid leader was dangerously wounded. Confusion, instead of order, was now conspicuous in the army of the rebels. Cuthred improved the disorder, and drove them from the field with great slaughter. Edelhun was taken prisoner, but his abilities recommended him so strongly to Cuthred, that he not only granted him his pardon, but made him general of his own forces. Headed by Edelhun, the West Saxons were invincible; wherever they turned their arms, they conquered. The flames of rebellion were suppressed; and the nobles, intimidated by the power of the army, buried their animosities in the grave of circumspection. But it was in vain to expect tranquillity while the island was divided into so many petty kingdoms, without any barrier to prevent the incursions of the borderers. Ethelbald, king of Mercia, one of those restless spirits who are never

contented with their fortune, entered the territories of Cuthred, and committed all the excesses that might be expected from so ferocious a leader, who had already ravaged the kingdoms of Kent, Essex, and East-Anglia. But his victorious forces could not intimidate the spirit of Edelhun; he led the army of Cuthred against the enemy, and, after an obstinate engagement, obtained the victory. Ethelbald fled with precipitation to his kingdom; and Edelhun turned his arms against the Britons, and united part of Cornwall to the dominions of West-Sax. In the midst of these successes, Cuthred paid the debt of nature, and left his crown to Sigebert, his nephew.

A. D. 755. Sigebert was but a youth when he mounted the throne; and might have reigned in peace, would he have listened to the voice of reason. But he scorned to be directed by those whom age and experience had taught wisdom. Headstrong, violent, and proud, he treated his nobles with insolence, and his people with inhumanity. He trampled upon the laws, and made his own will the rule of his government. Destitute of merit himself, he became the professed enemy of all who, for their superior abilities, were regarded with honour by the people. Sigebert was often warned of the consequences that must soon attend his conduct; but he was deaf to advice, and laughed at the cautious counsel of his friends. Exasperated by continual acts of tyranny, the people flew to arms, and were joined by the nobles. Sigebert saw the gathering storm, but wanted power to break its force. His friends had deserted him, and he could place no confidence in his troops. He saw Kinewulf, a prince of the same family, advancing against him at the head of the people, and immediately abandoned a throne he wanted courage to defend. He fled to duke Cumbran, at that time governor of a large district of Hampshire; and with him he might have ended his days in peace, had his reverse of fortune taught him to govern his headstrong passions; but this was a virtue to which Sigebert was a stranger. Cumbran still continued his inseparable friend, and endeavoured to reclaim him from those vices which had deprived him of his crown. Exasperated at what he considered as a flagrant act of disrespect, Sigebert put his benefactor to death. This inhuman action rendered Sigebert detested by those who had hitherto followed his fortunes; they abandoned him to his fate. He saw his danger, and fled to the forest of Anderwald, and there fell by the ignoble hand of a swine-herd.

Kinewulf, who now filled the throne, had a genius naturally turned to war, and defeated the Britons in several engagements; but was routed by Offa, king of Mercia, and lost all his tenetaries on the north side of the Thames. This reverse of fortune encouraged Kynchard, the brother of Sigebert, to attempt the recovery of the crown, which had been usurped by Kinewulf; but not having force sufficient to attack him in the open field, he hovered on the borders of the kingdom, in order to embrace the first favourable opportunity for carrying his design into execution, and revenging on Kinewulf the death of his brother. Several months passed without the least prospect of success. At last he was informed that Kinewulf often paid secret visits to a lady at Merton in Surry; and Kynchard determined to surprise him during one of those interviews. Accordingly he surrounded the house, and found means to penetrate to the door of the apartment where the king was, before his attendants were alarmed. Kinewulf was the first who perceived the danger; he ran hastily to his arms, and defended the door with the greatest bravery; but perceiving Kynchard among the assassins, he lost his usual presence of mind, and rushed upon the assassin; but before he could dispatch him, he fell, covered with wounds. Alarmed with the noise, the king's attendants ran to the assistance of their master, and were all of them put to death. Kynchard himself had been so desperately wounded



by Kinewulf, that he was in no condition to make his escape. The news of this cruel assassination reached Kingston early the next morning; when the principal inhabitants, headed by Oseric, flew to Merton, where they found the conspirators had barricaded the house, in order to defend themselves to the last extremity. Kynchard endeavoured to divert the storm which was ready to burst upon him; by large offers, but all his promises were in vain; Oseric, at the head of his company, demolished the barricadoes, and cut every one of the regicides to pieces.

A. D. 784. Brithwick, a descendant from the great Cerdic, was placed in the seat of power on the death of Kinewulf. He was a lover of the arts of peace, and cultivated them with success. He considered war as one of the greatest scourges of heaven, and did every thing in the world to divert it from his people. But all his virtues were tinged with jealousy. The order of succession to the throne, was not at that time nicely regarded; and Brithwick was advanced to the seat of power, though his title was inferior in point of blood to that of Egbert, a prince equally distinguished by his merits and his birth. Brithwick knew this, and could not behold the great talents of Egbert without envy. His increasing popularity heightened the disgust, and Egbert soon perceived that he could not long continue in the court of Brithwick with safety. He knew it would be madness to contend singly with power; and wicked to involve his country in the miseries of a civil war. He therefore privately withdrew to the court of Charlemagne, then the most polished and polite in Europe. Under that hero he learned the art of war, his ferocious manners were softened, and his talents unfolded. The misfortunes of his youth were of

the utmost advantage to himself and his country.

While Egbert was thus acquiring wisdom and experience under a foreign prince, Brithwick was employed in rendering his people happy. He married Eadburga, daughter to Offa, king of Mercia. She was insidious, incontinent, insolent and cruel. She scrupled not to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of her passions. A young nobleman having incurred her displeasure, she determined to avenge the affront. Nothing less than the life of the offender could satisfy her vengeance. She kept the secret concealed in her own breast, till an opportunity offered for executing her infernal design. She did not wait long; the nobleman was Brithwick's particular favourite, and frequently with him. One evening as they were drinking together, the treacherous Eadburga mixed poison in a cup of wine and gave it to the victim of her revenge. Unfortunately for Brithwick, he drank some of the wine, and they both expired together. Conscious that her crime must render her obnoxious to the people, she fled to the continent; and, after a series of misfortunes, died in misery.

Upon the death of Brithwick, it was determined to recall Egbert from the court of Charlemagne, in order to take possession of the throne of his ancestors. He immediately complied with their request; and, on his arrival, received the crown of Cerdic from a people that loved and honoured his virtues. This great prince, soon after his accession to the throne, put a final period to the Saxon heptarchy, and became the first king of England; but the manner in which he acquired the sceptre of England must be deferred to the succeeding book, where we shall resume the history of this celebrated prince.

## THE KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

IT has been already observed, that a body of Saxons settled in this country, while Hengist was closely pressed by the Britons; but that Ida was the first who assumed the title of king, after he had founded the kingdom of Bernicia, which was not till near one hundred years after the first settlement of the Saxons. Ida was a brave and generous prince; equally great in council and the field. As a general he was intrepid and prudent: as a governor, equitable and humane. He fought many battles with the Britons, and was at last slain by Owen, prince of the Cumbrians. But some years before this misfortune, another party of Saxons landed in the north, and subdued the southern parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire. These formed themselves into a province called Deira, of which Ella, one of the Saxon leaders, assumed the title of king.

The Saxons were long opposed by the famous Arthur, who has been immortalized enough to be celebrated by so many fabulous writers, that his true history can hardly be known. He was born about the year 496, and nearly related to Ambrosius Aurelianus. In the year 516, he was appointed to command an army, raised to put a stop to the ravages of the Saxons; and in order to procure him more respect from the soldiers, he was crowned king of Gwent, a name then given to the country lying between the Wye and the Severn. His generosity, personal bravery, and assiduous care to promote the happiness of his soldiers, soon procured him large reinforcements; and his success against the invaders of his country was so remarkable, that the most sanguine expectations of his subjects were fully answered. But though he was often victorious, he was not always so; nor was it in the power of any hero, however great, to drive the Saxons out of Britain. He stopped their progress, and often defeated their

armies, though commanded by the most able generals.

During one of his expeditions against the Saxons of Northumberland, Madred, his nephew, whom he left guardian of his patrimonial dominions, usurped the throne. Arthur returned, engaged him in several battles; and, at last, in a decisive one fought near Camlen, slew him with his own hand; but he himself received a mortal wound, of which he died, after a reign of twenty-six years, and was universally lamented by his subjects.

The histories of these times are silent with regard to the first five descendants of Ida; their names are indeed mentioned, but without any account of their virtues, their vices, their governments or their wars.

A. D. 586. Ethelfrid, one of the descendants of Ida, was a brave and active prince, but haughty and cruel; he married Acca, the only daughter of Ella, and on the death of that prince, seized on the kingdom of Deira, which he united to his own dominions, forming by that means the kingdom of Northumberland. Ella left an infant son, called Edwin, but Ethelfrid paid no regard to equity: young Edwin himself would have fallen a victim to his ambition, had not his guardians conveyed him to the court of Cadwan, king of North Wales, where he received an excellent education.

This acquisition rendered Ethelfrid one of the most powerful monarchs in the Saxon heptarchy. His restless temper would not permit him to sit down contented with this large addition to his kingdom. The love of conquest induced him to invade the territories of his neighbours. The Britons first felt the power of his arms. He laid great part of their country waste, and penetrated at the head of his victorious army to the gates of Chester. Alarmed at the progress of the army, and exasperated at the cruelties



cruelties exercised on their countrymen, the Britons took the field, and advanced to meet the ferocious invader. A body of twelve hundred and fifty monks from the monastery of Bangor accompanied the army to animate the soldiers by their prayers and exhortations. Ethelfrid was surprised to see so large a body of men without arms, and asked the reason for so unusual an appearance. He was answered, that they were priests who were come out to pray for the destruction of his army. "Then", said he, "they are as much our enemies as those that employ their swords for our destruction", and immediately detached a party, who cut their monkish battalion to pieces. Astonished at this unexpected fate of their priests, the Romans made a precipitate flight. Chester was taken, and the famous monastery of Bangor levelled to its foundations. This religious structure, according to Bede, contained two thousand one hundred monks, who, according to the respectable custom of religious orders in those early times, maintained themselves by their own labour, and thence a benefit, instead of a burden, to their country.

A. D. 616. The great abilities of young Edwin now became conspicuous; he was admired and beloved. These qualities awoke the jealousy of Ethelfrid; he saw the dawning virtues of Edwin, and dreaded the consequence of their meridian lustre. The young prince perceived his danger, and repaired for safety to different princes of the Saxon heptarchy. At last he found an asylum in the court of Redwald, king of the East-Angles. The great power of that prince increased the fears of Ethelfrid. The usurper, conscious of his own flagitious conduct, was alarmed when innocence had found a protector. He had recourse to promises and threats, in order to induce Redwald to abandon Edwin. The East-Anglian prince, for some time, resolutely rejected all his messages; but at last seemed disposed to sacrifice at the shrine of interest, the rights of hospitality. Edwin perceived his hesitation, but took no precautions for his safety; persuaded that it was better to perish at the court of East-Anglia, than become a wretched exile, without friends and without support. The queen of East-Anglia was struck with his generous confidence: she pleaded strongly in behalf of innocence in distress; and revived in the heart of her husband the sentiments of friendship and of honour. At the same time, Redwald well knew the implacable and cruel disposition of Ethelfrid, and wisely determined to prevent its effects. He collected a powerful army, and marched directly into the territories of Northumberland. His army was divided into three bodies; the first was led by his son Reyner, the second he headed in person, and the third was commanded by Edwin. Reyner received orders to advance in order to secure a pass; but the impetuosity of his courage carried him too far for him to be properly supported in case of an attack. Ethelfrid, on the first information that Redwald had entered his kingdom, marched with the utmost expedition to meet him, and falling upon the advanced guard commanded by Reyner, routed them, and slew the prince with his own hand. Redwald, irritated almost to madness at the loss of his son, attacked the Northumberland army with so much fury, that they were unable to sustain the shock; they gave way and fled with the utmost precipitation. Ethelfrid exerted all his power to rally his broken forces, and lead them once more against the enemy; but perceiving all his efforts were in vain, he rushed furiously into the midst of Redwald's forces, and was slain. His body was found in the midst of a heap of enemies killed by his own hand. He still breathed, and his features still maintained that fierceness of soul, which they had expressed during the vigour of his life.

A. D. 618. Edwin was now placed upon the throne of Northumberland, and soon became distinguished for his impartial administration of justice. He reclaimed his subjects from a licentious life of rapine and disorder, to which they had been long

habited. The troops, of robbers that infested the roads of Northumberland were dispersed, so that even a woman might travel from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, without any danger of being insulted. His people were happy; they loved him as a father, and were ready to sacrifice their lives in his service. A remarkable instance of this fidelity is recorded by historians. Quinchelm, prince of the West-Saxons, having been defeated by Edwin, determined to destroy by treachery a monarch he found himself incapable of defeating in the open field. One Eumer, a wretch who entertained no idea of virtue, undertook to assassinate Edwin. He found means to obtain admission to his presence, and drawing a dagger to execute the detestable crime, Lilla, one of Edwin's ministers, interposed with his body between them, received the blow, and died with the glory of having saved the life of his illustrious prince.

Soon after Edwin ascended the throne of Northumberland, he married Ethelburga daughter to Ethelbert king of Kent. But the prince's being a christian and Edwin a pagan, it was stipulated in the marriage articles, that she should enjoy the free exercise of her own religion, and be permitted to retain in her service Paulinus, a christian bishop, and such other attendants as should be thought necessary for performing the offices of christianity with decency. Paulinus was a person of great learning and parts, and well qualified for enforcing the doctrines of the gospel with reason and argument. Ethelburga, whose life was an exemplary pattern of virtue and conjugal affection, and who possessed all the zeal and piety of her mother Bertha, exerted herself successfully in establishing christianity in the kingdom of Northumberland. Struck with the amiable virtues of Ethelburga, and charmed with her humane and tender disposition, Edwin listened, with great attention, to her exhortations; but, like a wise prince, he carefully examined the foundations of the christian doctrine. Paulinus satisfied all his scruples: and Edwin, after mature consideration, declared himself a convert. Choisi, the pagan high-priest, followed his example, and was the first to demolish the idols he had so long worshipped. Edwin was baptized at York, with many of his nobles; by Paulinus, in a church built on this occasion, and dedicated to St. Peter. Among barbarians the example of the prince is always followed by the people. The Northumbrians flocked in such multitudes to be baptized by Paulinus, that the church was too small for the purpose; the prelate was obliged to perform the ceremony in the rivers Gleni and Swale.

A. D. 633. The religion of Edwin being founded on conviction, he exerted all his power to establish it in every part of his kingdom. This greatly promoted the popularity of Edwin; he was beloved and adored by his subjects, they considered him both as their temporal and spiritual father. His power increased, which the neighbouring princes could not behold without envy. Penda, king of Mercia, a prince of a savage, bold, restless and enterprising spirit, who made no scruple of trampling on the laws of virtue, equity and honour, in order to augment his power, or gratify his brutal vengeance, joined his forces with those of Cadwallon, king of the Britons, and invaded Northumberland. They had advanced as far as Hatfield forest in Yorkshire, and committed the most dreadful outrages, before Edwin was informed of their having entered his kingdom. Penetrated with the distress of his people and enraged at the perfidy of the enemy, he marched at the head of an inferior number of troops to give them battle, in order to terminate, as soon as possible, the miseries of his subjects. The contest was dreadful, and for some time fortune seemed inclinable to bestow on Edwin the palm of victory. At last an event determined the fate of the day. Offrid, the eldest son of Edwin, was pierced with an arrow, and fell dead at the feet of his father. Edwin, who till now led his forces with coolness and caution, was exasperated



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Wille delin.*

*Walker, sculp.*

( PAULINUS baptizing EDWIN,  
the first Christian King of Northumberland, at York. )







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*The MONKS of BANGOR put to the  
Sword by Order of Ethelfrid*





THE RIVER OF THE  
MOUNTAINS OF THE NORTH



exasperated to madness by this fatal accident. He lost that steadiness and presence of mind which had rendered his forces invincible, rushed into the thickest part of the enemy, and was cut to pieces. Deprived of their leader, the Northumbrians fell into confusion, and were soon put to flight.

Penda had now an opportunity of satiating his brutal passion. The sword of destruction was drawn, and the fields deluged with the blood of their owners. Neither the tears of age, the depredations of youth, nor the plaintive supplications of the softer sex, had any power to move the pity of Penda. Cadwallon, king of the Britons, caught the infection, and rivalled, if he did not excel, even Penda in acts of brutality. The barbarities of the Christian were equal to the cruelties of the Pagan. Paulinus and Ethelburga fled into Kent, and the prelate was placed in the see of Rochester.

A. D. 635. This dreadful scene of horror and devastation continued till Oswald, the second son of Ethelfrid, born to be the deliverer of his country, put a stop to the effusion of human blood. When his father lost his life and crown by the invasion of Redwald, he fled to Scotland, where he studied the art of war with success, and also embraced the Christian religion. The calamities of his country called him from his retreat. At the head of a handful of men, he entered Northumberland, and took possession of a very advantageous post a little to the north of the wall of Severus. Here he waited the approach of Cadwallon, who despising the little army of Oswald, marched with all the security of a general retiring to his quarters. He viewed the intrenchments of the enemy, and immediately ordered a general assault. The attack was furious, but not successful; and Cadwallon, leading his forces to make a second assault, was pierced through the heart with an arrow, and fell dead on the ground. Confusion, instead of order, now reigned among the Britons. Oswald perceived the disorder, and issuing from his intrenchments at the head of his forces, put the enemy to flight, and drove them out of the kingdom with great slaughter.

Having thus retaliated on the inhuman tyrant Cadwallon the miseries he had inflicted on an innocent people, he ascended the throne of his ancestors, and applied himself to cultivate the arts of peace. His religion and virtue were equally conspicuous; and his mind was adorned with every acquisition necessary for augmenting the lustre of a throne. He observed with regret the languid state into which religion was fallen since the death of Edwin, and the flight of Paulinus; and determined, if possible, to revive the dying flame. In order to this, he invited Aidan, a person at once respectable for his learning, and venerable for his virtues, from Scotland, to assist him in this generous undertaking. Aidan immediately obeyed the summons of Oswald, and was received with all the respect due to his great merit; but as Aidan was not sufficiently acquainted with the Saxon language to undertake the task without assistance, the king himself became the interpreter of his discourses to the people. The success was equal to their most sanguine expectations. Aidan founded a bishop's see at Landisfarne, and several Scottish monks coming to his assistance, the number of their converts amazingly increased. Churches were built

in most parts of Northumberland; monasteries were founded, and schools erected for the instruction of youth.

The great merit of Oswald soon rendered him conspicuous among the princes of the heptarchy, and he was chosen chief of their political confederacy. Penda, who still swayed the sceptre of Mercia, could not hear the praises that were lavished on Oswald without envy. A rival in power was not to be suffered by a tyrant actuated only by the principles of ambition. A stranger at once to the laws of justice and the principles of humanity, Penda determined to carry fire and sword among a people who had not injured him, and into the territories of a prince whose merits eclipsed his own.

A. D. 642. The designs of the malicious are dark and concealed. Penda, without the least complaint of injuries received, entered the territories of Northumberland, and ruined the country through which he passed. Oswald, who felt the distresses of his people, collected all the troops in his neighbourhood, and advanced to meet the inhuman tyrant, who so often trampled on the laws of nations. The two armies met at Maserfeld, where a furious battle ensued. But the troops of Oswald were too few, to contend in the open field with the Mercian forces, long used to conquest: they were totally routed, and Oswald himself was found among the slain. The whole kingdom was now exposed to the dreadful ravages of Penda, and the distress of the inhabitants is better imagined than described. The progress of the tyrant was at last stopped at Bambury-castle, which bid defiance to his power; and Penda directed his march towards the kingdom of East-Anglia.

From the death of Oswald, the kingdom was agitated with dissensions, under weak princes, whose actions are of very little importance to the reader: murders and assassinations compose the principal part of their history. Egfrid, indeed, who ascended the throne of Bernicia in 670, deserves to be remembered for the noble opposition he made to the papal authority. The popes had long been looked upon as sacred and infallible; but Egfrid paid no regard to their assumed infallibility. He deprived Wilfrid, bishop of York, of his bishoprick, and seized all his possessions, which were very great, and prodigiously opulent. Wilfrid appealed to the pope: the synod of Rome ordered that Wilfrid should be restored. He returned to England, and produced an authentic copy of the sentence. Egfrid, in a full council of the nobility and clergy, treated the papal ordinances and jurisdictions, not with contempt only, but also with resentment. Wilfrid, instead of being restored, or receiving any compensation, was taken into custody, and sentenced to a close imprisonment. So spirited an opposition to the see of Rome, in times so slavishly superstitious, ought to be remembered with honour. Agatho then filled the papal chair.

Few remarkable transactions happened in Northumberland after the death of Egfrid, except the deposition and murder of its princes. The people were treated with cruelty, and superstitious bigotry usurped the place of genuine religion. At last an universal anarchy prevailed; and Egbert, as I shall hereafter relate, seized the opportunity of reducing the kingdom to his authority.





## THE KINGDOM OF EAST-ANGLIA.

**T**HIS kingdom owes its name to the Angles, a people from Jutland, by whom it was founded. They were headed by several chiefs, all independent of one another; but none of their names have been preserved by historians. Uffa was the first who assumed the title of king, and this was not done till after he had been above forty years in Britain. But, from the time of his ascending the throne, till he paid the debt of nature, history is silent with regard to his exploits. His son Titel, to whom he left his sceptre, reigned in the same obscurity, though he filled the throne twenty-one years. The actions of both are sunk in oblivion.

A. D. 599. Redwald, on the death of Titel his father, ascended the throne. The actions of this prince eclipsed not only all those of his predecessors, but also most of the Saxon chiefs. He was placed at the head of the heptarchy, and filled the post with great honour and applause. He embraced christianity, but afterwards renounced it, at the instigation of his wife, who was an idolater. So many examples of temporary conversions, are a proof that christians, ill-instructed, are only christians in name; and that the labours of the ignorant missionaries of those times, if they produced their effects without difficulty, were attended with no permanent advantages. After a glorious reign of twenty years, he paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded by his son.

A. D. 624. Eorpwald, who was a weak and pusillanimous prince, appeared under great disadvantages after his illustrious father. Perhaps it would have been impossible for him to have kept the seat of royalty, had he not been supported by Edwin, king of Northumberland, in gratitude for the protection he had himself received from Redwald. Eorpwald embraced the Christian religion at the instances of Edwin; but this change of religion increased his inactivity: he was much better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom. Richbert,

one of his generals, who still continued a Pagan, was so exasperated at the conversion and pusillanimity of Eorpwald, that he assassinated him with his own hand.

After the death of Eorpwald, a long succession of obscure and inactive princes, who were either expelled, murdered, or retired into a convent, filled the throne of East-Anglia. It will be needless to mention the names of barbarians, whose actions are unworthy of being recorded in history. Sigebert alone deserves to be excepted. He established the first literary ceremony, and furnished it with able masters for teaching the sciences. His talents and learning would have adorned the throne, had he not been seized with the religious enthusiasm of the times, and preferred the habit of a monk to the robes of royalty.

A. D. 749. The last of the East-Anglian princes was Ethelbert, whose mind was adorned with the most amiable virtues. His subjects promised themselves a long series of happiness under the government of so generous and benevolent a master; at the same time they wished to render the sceptre permanent in his family. Ethelbert, who made the happiness of his people his principal care, made no opposition to their request; and a treaty of marriage was concluded between him and Althrida, daughter to Offa king of Mercia, a princess equally remarkable for her piety and accomplishments. The generous soul of Ethelbert was above suspecting others of treachery: he repaired to the court of Mercia to consummate his nuptials. But Offa had other views. Ambition had more charms than virtue. He was determined to annex the East-Anglian kingdom to his own, though at the price of every thing held dear by mankind. He violated the sacred rights of hospitality and honour; he caused the innocent, the unsuspecting Ethelbert, to be assassinated, and seized upon his kingdom; which, after this period, was united with that of Mercia.

## THE KINGDOM OF MER CIA.

**M**ERCIA was, by far, the largest and most opulent kingdom of the Saxon heptarchy. It was founded by Crida, a descendant from Withelga, the second son of Woden. He held the sceptre only two years; and, on his death, Ethelbert, king of Kent, seized upon the Mercian territories, as the descendant of Hengist, the first Saxon king. Three years after, however, he resigned the crown to Webba, one of the sons of Crida. He was a very indolent prince; and though he held the sceptre nineteen years, he performed nothing worthy of being recorded in history. At his death, he left his kingdom to Penda, his son. But Ethelbert, who still filled the Kentish throne, fearing the restless ambition and turbulent temper of Penda would involve the whole heptarchy in confusion and distress, seized the crown a second time, and conferred it on Ceorl, a nephew of the late king. Ceorl reigned eight years, but left no traces of his government: his actions, whatever they were, like those of his predecessor, are consigned to oblivion.

A. D. 624. Penda seized the sceptre of Mercia on the death of Ceorl. He was fifty years of age when he ascended the throne, but glowed with all the

fire of youth. A long series of experience had not abated his ambition; the love of conquest was still the ruling passion of his soul. His character has been already fully displayed in the histories of those kingdoms with which he was at war. He well deserved the appellation of a sanguinary tyrant. All the neighbouring states sufficiently experienced his injustice and his violence; no less than five Christian princes fell in battle by his sword. His whole reign was a scene of blood; the sword of destruction always marked the route of his enemies. It reflects an honour to christianity, that he always refused to embrace its tenets. If his portrait will admit of any softening, it is his never molesting any who became converts to the faith, provided they lived up to their profession: he was an implacable enemy to all whose actions were a contradiction to their principles.

Time seemed to have no power over Penda. The flame of ambition, which generally grows languid with age, glowed with full vigour in his breast. He planned conquests when others are tottering on the brink of the grave: and, in the eightieth year of his age, marched, at the head of his army, into Northumberland, fully determined to depopulate the country,



country, render the whole kingdom a smoking desert. But victory now forsook his standards: he attacked the Northumbrian army and was slain.

A. D. 655. Peada succeeded his father in part of his dominions, and exerted himself nobly in propagating christianity in Mercia. His labours were crowned with success; the tender branch he planted during the reign of his father, now spread itself over the whole kingdom. But he did not long enjoy the crown; he fell a sacrifice to malevolence, perhaps to ambition. Some writers say, he was poisoned by his mother. At his death, Oswy, king of Northumberland, seized upon the whole Mercian territories, which he held, till Wulpher, the second son of Penda, wrested them out of his hand.

A. D. 660. Wulpher, who seems to have inherited the restless ambition of his father, was continually engaged in war, which was his darling passion. Far from being contented with his own territories, though much larger than those of any other prince of the heptarchy, he turned his arms against his neighbours. The first monarch that felt the power of his arms was Kenwalch, king of the West Saxons, whom he defeated, and over-run great part of his territories. He next attacked the Britons, and drove them from their possessions between the Severn and the Wye. He reduced the kingdoms of the East Saxons and East-Angles, to a state of vassalage, from which they never entirely recovered. But victory forsook him in the close of his reign: he was defeated by Egfrid, and he paid the debt of nature after a reign of fifteen years, leaving his crown to Kenred his son.

A. D. 675. Kenred, who was an infant at the death of his father, wanted power to hold the sceptre: his uncle Ethelred, celebrated for his military talents, wrested it from his hand. He invaded the kingdom of Kent, and laid great part of it waste. He defeated the king of Northumberland, and made himself master of Lindsey. Here he put a period to his conquests; determining to spend the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity. Reflection now painted the former scenes of his life in different colours from what they had appeared at the head of his army. His mind was deeply affected with the gloomy superstitions of the times. He restored the crown to Kenred his nephew, from whom he had unjustly taken it, retired into the monastery of Bardney, which he himself had founded, and died in obscurity.

A. D. 705. Kenred did not long fill the throne of his ancestors. He had no talents for war; he was fonder of the indolence of private life, than the active scenes of royalty. After a reign of four years he resigned his sceptre to his uncle Ceolrid, and accompanied with his aunt Kiniswintha, and Offa, king of Essex, repaired to Rome, where they all ended their days in a cloister.

A. D. 709. Ceolrid possessed very different sentiments from his predecessor. He saw with concern the ascendancy of the monks over the mind, when tinged with the gloomy superstition of the age, and determined, if possible, to lessen their power. Accordingly, he deprived them of several of their privileges. This was abundantly sufficient to arm the whole fraternity against him. The prince, not suspecting his danger, admitted them as usual to his presence. Their vengeance was not long delayed; they poisoned his wine, and he died in the greatest torments. Nor was his death sufficient to satisfy their malice; they imputed the delirium occasioned by the strength of the poison, to his conversing with the devil, and charitably devoted his soul to eternal perdition. So dangerous was it in those times of ignorant bigotry to molest a fraternity of men, who, by living on the labour of others, became a real burden to their country.

A. D. 716. This unfortunate monarch was succeeded by Ethelbald, the grandson of Eoppa, bro-

ther to Penda. He possessed that restless ambition, which formed a part of the Saxon character. He invaded the territories of his neighbours, and filled the whole heptarchy with alarms. His abilities were great, and had they been confined to proper objects, his reign would have been glorious to himself and his people: but he deviated from the paths of honour. His manners were depraved; and a deluge of vice overspread his kingdom. This procured him a severe reproof from the pope; and to avert the threatened vengeance of heaven, he had recourse to the religious practices of the times, he founded the famous monastery of Croyland, which in magnificence far exceeded any then in Britain. He exempted the clergy from all taxes and secular services, except such as were necessary for building bridges, or repairing fortresses.

By these acts of benevolence to the church he was supposed by the clergy of that ignorant age, to have made a sufficient atonement for the inundation of immorality which had covered the kingdom. But he did not end his days in peace. A rebellion broke out among his subjects; and Ethelbald fell in a battle with the insurgents. Beornred, who headed the rebels, took possession of the throne; but the nobles, incensed at the insolence of the rabble, flew to arms, soon hurled the usurper from the seat of power, and placed Offa, the son of Eawa, brother of Penda, on the Mercian throne.

A. D. 758. Offa was one of the most distinguished of all the Mercian princes. Fortune perpetually followed his standards. He reduced the kingdom of Kent, after killing the prince with his own hand. He invaded Northumberland, and annexed the county of Nottingham to his own dominions. He conquered all the dominions of Wessex to the northward of the Thames, and made them a part of his own territories.

The Britons had, for some time, made incursions into the frontier provinces of Mercia; and committed the most dreadful disorders. Offa marched against them, drove them back into their country with great slaughter, and to prevent their incursions for the future, threw up a strong intrenchment; which began near the mouth of the river Dee in Flintshire, and running along the mountains terminated at the influx of the Wye into the Severn near Bristol. This was the most stupendous work executed during the heptarchy; part of it still remains, and is known by the name of Offa's dyke.

The character of Offa was now raised to the greatest height. The lustre of his victories, added to the merit of some good qualities, made the world willing, for some time, to overlook his vices. He perceived the advantages of commerce, and gave every encouragement in his power to the merchants of his country. Charlemagne thought him worthy of his friendship, sent him several presents, and remitted his subjects some duties which had before been usually paid. But he stained his laurels by basely assassinating Ethelbert, king of East-Anglia. That young prince, allured by the invitations of the perfidious Offa, came to the Mercian court to espouse his daughter. He was received with every appearance of friendship and esteem, but amidst the joy of what he fancied was his nuptial entertainment, the cruel Offa caused him to be put to death, and immediately made himself master of his dominions.

A. D. 792. Awakened by the stings of conscience, and desirous of re-establishing his character among his people, he had recourse to the superstitious customs of that age to expiate his crime. He enriched the cathedral of Hereford; he gave the tenth of all his goods to the church; and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he received absolution from the pope. In return for this favour, he established in his dominions an annual tax called Peter's-pence, because it amounted to a penny each family. This tax, after the union of the seven kingdoms,



was levied all over England, and exacted as a tribute by the Roman pontiffs, till the reign of Henry VIII. who demolished at once that tribute, and the pope's authority.

On his return to England, he erected the magnificent monastery of St. Albans, where he resided some years in the quality of a steward, and died in obscurity. These, and other acts of piety, completely expiated all his crimes in the opinion of his subjects. Moral excellence or perfection was less regarded, in those times of ignorant bigotry, than the founding of religious houses, and the exterior practices of devotion.

A. D. 794. Egfrid, his son, ascended the Mercian throne on the death of his father; and, from some of the first acts of his reign, the people promised to themselves a long series of happiness: but their hopes were soon rendered abortive: Egfrid held the sceptre only five months, when he paid the debt of nature, amidst the tears and lamentations of his subjects.

Kenulf, descended from a collateral branch of the Penda family, received the sceptre on the death of Egfrid. He was equally brave and superstitious.

The kingdom enjoyed a profound peace during his whole reign; and his great beneficence to the church acquired him the character of a wise, courageous, active and equitable prince; though, perhaps, it would be difficult to find a single instance in his whole reign that deserved these epithets, except his munificence to the clergy. He filled the throne of Mercia twenty-four years.

A. D. 818. Kenelm was but an infant when his father Kenulf paid the debt of nature; and Quendrida, his sister, was entrusted with the care of his education: but, instead of performing the duty she owed to her father, she basely caused her brother to be murdered, and usurped the throne. She did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of her perfidy; she was driven from the seat of power by another usurper, who was, soon after, expelled by a third.

It will be needless to pursue the history of this kingdom any farther. A succession of perfidious actions can give very little entertainment to a humane and candid reader. The series of usurpers continued till Egbert subdued the kingdom, and put a period to the Saxon heptarchy.

### THE KINGDOM OF ESSEX, OR, THE EAST-SAXONS.

**ERKENWIN** was the first of the Saxon chiefs who assumed the title of King of Essex; and even that prince held his kingdom as a fief of Kent. Nor has any of the ancient historians informed us at what period it became an independent monarchy. If either Erkenwin, or his two immediate successors, performed any actions worthy to be transmitted to posterity, they are buried in oblivion. Their names, and the length of time they filled the throne, are the only circumstances they have recorded.

A. D. 596. Sebert, Sibert, or Sigebert, was a Pagan when he ascended the throne of Essex. The darkness of heathen superstition had not then been dispelled by the light of the gospel. Ethelbert, king of Kent, desirous of rendering others partakers of the same happiness he himself had received from the preaching of Austin, dispatched Melitus into Essex, in order to plant Christianity in that kingdom, and convert his nephew, Sibert, from the errors of idolatry. Melitus succeeded, and Sibert readily joined Ethelbert in erecting the cathedral church of St. Paul. It was built upon the foundations of a heathen temple dedicated to Diana by the Romans, when they were masters of Britain. Melitus was the first bishop, and exerted his great abilities nobly in the cause of true religion. The great increase of profelytes to Christianity, that followed on the opening of the cathedral, encouraged the two princes to rebuild the church of St. Peter at Westminster, which had been demolished by the Saxons. That structure was erected in the time of Constantine the Great, on the foundations of a temple built by the Romans, and dedicated to Apollo. The founding of these two churches gave a fatal blow to the idolatry of the Saxons; the temples were, in many parts of the kingdom, destroyed, and the images broken in pieces. But Sibert died too soon; he paid the debt of nature, after holding the sceptre of Essex almost seventeen years.

A. D. 613. Sibert was succeeded by his three sons, Saxred, Seward, and Sigebert, who formed a triumvirate, and reigned together. The piety of their father had produced very little effect on the minds of these three princes; they were still idolaters, and endeavoured to restore the heathen superstition. Melitus laboured incessantly for their conversion: but his attempts were vain; they ridiculed the sacred mysteries of christianity, and at last banished Melitus from the kingdom. Not long after,

they led their army against the Kentish forces, and were all slain in the action. They reigned seven years. Sigebert the Little, son to Seward, ascended the throne: but his actions, whatever they were, are consigned to oblivion; even the time of his death is uncertain.

He was succeeded by Sigebert the Good, who again restored the Christian religion, after it had been almost extinguished by the triumvirate of idolaters. But we have no farther account of the actions of this pious prince, except that his people enjoyed an uninterrupted series of peace during his whole reign. He was assassinated by two of his generals, in revenge for his having shewn a partiality to the bishop, who had passed an ecclesiastical censure on one of them for his vices. This event happened in the year 622.

The reigns of the other kings of Essex are not worth a place in history. They performed no actions that deserve to be recorded. Their reigns, like the lives of peasants in a sequestered valley, are barren of incidents; they are equally obscure; and it were to be wished they were equally innocent. After an interval of about 190 years, the kingdom of Essex was reduced by Egbert, who, soon after, put an end to the seven kingdoms of the Saxons.

Such is the history of the Heptarchy, a structure founded on rapine and perfidy, and demolished by ambition. Christianity has, doubtless, a powerful influence in disposing the mind to acts of kindness, benevolence, and humanity; in polishing the manners, and introducing a gentle and polite behaviour; but it lost its force among the Anglo-Saxons; they were too ignorant and too superstitious to receive the benefits that result from its precepts. Instead of that simplicity of worship enjoined in the gospel, they substituted an unbounded reverence for saints and relics; the practices of an absurd devotion supplied the place of the evangelical virtues. Nursed in superstition, and strangers to a just and rational method of reasoning, every operation of nature was considered as a miracle; the common accidents of life were believed to be the effects of the interposition of providence, and every misfortune the scourge of heaven. Hence they were prepared to receive, without examination, every fable, however absurd, and every opinion, however extravagant. Religion, instead of enlightening their minds, involved them in the thickest night of superstitious bigotry. Ambitious



bitious of acquiring the praise of sanctity, and desirous of expiating crimes without suffering the pains of repentance; they buried themselves in the gloomy recesses of a cloister, and gave munificent donations to churches and the clergy: No less than ten of their kings, and eleven of their queens, retired from the world, and were lost to society. They grasped the shadow instead of the substance; and substituted the lifeless and gloomy devotions of a cell to the practice of justice, benevolence, charity, and the other virtues so strongly recommended in the gospel.

No discoveries in the arts mark this period of

history: literature was little cultivated; the monks were the only people that had any tincture of letters, and their studies confined almost entirely to theology. It is, indeed, in vain to expect the sciences should reside in a country where the torch of civil discord is lighted by the hand of rapine, and disperses its malignant beams from one extremity to the other. Bede, indeed, was a person of great learning; considering the times in which he lived. His ecclesiastical history has reached our times, and displays a genius and assiduity, which, in more enlightened ages, might have conducted to the most important discoveries.

## B O O K IV.

From the destruction of the Saxon Heptarchy, to the Norman conquest.

### E G B E R T.

**I**T has been already observed, at the conclusion of the history of Wessex; that the messengers dispatched to Egbert, when Brithwic fell a victim to the passion of his wife, found him in the service of Charlemagne. In that polite and martial court Egbert had polished his manners, and learned to conquer. On his ascending the throne of his ancestors, a very extensive prospect opened to his view. The royal families, in all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, except his own, were extinguished; anarchy and disorder had rendered all of them weak, and some of them almost defenceless. Egbert was the only descendant of those chiefs who had conquered Britain, and boasted their descent from Woden. The superior qualities of his mind gave him as much advantage as his birth, so that he had the fairest prospect of extending his dominions, and of rendering himself the sole monarch of the whole heptarchy.

He began with introducing among his troops the discipline he had learned in the armies of Charlemagne, and then turned his arms against the Britons. His success over that brave and hardy people established his character as a general, and he was chosen chief of the Saxon confederacy. The Mercians were the only people capable of defending themselves against the power of Egbert: the kingdoms of Kent, Essex, and East-Anglia, were become tributary to that people. Bernulf, who then filled the Mercian throne, was alarmed at the success of Egbert: he saw, that unless something happened to blast his laurels, he must soon be master of the whole heptarchy. He therefore increased his army, and took the opportunity of Egbert's absence to attack the provinces of Wessex that bordered upon Mercia. Egbert was in Cornwall when he received the news of the Mercian invasion, and marched, with the greatest expedition, to put a stop to the ravages of the enemy. The two armies met at Ellandune, now Wilton, in Wiltshire: a furious battle ensued, in which the forces of Bernulf were totally defeated, and the greater part of them who escaped the carnage of the engagement were cut off in their retreat. Another decisive battle, fought soon after, finished the contest, and made Egbert master of Mercia. He pursued his success, marched towards Northumberland, and was met by the principal inhabitants, who came to do him homage. Egbert was content with reducing the several kingdoms of the heptarchy; he suffered them to enjoy their former laws and customs; and to elect their own kings, who governed their respective provinces, but paid an annual tribute to Egbert.

A.D. 829. Thus the heptarchy was consolidated into one kingdom, and called England, from the name of one of the Saxon tribes; who, about four hundred years before, had established themselves in this country. Egbert was solemnly crowned at Winchester, and immediately issued an edict for abolishing all distinctions among the Saxon kingdoms.

But, though Egbert had restored peace throughout his dominions, and gained the affection of all his subjects by his humane government; yet this tranquillity was of no long duration. The northern parts of Europe were so overstocked with people, that multitudes of armed barbarians were continually issuing from their native soil, in search of plunder, or countries more fruitful than their own. A party of these wandering ravagers landed on the coast of England; where they were known by the appellation of Danes.

They were composed of different nations, many of whom being driven from the country by Charlemagne, settled in Jutland, before inhabited by the Angles and Saxons. By the addition of these refugees, the country soon became too populous, and they were obliged to seek new settlements in a distant kingdom. Great part of their country was covered with woods, which furnished them with timber sufficient for building ships, and these they managed with great dexterity. But, instead of applying themselves to commerce, they became pirates, and frequently landed on the coasts of different kingdoms; and, after plundering the adjacent country, returned home with their booty. Piracy soon became the support of their state; and, instead of being considered as infamous, was looked upon as an honourable profession. Their kings engaged in these piratical cruises, and became the leaders of a band of lawless plunderers. They made several descents on the British coast during the heptarchy, but were always repulsed with loss.

A.D. 833. Persuaded that their miscarriages were owing to the smallness of their parties; and desirous of plundering a country at once rich and fertile, they joined their fleets, and landed a body of fifteen thousand men at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire. So formidable a number of barbarians struck the inhabitants with terror: they found themselves unable to resist their ferocious invaders, and fled for safety to the woods and marshes. Egbert, on the first news of their landing, flew to the defence of his people: but his army was too weak to chastise the barbarians; they gained a complete victory; and Egbert himself was indebted to the darkness of the night for his safety.



safety. But though the Danes had been victorious, they suffered so greatly in the engagement, that they did not think proper to continue their ravages; they retreated to their ships, and disappeared.

A. D. 836. The Cornish Britons, desirous of freeing themselves from the Saxon yoke, invited the Danes to join them against the enemy. A numerous body of these pirates accordingly landed in Cornwall, and were joined by the Britons. This combined army immediately took the field, in hopes of surprising the English forces. But Egbert had learned wisdom from experience; his last defeat had rendered him cautious: he expected the Danes would return, and kept his troops ready to receive them. He marched immediately against the enemy, and met them at Hengdown-hill, in Cornwall. Surprised to

see the English army so near them, the Danes and Britons would have willingly retreated, but it was too late. Egbert attacked them with the utmost fury, and put them to flight. The Britons took shelter in their mountains, and the Danes retired to their ships.

A. D. 837. Egbert saw the necessity of a fleet to check the progress of those rapacious invaders; and had even fitted out a few ships for that purpose: but he died too soon for his people, leaving the crown to his son, who was ill qualified to sustain its weight. Egbert was formed both for conquest and government: he was intrepid, wise, and humane. He acquired a kingdom by his valour; and he rendered his people happy by his prudence, beneficence, and impartial dispensation of justice.

## ETHELWOLF.

A. D. 838. **E**THELWOLF ascended the throne on the death of his father, but inherited few of his qualities. His virtues were those of a monk, rather than a king. He received his education in the monastery of Winchester, where he contracted the indolence and inactivity so general in a cloister. The Danes did not fail to take advantage of his weakness; they landed in several parts of the kingdom, plundered the adjacent country, and retired with their booty, leaving behind them such dreadful marks of their brutality as are shocking to humanity. Their small vessels ran easily up the creeks and rivers; where, after drawing them ashore, they surrounded them with entrenchments; and spreading themselves in every part of the adjacent country, they carried off whatever they thought valuable, retreated to their ships, and disappeared. Driven from one place, they appeared in another. The alarm was spread through the whole kingdom; terror became general; every season of the year was dangerous.

A. D. 840. But hitherto they had attempted no settlement; the intention of their descents reached no farther than plunder. They landed in small parties, and were opposed by the militia of the county. The resistance they met with had no effect to discourage their incursions; their insatiable thirst of booty supported them under every misfortune; defeats, as well as victories, incited them to greater enterprizes. They had now discovered the fertility of the country, and were determined, if possible, to fix themselves in the island. They landed a numerous body of forces at Charmouth, where Egbert had, some years before, been defeated. The danger that now threatened his country, roused Ethelwolf from his lethargy. He marched at the head of his army, gave battle to the Danes, and was defeated. But the barbarians were convinced, from the opposition they had met with, that a settlement could not then be attempted with any hopes of success. They abandoned the design; and, after ravaging the country, retired to their ships.

The fatigues of military duty were not at all agreeable to Ethelwolf. He saw that a continued course of activity was necessary to frustrate the attempts of these restless invaders, and determined to divest himself of part of his dominions, in order to procure that indolent tranquillity which he valued much more than power. He resigned to Athelstan, his eldest son, the counties of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. This prudent expedient contributed greatly to the security of the southern coast; but the other parts of the kingdom were still exposed to the dreadful ravages of those barbarous invaders. A large detachment landed near the mouth of the river Parret, in Somersetshire; but they did not long continue

their ravages; they were attacked by the militia of those parts, and defeated, with such terrible slaughter, that the kingdom was, for some years, free from their attacks.

A. D. 851. But this interval of tranquillity proved nothing more than a prelude to more general attempts. The Danes landed in several parts of the kingdom, but were every where defeated, though not till after they had committed the most dreadful ravages. A fleet of three hundred and fifty sail landed their forces in the isle of Thanet, great part of which they laid waste, burnt the cities of London and Canterbury, and penetrated into Surry. Ethelwolf was now once more roused from his lethargy: he led his army against the invaders, and obtained a complete victory. But, notwithstanding their loss was prodigious, they took up their winter quarters in the isle of Thanet.

A. D. 853. Alarmed at the barbarians making a settlement in the island, the militia of Kent and Surry attacked their camp with great intrepidity, but were repulsed with loss, and obliged to abandon the design. The Danes being thus left at liberty, added new fortifications to their settlements, and determined to wait for fresh reinforcements.

But even these alarming circumstances could not divert Ethelwolf from the resolution he had taken, of making a pilgrimage to Rome. Such power have the delusions of superstitious bigotry over the human mind, when unassisted by the force of reason. He immediately dispatched his youngest son, Alfred, to inform the pope of his pious intentions, who received confirmation from the hands of the holy father. Alfred was received with the greatest marks of esteem by Leo the fourth, and obtained every thing he requested.

A. D. 854. But this mark of his esteem for the Roman pontiff was not sufficient to satisfy a person of Ethelwolf's bigotry; he persisted in his former resolution, and set out for Rome. He continued a year in that city, where he spent his time in exercises much better adapted to edify the inhabitants of that metropolis, than comfort his own oppressed subjects. He rebuilt the English college, which had been burnt down: he promised to extend the tribute of Peter's pence over the whole kingdom; and to pay his holiness three hundred manches (about thirty-eight pounds sterling) two-thirds of which were to support the lamps in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the other third was a present to the pope himself. Nor were his religious exercises less remarkable. He visited every shrine, paid his devotions to every relic, and viewed every place that had been rendered remarkable by some event in the first ages of christianity.

A. D. 855. After taking leave of his holiness, Ethelwolf set out for his own dominions; but stopping at



at the court of France, he fell in love with Judith, daughter of Charles the bald. She was a widow, though very young, and adorned with all the charms of the softer sex. Ethelwolf, notwithstanding the great disparity of their years, married that princess, and indulged himself for some time in the pleasures of the French court, without paying the least regard to the distresses of his country.

But these imprudent actions of Ethelwolf occasioned disturbances in his kingdom. Athelstan had paid the debt of nature before his father left the kingdom, and Ethelbald, his second son, now determined to seize a sceptre which the weakness of Ethelwolf seemed to offer to his ambition. Many of the nobles joined him; and the torch of civil discord was on the point of being lighted when Ethelwolf returned to his dominions.

Ethelbald was not intimidated by the arrival of his father; he prosecuted his design with the same vigour as before. And Ethelwolf made preparation for reducing him to reason. The nobles perceived the dangers that threatened their country; and interposed their good offices to bring about a reconciliation. Ethelwolf consented to cede the ancient kingdom of Wessex to his son, reserving the other parts of the island to himself. By this sacrifice the internal peace of England was restored, and Ethelwolf spent the remainder of his days in tranquillity.

His passion for augmenting the power of the church, however, did not forsake him. He bestowed on the clergy a donation, for which they had contended during several centuries. They maintained

that the Mosaic law, which gave to the Levites the tenth part of all the produce of the land, was obligatory upon christians; and notwithstanding the obvious absurdity of this application of the Jewish law; they were desirous of extending it to the tenth of all industry, merchandize, wages of labourers, and pay of soldiers. This doctrine they had preached up with the utmost assiduity, but hitherto the interest of the laity had been too strong for their arguments. The power of Ethelwolf effected what all their eloquence had attempted in vain; and the states of the kingdom at his request, consented to the establishment of tithes throughout all the kingdom. Perhaps the English were persuaded that this remarkable benevolence to the church, would procure them the assistance of heaven against the Danes. It is natural for people in distress to be willing to pay liberally for deliverance.

A. D. 857. Ethelwolf now found his end approaching, and was desirous of preventing any domestic disputes between his own children, from disturbing the tranquillity of his subjects. In order to this, he bequeathed all the territories he governed himself to his son Ethelbert, but in case of his death they were to descend to Ethelred, and for want of male issue, entailed upon Alfred. He gave his personal estate to charitable uses, and ordered that all his successors should maintain one person out of every tenth family. Having thus settled his temporal concerns, Ethelwolf gave himself up entirely to the exercises of religion, and died in peace, after swaying the English sceptre nineteen years.

## ETHELBALD AND ETHELRED.

A. D. 857. **N**O opposition was made to the will of Ethelwolf. Ethelbald had for some time been seated upon the throne of Wessex, and Ethelred took possession of the dominions of his father. The king of Wessex followed not the steps of Ethelwolf; he was not fearful of breaking the laws of his maker: almost the first action of his reign, was the incestuous marriage with Judith, his father's widow. His government was arbitrary and cruel; he was at once both indolent and perfidious, and practised every vice that solicited his depraved appetite. Swithin, bishop of Winchester, saw with grief the enormous actions of his master, and exerted all his power to make him sensible of his crimes. He at last succeeded: Judith was divorced, and a change of government immediately followed.

A. D. 860. But Ethelbald did not long enjoy the crown of Wessex. His people were hardly sensible of the happy alteration in their condition, before the king paid the debt of nature, and left the crown to Ethelbert his brother. The dispositions of these two princes were directly opposite; Ethelbert was as remarkable for his virtues, as Ethelbald had been for his vices. Humanity and moderation formed the principal characteristics of his reign. No civil commotion disturbed the tranquillity of the state; no complaints of injustice were heard from the people. Happiness seemed to have taken up her abode in the kingdom, while the olive wand of peace was extended over the whole island.

But this interval of undisturbed enjoyment, lulled the people into a fatal security. They had, for some time, been free from the barbarous ravages of the Danes, and made no preparations to prevent their being again afflicted with the like misfortunes. A naval force, the only bulwark that could defend them from the inroad of a piratical enemy, was neglected; the coasts were unguarded, and the whole kingdom exposed to the invasion of every embarkation of marine freebooters. The natural consequences of this

indolent security were felt too soon. The Danes landed at Southampton, and meeting with no opposition, they extended their ravages to Winchester, plundered the city, and reduced it to ashes. Their route was marked with desolation and ruin. Their armies were preceded with terror. No resistance was made to their progress; the inhabitants thought of nothing but flight to save themselves from their shocking brutalities. But the spirit of their Saxon ancestors was not yet wholly lost. Ofric and Ethelwolf, the two generals of the English forces, marched with the utmost expedition against the lawless invaders of their country. The flight of the inhabitants had filled the Danes with an insolent confidence. They feared no opposition; and spread themselves in a very disorderly manner over the country for the sake of plunder. In this fatal security they were overtaken by the English generals, and easily defeated. A dreadful slaughter ensued, and the few barbarians that escaped the sword, were glad to escape to their ships without their booty.

A. D. 865. This defeat did not, however, deter their countrymen from their piratical cruises. A considerable number of them landed in the isle of Thanet, and filled the adjacent country with terror. Their horrid massacres, which shock humanity, intimidated the people from making any resistance. Recourse was therefore had to negotiation; and the inhabitants agreed to pay them a considerable sum of money, in order to save their estates from inevitable ruin. But little confidence can be placed in the promises of those who live by rapine, and daily trample upon the laws of justice and humanity. Persuaded that they could gain more by pillage than the sum stipulated in the treaty, they perfidiously took the advantage of the truce to carry destruction among an unsuspecting people. They commenced their shocking ravages in the night, and laid waste the whole eastern part of the county.

A. D. 866. These dreadful disorders greatly affected



fects the mind of Ethelbert. He saw with grief the miseries of his country which he could not prevent. The barbarians spared neither age nor sex; a total destruction marked the paths of the invaders. The churches were destroyed, the monasteries reduced to ashes, and the religious treated with the most inhuman brutality. In the midst of these distresses Ethel-

bert died, and was universally lamented by his subjects, who loved his person and revered his virtues. He was succeeded in the throne by Ethelred his younger brother, pursuant to his father's will, though he left behind him two sons, Adelheim and Ethelwold.

## ETHELRED I.

A.D. 866. **T**HE reign of Ethelred is marked with victories and misfortunes. Flushed with conquest, and grown insolent by success, the Danes extended their ravages, and threatened the destruction of the whole country. The continual descents of these invaders had greatly weakened the authority of the kings of Wessex over the provinces of Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland. Their tributary kings had almost thrown off their allegiance, and were on the point of assuming the same authority they possessed during the heptarchy.

Soon after the accession of Ethelred, a difference happened between him and his brother Alfred, on account of some territories which had been given them. Ethelred violated the contract, and Alfred appealed to the nobles who had been witnesses to the deed. The dispute became violent, but was at last amicably determined; and the two princes agreed to act in concert against the invaders of their country. Perhaps there never was a time when unanimity was more necessary: the strongest union only could repel the attempts of the enemy.

Bruen Brocard, a nobleman of Northumberland, in order to revenge an affront he had received, in the person of his wife, from Osbert, who then filled the throne, invited the Danes into that kingdom. He sacrificed to a personal injury the lives of thousands, and involved his country in misery and distress. Under the conduct of Ivar and Hubba, two bold and warlike princes, the Danes landed in East-Anglia, and took up their quarters in that country till the spring.

A.D. 867. Osbert kept his court at York when the Danes entered Northumberland; and, had he satisfied himself with defending that city, the Danes would, in all probability, have been defeated. But the impetuosity of his courage gained the ascendant over his prudence. He sallied out to meet the enemy, and was slain in the action. The whole army was defeated; and the inhabitants, to prevent the dreadful ravages of these lawless invaders, entered into a treaty with Ivar, by which he was left in quiet possession of that kingdom.

A.D. 878. But the kingdom of Northumberland was not sufficient to satisfy the avarice of the Danes. They marched through Lincolnshire, where, among other inhuman acts of cruelty, they levelled to the ground the monastery of Bardney, and put all the monks to death. The monasteries of Peterborough, Ely, and others that lay near their route, shared the same fate. The catastrophe of the nuns of Coldingham abbey was very deplorable; the abbess, to prevent their charms from exciting the lust of these lawless sons of rapine, proposed, that they should disfigure their faces, by cutting off their noses and upper lips. The proposal was embraced; and the abbess, in order to inspire her nuns with courage, began with herself. This expedient saved their virtue. The Danes, disgusted at their appearance, and incensed at their disappointment, set fire to the monastery, and the whole sisterhood perished in the flames.

After committing these inhuman outrages, the Danes divided themselves into two bodies. Ivar led his forces into East-Anglia, and Hubba continued his march towards the territories of Wessex. The East-Anglians met the forces of Ivar at Thetford, but were totally defeated. Edmund, the tributary king, was taken prisoner; and, after having sustained a thousand indignities, was transfixt with arrows, and afterwards beheaded.

A.D. 871. Ivar pursued his conquests with great rapidity, but found it necessary to re-join Hubba's forces, in order to attack the kingdom of Wessex, the only country that seemed able to put a stop to their victories. The two princes marched in conjunction, to Reading, in Berkshire; a town, from its situation on the confluence of the Kennet and Thames, very capable of being defended with a small force. Here the Danes fixed their head quarters; and, to render the post more difficult of access, they connected the two rivers by a deep trench, which they fortified with ramparts.

A few days after their taking possession of Reading, one of their foraging parties was cut off by Ethelwolf, earl of that county, and their leader slain. This gleam of success encouraged Ethelred and Alfred, who had joined their forces, to advance near the enemy. Nor did they continue idle in their camp; they cut off all the advanced parties of the Danes, and made preparations for attacking the fortress itself. The Danes perceived their danger, and, collecting all their force, sallied out upon the British forces, and, after an obstinate engagement, obtained the victory. The intrepid Ethelwolf fell in the contest.

Exasperated at the loss of so able a leader, and desirous of retrieving the honour they had lost by their late defeat, the English once more advanced against the barbarians, who determined to meet them in the open field. Accordingly they marched to a plain near Ashdown, where they waited the approach of the British forces. The troops of the invaders were divided into two bodies; one of them headed by their princes, and the other by their nobles. This disposition rendered it necessary for the English to divide their army. Ethelred placed himself at the head of one division, and Alfred at that of the other. The attack was begun by Alfred with incredible fury, and he nobly sustained the shock of the whole Danish army. His brother being engaged in hearing mass when Alfred charged the Danes, refused to support him till the service was over. As soon as Ethelred advanced, the Danes, who had stood firm against the charge of Alfred, gave way; a dreadful carnage ensued, and the enemy were obliged to seek their safety in a precipitate flight. One of their princes, and a vast number of their nobles, were found among the slain. Soon after this victory, the two brothers engaged another party of the Danes, and were defeated. Ethelred was mortally wounded, and died soon after, leaving his crown to his brother Alfred, who was born to support the tottering throne, and establish the happiness of his people.



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*The ABBESS of Coldingham Monastery cutting of her nose & upper Lip  
as an example for her Nuns to follow; to prevent being Ravished by the Danes*







## A L F R E D, furnamed THE GREAT.

A.D. **T**HOUGH Ethelred left several children, 871. yet Alfred was placed on the throne of his ancestors. The voice of the people, the distressed situation of the kingdom, and the testament of Ethelwolf, all conspired in calling this prince to the exercise of royalty. He was only twenty-two years of age when his brother Ethelred paid the debt of nature; but had given so many convincing proofs of his valour, and the genuine goodness of his heart, that, perhaps, no prince ever ascended the throne with more happy presages of being the darling of his people; but he was surrounded with difficulties, and exposed, on every side, to the most imminent dangers. Nothing less than a genius and abilities equal to his own could have been sufficient to have restored stability to the throne, and happiness to his subjects. Which ever way he turned, the prospect was dismal; a few gleams of hope only cheered the dreary gloom. The cities and religious structures were levelled in the dust; the farms were destroyed; agriculture was neglected; and the dejected peasant pined for want of bread, in the midst of fields that lately waved with all the beauties of a golden harvest. He wanted subjects to recruit his armies; many of them had perished by the sword and famine; some, dispirited by the toils of war, had submitted to the yoke of slavery; and others had fled to the mountains and forests for protection against a rude and barbarous enemy.

Alfred alone viewed this scene of complicated distress with unshaken firmness; his soul seemed superior to misfortunes. His penetrating genius pointed out resources, which supported him in this alarming crisis. He did not despair of surmounting every difficulty, and of changing this scene of melancholy dejection into happiness and joy. The firmness of the monarch revived the drooping spirits of the subject. The soldiers caught the noble infection; they promised themselves, that under so able and intrepid a leader, they should attack the brutal enemy with success; that victory would follow the standards of Alfred.

Secure of the affections of his people, and the unshaken confidence of the army, Alfred applied himself, with the utmost assiduity, to correct every abuse which had crept into the civil administration; and revive among his troops that discipline which always leads to conquest, and without which the most numerous armies would attempt it in vain. He knew that great difficulties could only be surmounted by great efforts; and that the utmost activity is necessary to prevent the most alarming misfortunes. He pursued these maxims, and succeeded; and left an example to posterity, that if the natural strength of the island be properly exerted, Britain has nothing to fear from the attempts of a foreign enemy.

The ravages committed by the Danes called his attention from the affairs of government to the field. It is a misfortune to society, and to mankind, that it is the indispensable duty of great and enlightened princes to engage in war. Awakened by the cruelties of the barbarians, Alfred took the field at the head of a small body of forces, and engaged the Danish army at Wilton. The action was severe, and the enemy were obliged to retreat; but gaining an eminence near the field of battle, and perceiving that Alfred's army was far inferior to their own in numbers, they returned to the charge, and Alfred was obliged, in his turn, to retreat. The English,

however, were far from being intimidated: they were persuaded, that, under the banners of Alfred, they should at last conquer: they saw the power of the enemy was much superior to their own, and imputed the advantage they at first gained; and even their being able to face so numerous an army, entirely to the good conduct and intrepidity of their beloved monarch.

Alfred soon perceived, that it would be impossible to conquer an enemy whose armies were continually reinforced with fresh troops; and therefore wisely applied himself to prevent, if possible, this perpetual inundation of barbarians. He fitted out a fleet of ships, in order to guard the coast. The advantages resulting from this prudent measure were soon apparent: Alfred's squadron defeated a Danish fleet; took one of their ships; and obliged the rest to retire.

A.D. 876. Halsten, one of the Danish kings, surprised Wareham-castle, the strongest fortress in Wessex. Alfred immediately marched against them; and Halsten not thinking it prudent to engage the English, sued for peace, and offered to give hostages for the faithful observance of the treaty. Alfred listened to his proposals; a treaty was concluded, by which the Danes engaged to quit the kingdom. Alfred, that he might engage them not to break their oaths, lest heaven should punish their impiety, made them swear to observe the treaty on the holy relics; and also on a bracelet, which they considered as sacred. But it was in vain to expect, that men who had never submitted to laws, should pay any regard to an oath: the precaution of Alfred had no effect on the barbarians: they swore to observe the treaty, and broke it immediately. They continued quiet, indeed, for two or three months, and seemed to make preparations for their departure; but waited only for an opportunity of attacking his army to advantage. It was not long before the fortunate moment arrived. The British cavalry, confiding in the faith of the barbarians, dispersed themselves into small parties, in order to procure forage with more facility. The Danes perceived it; and issuing from their camp in the night, attacked the parties of cavalry, seized their horses, and mounting their own men, fled to Exeter. The sudden and unexpected appearance of the enemy struck the inhabitants with despair: they flew to arms, but it was too late; the Danes entered the city without opposition, increased the fortifications, and there took up their winter quarters.

A.D. 877. Convinced that no treaty made with an enemy, who trampled upon all the laws of justice, could be binding, and that force only could bring them to reason; Alfred applied himself to put his navy on a more respectable footing, in order, if possible, to destroy their naval force. A formidable fleet was soon fitted out, and sailed immediately to block up Exeter by sea, while Alfred attacked the city by land. In their passage to Exeter, the English squadron fell in with the grand fleet of the Danes, consisting of one hundred and twenty sail, and having on board a strong reinforcement for Halsten's army. A furious fight ensued, in which the Danish fleet was totally destroyed.

Terrified at the loss of their squadron, the Danes had again recourse to negotiation: they renewed their oaths; they gave fresh hostages, and engaged to quit the island immediately. Alfred had now learned caution from experience: he concluded a treaty with them, but would not suffer them to



remove from Exeter, till they embarked for their own country.

Soon after their departure, the fleet of the famous Rollo appeared on the English coasts. He expected no opposition, and was astonished when the fleet of Alfred approached. The engagement which ensued convinced him that the attempt would be attended with danger, and thought it not prudent to make the experiment: he stood over to the French shore, and made himself master of Normandy.

Another army of the Danes had, some time, before, made themselves masters of Mercia, and driven Burhead from his throne, who fled to Rome, and took shelter in a cloyster. That prince was the last that bore the title of king of Mercia. Alfred gave him no disturbance; he observed religiously the terms of his treaties. The barbarians, however, were not charmed with this rigorous observance of public faith; the laws of virtue were unknown to the Danes. The country they had conquered was very fruitful, and, by a little assistance from agriculture, would have supplied them with every thing necessary to render life agreeable; but they had been so long used to rapine, that they despised every other employment: they had been nursed in the lap of violence, and early initiated into the practice of brutal cruelty. From such an enemy nothing but perfidy could be expected. While Alfred's fleet guarded the coast, they remained quiet; but, on the landing of a new reinforcement, they joined their countrymen, and immediately renewed their dreadful ravages. Opposition was now in vain; their numbers were so greatly increased, that it would have been temerity to have met them in the open field. Astonished and intimidated at this inundation of barbarians, the English abandoned their habitations, and sought their safety in a speedy flight. Some passed over to the continent, and others took up their residence in mountains and forests. Alfred alone continued superior to misfortunes: he laid aside the ensigns of royalty, but he was still the father of his people. He dismissed his attendants; and, in the disguise of a peasant, concealed himself in the cottage of a cow-herd, whose wife put his patience to the severest trial, by requiring his assistance in her domestic affairs. He had not continued long in this humiliating retreat, before he found an opportunity of collecting a number of his friends; and with these he retired to an inaccessible morass in Somersetshire, formed by the waters of the Parret and Thone. In the center of this morass he built a fortress, and often sallied out upon the barbarians, who felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not from what quarter they received the blow. They never suspected that Alfred was so near their camp; they were persuaded he had fallen among the slain.

A fortunate event drew Alfred from his retreat. Hubba, a Danish prince, having landed at the mouth of the Taw, in Devonshire, laid siege to the fortress of Kenwith. Odun, earl of Devonshire, at the head of twelve hundred men, advanced towards the barbarians. A battle ensued, when Hubba was totally defeated, and Odun took the famous magical standard of the Danes. This standard was called Reafan, from its having the figure of a raven embroidered upon it, by the three sisters of Hubba. Magical incantations had also been used to render it prosperous; and the Danes, fully persuaded, that the army, where it was displayed, would be invincible, ascribed to it a miraculous virtue. Alfred now perceived a gleam of hope, and determined to take the advantage that offered. The camp of the enemy was at no great distance, and Alfred was desirous of discovering what discipline they observed in this period of security. He took the disguise of a harper; and penetrating into their camp, entertained them so highly with his music and facetious humour, that he was introduced into their general's tent, where he continued several days, and even gained the favour of that ferocious leader. Alfred, though his time

seemed to be wholly devoted to mirth, did not forget the intention of his visit: he observed their supine negligence and security; riot had usurped the place of order, and discipline was lost in intemperance.

Animated by these discoveries, he returned to his friends, and raised their drooping spirits with the hopes of an easy and certain victory. Dispatches were immediately sent to the most considerable of his subjects with this favourable intelligence, ordering them to assemble all their forces, and rendezvous at Brixton, in the forest of Sherwood. He was readily obeyed; the hopes of meeting their king, whom they had long regarded as dead, revived their hopes: the dangers of war now appeared far less terrible than the dominion of the Danes. The ravages of the barbarians had roused them to vengeance; they were desirous of retaliating the cruelties they had suffered on the brutal invaders of their country. Alfred drew a favourable preface from the alacrity of his subjects, who flocked to the standard of a king they adored, and led them immediately against the enemy.

The Danes had advanced to Yatenden, on the borders of Hampshire, in a confused, irregular manner: they dreaded no opposition; they imagined they had no enemy to fear. Astonished and confounded when attacked by the English, their opposition was feeble; they were terrified at the name of Alfred, and sought their safety in flight. A fortress was near, and thither they fled for shelter. Alfred surrounded their retreat, and famine soon forced them to surrender. Lenity still glowed in the breast of Alfred; he could not be cruel, even to an enemy that had ruined his country. Persuaded that the practice of agriculture would soon give them a distaste to pillage and rapine, especially if they became converts to the doctrines of the gospel, he offered to establish them in East-Anglia and Northumberland, which they had depopulated, provided they would undertake to defend those countries against any future enterprises of their countrymen, and also embrace the tenets of christianity. The conditions were joyfully accepted: they had little religion of their own; and, when their interest pleaded, they had no objection to be Christians. The event justified the policy of Alfred. Guthrun, the Danish chief, with thirty of his principal officers, were immediately baptized: Alfred was sponsor, and gave Guthrun the name of Athelstan.

This change of religion had the expected effect on the conduct of the Dane; he contracted a much greater regard for the sacred nature of an oath: he polished the ferocious manners of his countrymen. They had now a more tender regard for the lives of their hostages. They admired the abilities and virtues of Alfred, and seemed to have abandoned their former brutality with their former religion. Houses were erected in the country assigned them; the lands were cultivated; virtue and industry were encouraged; and Alfred presented the Danish chief with a short code of laws for the government of his subjects.

A.D. 880. Ever attentive to the happiness of his subjects, Alfred employed this interval of tranquillity in restoring order in the state, and in establishing measures which tended to prevent a return of similar calamities. He had seen the effect produced by his navy, and applied himself to augment its force. At the same time, he took every precaution to prevent any misunderstanding between his English and Danish subjects. He governed them by equal laws; he made no difference between them in the administration of civil or criminal justice: an injury committed on a Dane was punished with the same severity as if the sufferer had been an Englishman; the satisfaction, the fine was the same. The country again wore the aspect of plenty; the fields again waved with golden harvests: the cities were rebuilt; and London once more became rich and opulent; commerce again took sanctuary within her walls.

Alfred



Engraved for  
Sydney's  
History of England.



Wale del.

Granger sculp.

ALFRED, disguised in the Character of a HARPER,  
viewing the Danish Camp.







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Odo, EARL of DEVON taking the Danish Standard.*







Alfred had experienced the difficulties that attended the raising of an army on any sudden emergency: to this principally he attributed all the miseries suffered by his people. He therefore formed a regular and formidable militia for the defence of the nation: Every person in the kingdom, capable of bearing arms, was obliged to do military duty in his turn: strong bodies of forces were thus always in readiness to act against the common enemy. Part of these were stationed in garrisons; others were encamped in different parts of the kingdom; and others employed in cultivating the land, till an appearance of an enemy called them to arms. The kingdom was by these wise regulations always capable of opposing any invasion; the fields were properly tilled; no individual had a right to complain that his burden was heavier than that of his neighbour. Content appeared in every countenance: the late interval of sorrow was changed into an interval of joy.

But among all the establishments of Alfred, those relating to his navy were the most useful and advantageous. The very situation of the country, its being an island, pointed out a maritime force; though it had hitherto been unaccountably neglected. Alfred saw its necessity; he was convinced that while the English are masters of the sea, they have nothing to fear from the attempts of a foreign enemy. He stationed one hundred and thirty vessels of war at proper distances along the coast. He instructed his subjects in the art of navigation; and invited the most expert seamen from different nations to serve in his marine. The cruises of the pirates, so injurious to trade, now received a severe check; they hardly dared to venture out of their harbours.

Nor did he neglect to put the sea coast into a proper state of defence. He built castles and fortresses in places most exposed to the attempts of an enemy. They were well garrisoned, and furnished with every requisite for making a noble defence. Beacons were erected on the summits of the most conspicuous hills, and in the most proper places for spreading an alarm. Wherever any enemy appeared, the beacons were lighted, and a proper number of disciplined forces, under the lieutenant of the county, were ready for immediate action.

A. D. 892. By these wise measures and precautions, Alfred had, in appearance, secured the tranquillity of his kingdom, when Hastings, a celebrated Danish pirate, after ravaging great part of France, made preparations for invading England. He was no stranger to the great abilities of Alfred; and well knew that the wisest precautions had been taken to render any attempt of that kind abortive. But he persevered in his design; not to make settlements, but to enrich himself with the spoils of a trading people. He fitted out three hundred sail of ships, and embarking all his forces, stood over to the English coast. This powerful fleet was divided into two squadrons, one of which, consisting of two hundred and twenty sail, entered the harbour of Rye in Sussex, where they landed their forces, and seized the castle of Appledore. The other, commanded by Hastings himself, entered the mouth of the Thames, and landed at Milton, where the Danes threw up an intrenchment. They afterwards erected a castle at Middleton, and another at Beamsfleet. The dreadful ravages which had ceased for several years, were now again commenced; and an emulation seemed to exist between the two chiefs, who should excel in acts of outrage and cruelty: the country was again filled with blood and slaughter.

A. D. 893. These acts of barbarity augmented the glory of Alfred. That prince was in East-Anglia, employed in settling the affairs of that province, Guthrun having lately paid the debt of nature, when Hastings landed his forces. On the first information of this descent, Alfred flew to the defence of his people, and marched immediately to attack the armies of the enemy. The advance of Alfred was terrible to the Danes. The party from Appledore, had car-

ried destruction through the counties of Sussex and Surry, and were now returning to their fleet loaded with plunder. Alfred met this powerful band of lawless pillagers at Farnham, where he attacked them with the utmost fury, obtained a complete victory, and took all their baggage. The few that escaped the slaughter fled to their ships, sailed up the Colne, and fortified themselves at Brickelsey in Essex.

A. D. 894. This victory would have put an end to the ravages of the Danes, had not their perfidious countrymen, who had received so many marks of kindness from Alfred, taken up arms in favour of the invaders. Regardless of oaths, and strangers to gratitude, the Danes of Northumberland and East-Anglia renounced their allegiance; fitted out a numerous fleet, and landing in Devonshire, besieged the city of Exeter. Alfred marched with the utmost expedition to the relief of the inhabitants; and arrived in the neighbourhood, when the insurgents imagined he was employed in the eastern parts of the kingdom. The approach of Alfred struck them with terror; they immediately embarked, and joined Hastings at Beamsfleet. Encouraged by this powerful reinforcement, the pirate extended his ravages into Mercia, wasting the country through which he passed. Alfred had left a strong body of troops in London, for the security of that city: these were not idle. They took advantage of the absence of Hastings, attacked his fort at Beamsfleet, and carried it by storm. The plunder of many successful cruises, during a course of several years, were deposited in this fortress. The conquerors returned loaded with riches, and among the prisoners were the wife and two sons of Hastings. These were sent to Alfred, who generously returned them to the pirate, with this remarkable message, "That he did not make war upon women and Christians." Struck with the noble generosity of Alfred, and terrified by the power of his arms, Hastings sued for peace; which was granted him, on condition of his immediately departing the kingdom. Hastings accepted the stipulation; but observed it no longer than suited his own interest: he embarked his forces, and joined his countrymen on the other side of the Thames. But the vigour and alacrity of Alfred, rendered all their attempts abortive; they were driven from one end of the kingdom to the other; and exposed to the miseries of famine. At last, in despair, they forced a passage to their ships, and abandoned the island, without being able to carry with them any part of the plunder they had wrested from the inhabitants.

A. D. 896. Alfred found no difficulty in reducing the Danes of Northumberland and East-Anglia to their duty, after the departure of the pirates. But he was desirous of establishing a lasting tranquillity in his country. He had long perceived that peace was incompatible in a kingdom divided into petty states, and governed by feudatory princes. He wisely abolished that form of government, and took the people under his immediate authority and administration. The Welsh, who had hitherto preferred their independence, acknowledged the authority of Alfred. Peace was again established in the island, and the great genius of Alfred was once more at liberty to pursue the wisest measures for promoting the happiness of his people.

Nothing less than the prodigious talents of Alfred were equal to the amazing task of restoring government and order in a kingdom reduced to the most dreadful state of anarchy and confusion. The last ravages of the Danes had obliterated all order and subordination. The people were reduced to such a state of misery and want, that they were obliged to procure a wretched subsistence by committing the greatest crimes. The whole country was infested with bands of robbers, whose dreadful incursions rendered all property precarious; nor were the lives of the inhabitants safe from their rapacious attempts. The execution of a very severe justice only could put an end to those alarming enormities, and establish



order in the state. Alfred saw all the difficulties, but was not intimidated: he applied himself to regulate these crying abuses, and he could not confer a greater favour on his people. He began with dividing the kingdom into counties; these he subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. By this regulation every man in the kingdom became a member of some tything; the householders became mutual pledges for one another; and each was answerable for his children, his servants, and his guests. Every youth, at the age of fourteen, was obliged to register himself in some tything, when all the householders immediately became answerable for his conduct. Nor could any person change his habitation, without a certificate from the head of the tything to which he belonged. As the tything was answerable for the conduct of each individual, so the hundred was answerable for the different tythings, and the county for its different hundreds. The county, the hundred, and the tything, had each its particular court. The aldermen, bishop, and sheriff, presided in the first, the constable in the second, and the tythingman in the third. By these admirable institutions, rendered absolutely necessary by the circumstances of the times, every householder was obliged to watch over the actions of his neighbour; nor could any crime be long concealed, or long unpunished. Smaller injuries were punished in the tything court, but the larger were heard in that of the hundred. Twelve freeholders were chosen, who, upon oath, enquired into the crime of the accused, and he was either condemned or acquitted, according as they thought him guilty or innocent. This was the origin of juries, who still determine all civil and criminal matters in the English courts. Perhaps it is not possible to devise an institution better calculated to secure the liberty of the subject, or the equal dispensation of justice.

But the people had still a greater confidence in the impartiality and integrity of their king, than in a jury of their neighbours. They perpetually appealed to him from the sentence of the inferior courts. Alfred suspected that the judges wanted either abilities or honesty in their proceedings, and was determined to remove the complaint. He took particular care that his nobles and judges should be well acquainted with the laws of their country; and, that none might plead ignorance, he formed a new code, which served at once to instruct and direct his magistrates. This body of laws is now unhappily lost, but is still regarded as the foundation of the common law of England. It must, however, be remembered, that Alfred was not the sole author of this code of laws; he collected them from the scripture, from the laws of Ina, Offa, Ethelbert, and the customs of the various nations that inhabited Britain; but in many places he reformed and extended previous institutions. A body of new laws would have been dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

But it was not enough to procure a body of excellent laws; it was necessary also to put them strictly in execution. Alfred was equally diligent in this particular: he examined very strictly the conduct of all his ministers and judges, revised their decisions, and severely punished all who were guilty of partiality. By pursuing these prudent measures, all violences and oppressions were banished from a country where they had so long resided. Robberies were no longer feared: a breach of the peace, a public offence, or a private injury, were almost unknown. He ordered gold bracelets to be suspended in the highways, and no man ventured to take them down; and if a purse of money was dropped on the road, no person dared to touch it but the owner. Nor was Alfred less attentive to the liberty of his people than to the execution of justice. He ordered that the states of the kingdom, or general assembly of the nation, should meet twice a year in London; and that the members should owe their admission to their own quality or virtue, independent of the king's

pleasure. He never invaded, he never wished to invade the rights of his people. And we find in his testament this remarkable expression, "That it was just the English should for ever remain as free as their own thoughts."

It is, perhaps, impossible to reform and polish the manners of a rude, ferocious people, without the assistance of literature. Alfred was not to learn this truth: he knew that the rays of learning would dispel the gloomy night of Gothic ignorance, at once the parent of vice and superstition; and therefore neglected not this noble object, whose advantage he well knew from his own experience. The education of Alfred had been greatly neglected, through the indulgent tenderness of his father. His mind had not received the least tincture of knowledge when he had attained his twelfth year. His genius was first awakened by the perusal of some Saxon poems, but they had no tendency to improve his mind. The Latin language opened to him inexhaustible sources of instruction and improvement; and the early taste he discovered for works calculated at once to inform his understanding, and inspire him with the noble sentiments of honour and virtue, prognosticated his future greatness. The whole kingdom was involved in a dreadful night of ignorance. There was hardly a person in the island that understood the Latin service; many of the priests could not even read with propriety. Alfred laboured incessantly to dispel this darkness. He erected schools in various parts of the kingdom; and obliged all freeholders, who possessed two hides of land, to keep their sons at these seminaries till they reached their sixteenth year. He invited learned men from every part of the continent. He founded, or at least rebuilt, the university of Oxford. Persons of merit and learning only were appointed to offices of trust; the ignorant and indolent gained not the favour of Alfred. His own example was a powerful incentive to the industry of his subjects; a noble emulation was excited, and emulation is the parent of improvement. He divided the natural day into three equal parts; and measured the time by burning wax-tapers, of equal lengths, in lanterns. The keeper of his chapel had the care of these tapers; and it was his business to give him notice of every hour. The first of these portions of time was devoted to study, and acts of piety; the second to the dispatch of business; and the third to the relaxation and refreshment of his body. By thus husbanding every moment of his time, he became one of the most learned persons of his time. He understood the Latin perfectly; and translated the fables of Æsop, the history of Bede, and several other works, for the use of his subjects. He understood architecture and music, and was the best mathematician of that age. He composed several fables, parables, and short poems, in the Saxon language, adapted to the capacities of a rude and ferocious people. How unjustly do we complain of our want of time to pursue the paths of knowledge! Alfred, who was afflicted with many bodily infirmities; who, during the greater part of his life, was surrounded with enemies, had fought thirty-six battles in person, and omitted nothing that had a tendency to increase the happiness of his people, was master of every species of learning then cultivated. The fact is astonishing; we are but little acquainted with the powers of the human mind, when fully exerted.

The same economy prevailed with regard to the public revenues. Alfred divided these into two parts; one he dedicated to sacred, and the other to civil uses. The former he subdivided into four parts; the first was dispensed to the poor in general; the second to the support of religious houses founded by himself; the third to the public schools; and the fourth to the building and repairing churches, monasteries, and other public foundations. The moiety devoted to civil uses was subdivided into three parts; the first was destined to the support of his household; the second to the payment of his workmen; and the third



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**ALFRED the GREAT** *Making a Collection of Laws.*







third to the entertainment and relief of strangers who resorted to his court.

The happiness and advantage of his subjects formed one of the principal cares of Alfred. His court was the resort of all who were eminent in their profession; and Alfred omitted not this opportunity of enriching his country with all the improvements made in various countries. Agriculture, navigation and commerce, engaged his attention. He lent both ships and money to merchants of character; many of whom extended the trade of their country to Alexandria, and imported from thence the rich commodities of the Indies.

In private life he was great and amiable. His

temper was even; his disposition chearful; his conversation agreeable. He was temperate, charitable, beneficent, and generous; at once the prince and father of his people; possessed of every talent, of every acquisition that adorns the human mind; without one vice to fully the lustre of his virtues. No prince had ever a better title to the surname of Great.

A. D. 900. He died on the sixth of October, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign; leaving the nation to lament his death. The tears of a grateful people watered the tomb of Alfred. He left five children; two sons, and three daughters; who all inherited a considerable share of their father's talents and virtues.

## EDWARD THE ELDER.

A. D. EDWARD, who ascended the throne on 900. the death of his father Alfred, obtained the surname of Elder from his being the first prince of that name who held the English sceptre. The Danes were in possession of the kingdoms of Northumberland and East-Anglia, and had continued quiet during the latter end of Alfred's reign; they were afraid to provoke a prince of his abilities. But when Alfred paid the debt of nature, they formed a design for shaking off the yoke of servitude, and rendering themselves independent of the English crown. They were persuaded that Edward was not possessed of the great talents of his father, and that a fair opportunity now offered for breaking the shackles of obedience, and, perhaps, of becoming masters of the whole island. Edward, doubtless, appeared to great disadvantage, after so illustrious a father; but he was far from being unable to wield the sceptre with honour to himself, and advantage to his people. He was, indeed, inferior to Alfred in capacity and knowledge; but he equalled him in military skill and conduct. The Danes were, however, fearful of the event; and, under a pretence of submitting chearfully to the government, continued quiet in their territories; till an unforeseen event called them to action.

A. D. 901. Ethelwald, the eldest son of Ethelbert, laid claim to the throne of his father. The Danes supported his pretensions; and these barbarous people, who still retained their native ferocity, sent out bands of robbers, who laid waste the country through which they passed. How feeble are the foundations of the wisest systems of government, till the minds of the people are reclaimed from their vices, and are acquainted with the principles of religion and virtue! Inveterate evils must be destroyed by degrees; a considerable length of time is necessary to change the dispositions of the human heart.

Ethelwald, at the head of a Danish army, made himself master of Wimborn, in Dorsetshire, and Christchurch, in Hampshire; but, on the approach of Edward, he abandoned his conquests, and fled to Normandy, from whence he was afterwards conveyed to Northumberland, and acknowledged king of all the Danish territories in Britain. Edward, who followed the example of his father in giving the enemy no time for preparations, marched directly into Northumberland, reducing all the towns that lay near his route, and laying the whole country waste. Astonished at the expedition of Edward, and finding themselves in no condition to defend their territories against the victorious army of Edward, they banished from their kingdom the prince they had undertaken to protect, and submitted entirely to the clemency of the conqueror.

A. D. 904. Deprived of a sceptre he had hardly received, Ethelwald again returned to Normandy, where he solicited and obtained assistance. He im-

mediately embarked his forces, and landed in East-Anglia. The Danes laid aside their fears at the appearance of a Norman army, and declared openly for Ethelwald. But the abilities and alacrity of Edward rendered all his attempts abortive. He marched, indeed, into Gloucester, and committed the most dreadful ravages on the peaceable inhabitants; but was obliged to fly into East-Anglia on the approach of the English army. Edward carried his arms into the enemy's country, and laid the frontiers waste; but thinking it would be imprudent to penetrate into the heart of East-Anglia, retreated at the head of the main body of his army. A considerable body of Kentish forces, either to revenge themselves on the perfidious Danes; or to acquire a larger share of plunder, did not follow Edward, notwithstanding repeated orders for that purpose. Ethelwald perceived the imprudence of the Kentish forces, and resolved to take advantage of their temerity: they were accordingly surrounded, and cut to pieces. But the advantage was purchased too dear; both Ethelwald, and Eric, the Danish leader, fell in the action.

A. D. 911. But the death of this pretender to the crown established not the public tranquillity. The Danes continued their ravages, and the country again became a scene of misery and distress. Exasperated at the cruelty and perfidious behaviour of the Danes, Edward led his army against the insurgents, totally defeated them, recovered all the booty they had taken, and suffered his army to lay waste the country of these restless infringers of domestic peace.

Edward was nobly assisted in his wars by Elfreda, his sister: her masculine spirit greatly contributed to his success. This intrepid princess disdained the occupations of her sex, as unworthy of her care; the happiness and peace of her country engaged her attention, and she successfully laboured to procure the one and establish the other. Her prudence and virtue were equal to her courage; she seemed to possess the soul of her father Alfred.

A. D. 913. Having, by the assistance of his heroic sister, procured an interval of tranquillity, Edward applied himself to works of public utility, and the encouragement of learning. He rebuilt the city of Hereford, which the Danes had laid in ashes; fortified Witham; repaired several churches and monasteries; and erected the seminary of Cambridge into an university.

A. D. 917. But this interval of peace was terminated too soon. Ever restless, and ever perfidious, the Danes again began their inroads. They delighted in a desultory war; their ferocious souls rejoiced in cruelty; the unsettled occupation of a robber was more agreeable to the brutality of their nature than the placid labours of domestic life. Defeat succeeded defeat: in one part of the kingdom the insurgents were cut to pieces by Elfreda, and



routed by Edward in another. But they still continued their depredations: an insatiable love of plunder induced others to follow their example, though common prudence might have told them, that the same crimes would undoubtedly occasion the same punishments.

A. D. 918. These small incursions were, however, nothing more than a prelude to much greater misfortunes. A storm was gathering which required all the abilities of Edward and his intrepid sister to break its force. The Danes in Britany were now so prodigiously increased, that the country was unable to sustain them: an emigration became absolutely necessary. A numerous body under the command of Otar and Rohault, embarked from the southern coast of Britany, entered the mouth of the Severn, and ravaged the country both on the Welsh and English sides of the river. Encouraged by their first success, they extended their incursions as far as Erchenfield, laying the whole country waste. Alarmed at their danger, and exasperated at the cruelties of the enemy, the inhabitants joined the forces of Edward, and marched against the invaders. A battle ensued, in which the Danes were totally defeated, and all the spoil they had taken fell into the hands of the conquerors. Rohault and a brother of Otar were slain in the action; and the fugitives obliged to take shelter in a wood, which was immediately invested by the English. The invaders had now no other method than that of negotiation to avoid inevitable destruction. They sued for peace, and offered hostages for the performance of the conditions of the treaty, and promised to depart the kingdom immediately. But no promises, no treaties, no hostages, have power to bind barbarians, who live by plunder, and continually trample upon the laws of virtue and humanity. They embarked, indeed, and sailed from the mouth of the Severn, but they landed again on the coast of Somersetshire, and again fell to plundering the country. They did not, however, long continue their depredations before they were attacked by the militia of the county, who put the greater part of them to the sword, and the few that escaped fled to Ireland.

A. D. 920. But Edward soon perceived that the Danes were not the only enemies he had to fear. Leofrid the Dane, who was settled in Ireland, assisted by Griffith ap Madoc, brother to the prince of West Wales, landed on the coast, and penetrated as far as Chester. Edward flew at the head of a few forces to the defence of his people, and met the invaders at Sherwood, where a desperate battle ensued. During the action Leofrid encountered hand to hand with Edward, and the contest continued equal for some

time, till Edward in giving the Dane a violent blow, broke his sword at the hilt, and he must have fallen a victim to Leofrid had not his son Athelstan flew to his assistance. That prince was more fortunate than his father; he wounded Leofrid so desperately in the arm, that he dropped his spear, and surrendered himself a prisoner. The forces of the enemy were totally defeated, and forced to abandon the kingdom.

A. D. 921. A general insurrection of the Danes now threatened the English with all the horrors of savage barbarity. But the activity of Edward baffled all their designs; they were defeated in every attempt, and forced to abandon every enterprise. They were driven from one part of the country to another: their castles were taken, and their towns laid in ashes; they felt the same distresses they had so often inflicted upon the English. Submission now became their only resource: they accordingly laid down their arms, and readily embraced the terms offered by the victor. Edward, who knew from experience, how little confidence could be placed in the promises and oaths of the Danes, applied himself to render his conquests lasting, by fortifying several towns, and erecting castles in various parts of the kingdom. He even carried his arms beyond the former limits of his territories, and the princes of the Cumbrian and Strathclyd Britons submitted to his government. The Scots also sued for peace, and their king consented to hold his dominions in vassalage of the English crown.

A. D. 925. Edward had now attained the summit of human glory. He saw tranquillity established in every part of his dominions. He saw his subjects happy under his government, and cultivating with the utmost assiduity, the arts of peace. But how short are the periods of human felicity! Edward had hardly subdued his enemies, and terminated the calamities of war, when death put a period to his life in the twenty-sixth year of his age.

Edward was a worthy successor to his father: he imitated his conduct; he imitated his virtues. He was respected by his neighbours; and the ferocious Danes revered his abilities. Intrepid, vigilant and cautious, he was dreaded by his enemies; he never lost a battle. Kind, generous and humane, he was beloved by his people; he laboured for their happiness. He was an enemy to injustice; an implacable scourge to the sons of rapine and violence. He was a friend to learning, and encouraged it to the utmost of his power; persons of merit were sure to meet with protection and encouragement at his court. His people revered his virtues while he lived, and watered his grave with the tears of affection.

## ATHELSTAN.

A. D. 925. **A**THELSTAN succeeded his father in the throne, by the unanimous voice of the people. A conspiracy was, however, formed to wrest the sceptre from his hand, before he was fixed in the seat of power. Alfred, a nobleman of considerable authority, was at the head of this faction. But before the design was ripe for execution, the secret was discovered, and Alfred sent to prison. Strong suspicions of guilt only appeared against the incendiary; no direct proof could be produced. Alfred resolutely denied the charge, and offered to prove his innocence by an oath before the pope. In these times of superstitious bigotry it was thought, that such a perjury could not escape the vengeance of heaven; the offer was therefore accepted, Alfred repaired to Rome, and the oath was administered by John X. who then filled the papal chair: but Alfred was im-

mediately seized with violent convulsions, and in a few days after expired in the greatest agonies. Whatever might be the cause of this tragical event, which bears a very suspicious aspect, the conspirator was considered as guilty; Athelstan confiscated his estate, and gave it to the monastery of Malmesbury.

But the danger of the conspiracy of Alfred did not terminate with his death. Persuaded that a strong party was formed against Athelstan, the Danes of Northumberland revolted: they hoped to be joined by a powerful faction, and enabled to regain their independence. They penetrated as far as the city of York. Their army was led by their two chiefs Sithric and Inguald; and for some time success followed their standards. But Athelstan marched with such expedition, that the insurgents were surprized, and Sithric was obliged to sue for peace, which was granted



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England?*



*Alhelstan Saves his Father's Life by taking*  
**LEOFRIC the Dane PRISONER.**







granted. Athelstan, who perceived that it would be impossible to establish a lasting peace with the Danes in Northumberland, imagined, that by attaching Sithric firmly to his interest, an union might be effected between the two people. He therefore made Sithric king of Northumberland, and gave him his sister Edgitha in marriage. This political stratagem might possibly have been attended with very happy effects, had not an unforeseen event rendered the scheme abortive. Sithric unfortunately died a few months after his accession to the throne, before the projected union could take place.

A. D. 926. Two of his sons, whom he had by a former marriage, thought themselves entitled to the seat of their father, and took possession of the throne, without waiting for the consent of Athelstan, who resented the insult offered him, and drove them from the kingdom. One of these princes escaped into Scotland, and took refuge in the court of Constantine, who then filled the Scottish throne. Athelstan demanded the fugitive; which being refused, he marched a strong army into Scotland, and reduced the kingdom to such distress, that, in order to preserve his crown, Constantine was obliged to make the most humble submissions. It is generally said, that Constantine did homage to Athelstan for his dominions; but this is disputed.

A. D. 934. Ambitious of recovering the honour he had lost, Constantine joined in a confederacy with Anlaff, a Danish prince settled in Ireland; and Owen, king of the Cumbrian Britons, in order to attack Athelstan, and reduce his power to narrower bounds. Owen accordingly marched, at the head of his Britons, to join Constantine; and Anlaff came from Ireland with a numerous army, in a fleet of two hundred and sixteen sail of large ships. The forces of Anlaff were landed on the north side of the Humber, and marched immediately to join the allies. It was some time before Athelstan could raise an army sufficiently powerful to chastise the invaders of his country; and, during the interval, the troops of the enemy committed many disorders in Northumberland: they even imagined that Athelstan did not dare to meet them in the open field; and this opinion rendered them insolent and careless. But they soon found themselves mistaken; Athelstan appeared, and a decisive battle became inevitable.

For some days the two armies continued quiet in their camps; no acts of hostility passed between them. During this interval of inaction, Anlaff formed a design of seizing or assassinating Athelstan in his tent. He accordingly entered the English camp in the dress of a harper, and was well received by the soldiers. At last he was introduced to Athelstan, who was so delighted with his music, that he rewarded him nobly. A soldier, who had formerly served under Anlaff, had some suspicion that it was his old general concealed in this disguise, and determined to observe all his actions. Anlaff, who

scorned to carry away the reward he had received from Athelstan, was no sooner beyond the limits of the English camp, than he cut a hole in the ground, and hid the money. The soldier was now convinced that it was Anlaff, and immediately informed Athelstan of the discovery. The king, suspecting some treacherous design, ordered his tent to be removed; and the spot being left vacant, was occupied by a bishop, who had that evening joined Athelstan with a reinforcement of troops. Every thing continued quiet till midnight, when Anlaff, at the head of a chosen body of troops, broke into the English camp, repaired immediately to the spot where he had observed the king's tent, and slew the bishop, with all his followers. This action gave the alarm, and Anlaff escaped, with difficulty, to the allied army.

As soon as the morning appeared, the English attacked the enemy; and the action soon became general. The victory was, for some time, doubtful; but at last declared for the English. The allies were driven from the field of battle with prodigious slaughter; and the few that escaped, sought their safety in a precipitate flight. Anlaff and Owen, with a small number of their followers, reached their ships with the utmost difficulty. Constantine was wounded, and taken prisoner. But unable to recover his spirits after this defeat, or determined not to do homage for his dominions, he resigned his crown, and retired into a convent.

A. D. 941. Athelstan now rested from the toils of war, and applied himself to a task more agreeable to his nature, the cultivation of the arts of peace. He applied himself, with the utmost assiduity, to promote the happiness of his people, and render it lasting. But while he was labouring for the good of his country, he paid the debt of nature, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.

Athelstan was one of the greatest princes among the Saxons. His valour and affability were equally great, and equally admired. Though successful in war, he was naturally a lover of peace. He was at once intrepid, prudent, beneficent, and religious. He was learned himself, and a generous friend to the learned; respected by his enemies, and beloved by his friends. Convinced that commerce is the true source of riches, he encouraged it to the utmost of his power. He enacted a law, by which every merchant, who had made three long voyages to the Mediterranean, on his own account, was advanced to the rank of nobility. The same honour was conferred on a farmer who had acquired, by his own industry, five hides of land, and who possessed a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell. His desire of spreading the knowledge of the gospel among his subjects, should be mentioned with honour. He caused the Bible to be translated into the Saxon language, that every person might enjoy the advantage of being acquainted with the sacred writings.

## E D M U N D I.

A. D. **E**DMUND was not eighteen years of age 941. when he ascended the throne, on the death of Athelstan his brother; but had given so many proofs of his valour against the enemies of his country, that the greatest expectations were justly conceived of his reign.

The Danes, however, considered his youth as a favourable circumstance, and that an opportunity now offered for recovering their independence, and placing one of their own countrymen on the throne of Northumberland. They considered Anlaff as a person well qualified for leading their armies, and supporting himself against the whole power of Edmund. Messengers were accordingly dispatched to Ireland; and Anlaff, pleased with an opportunity of

wiping out the stain of his late defeat, readily embraced the offer. But not thinking his own army sufficient to oppose Edmund, he formed an alliance with Olaus, king of Norway, and received from that prince a strong reinforcement of ships and men. With this additional force he invaded Northumberland; and the Danes, who were governed by the spirit of revolt, joined his standards. He found means to carry on a secret correspondence with the principal inhabitants of York, and was admitted into that city on his first appearance. Many towns opened their gates to the invaders, and others were easily reduced; so that Anlaff was soon in possession of the chief places in Northumberland. But his ambition increased with his acquisitions; the crown he



came to receive was not sufficient to satisfy the desires of Anlaf. He advanced into Mercia, at the head of his army, and was very favourably received by his countrymen, who joined his standards, and assisted him to reduce several places that had been wrested from that kingdom by Edward.

The insolence of Anlaf fired young Edmund with a desire of revenging the insults offered to his country. He assembled his army with the utmost expedition, and marched immediately against the enemy. The two armies met at Chester, where a very obstinate battle ensued, and continued till night put an end to the contest. The victory still continued doubtful: neither appearing to have gained any advantage over the other. Both armies encamped upon the field of battle, in order to renew the fight as soon as the morning appeared. But Odo and Wulfstan, archbishops of Canterbury and York, laboured the whole night to put a stop to the further effusion of human blood, and had the good fortune to succeed. A peace was concluded, by which all the country north of Watling-street was ceded to Anlaf, who now sat down on the throne of Northumberland without opposition.

A.D. 943. The Danes soon perceived they were strangers to their own interest, when they called Anlaf to the throne. He had agreed to pay Olaus, king of Norway, a very considerable sum for his assistance, and soon after he received the sceptre, laid a very heavy tax on his subjects to fulfil his engagements. The impoverished state of the country rendered this impost doubly severe. They complained, but obtained no redress: Anlaf was inexorable. The natural consequences followed: the affections of the people were alienated from their king; they considered him as an usurper whom they had invited to the throne. The inhabitants of Deira went still farther: they sent for Reinald, the nephew of Anlaf, from Ireland, and crowned him at York. Anarchy succeeded unanimity: the kingdom was divided into parties, and each endeavoured to establish their own power on the ruin of others.

A.D. 944. A favourable opportunity now offered to reduce the insurgents, and Edmund was careful to embrace it. He made preparations for invading Northumberland, but carried them on in so secret a manner, that the Danes never suspected that their country would soon become a scene of war and desolation. They were wholly employed in harassing one another, when Edmund entered Northumberland, and laid it waste with fire and sword. The Danes were confounded: they had made no preparations for a defence, and were therefore obliged to submit to the clemency of the English monarch. The soul of Edmund was too generous to insult a fallen enemy. He even permitted each of them to wear the crown they had received from the people; but insisted on their embracing the christian religion. The Danish princes made no difficulty of complying with the terms of the treaty. It was no uncommon thing for

them to be pagans or christians, as they were induced by circumstances or conjunctures: they were always swayed by interest: they were too ignorant to comprehend, and too ferocious to embrace the tenets of the gospel.

A.D. 945. The Cumbrian Britons having assisted the Northumbrians in their late revolt, Edmund marched into their country at the head of his army; drove their prince from the throne, and bestowed his dominions on Malcolm, king of Scotland; who undertook the defence of the northern border, and did homage to Edmund, as lord paramount of the soil.

A.D. 946. The success of Edmund restored the tranquillity of England. Disappointments and misfortunes had taught the Danes that opposition only accumulated distress; and that there was no other method of acquiring happiness, than that of submitting quietly to the government. The English, freed from the ravages of the ferocious Danes, applied themselves to cultivate the arts of peace. They were happy under the government of a prince, whose valour had reduced their enemies to subjection, and whose generosity and humane government, encouraged them to improve the advantages that resulted from the tranquillity of their country. But while they were pleasing themselves with the hopes of enjoying, for a long interval of time, the blessings of uninterrupted happiness, a tragical event blasted all their hopes, and put a final period to all their expectations. While the king was celebrating the feast of St. Augustine in the church of Puckle in Gloucestershire, he observed at one of the tables a notorious robber called Leoff, whom he himself had banished for his crimes. Provoked at his insolence, he commanded the steward to apprehend the villain. But Leoff being too strong for the officer, refused to quit the place. Exasperated at seeing his orders disobeyed even in his presence, Edmund leaped from his seat, seized Leoff by the hair and threw him on the floor. Perceiving his death inevitable, the villain drew a dagger, and plunged it into the monarch's breast. Death followed the wound, and Edmund fell by the ignoble hand of a robber. His nobles, exasperated to madness, fell upon the regicide and cut him to pieces with their swords.

The youth of this prince, and the short time he sat upon the throne, render it impossible to draw his character with justice and with truth. Too young to display the talents which time would have unfolded, it can only be observed, that the imperfect specimens he gave of his prudence seemed to indicate that he would have cast no dishonourable shade on the illustrious virtues of his father. Equally valiant with his immediate predecessors, he reduced the enemies of his country to obedience; he hushed the jarring passions of different people into peace. His victories in the field are irrefragable proofs of his courage; the pains he took to render his people happy are demonstrations of his humanity.

## E D R E D.

A.D. 946. EDMUND left two sons, but being both infants, and therefore incapable of holding the reins of government with that steadiness which the complexion of the times rendered necessary, they were set aside, and Edred, brother to the deceased monarch, placed upon the throne.

A change of government was a signal of rebellion to the Northumberland Danes. They renounced their allegiance on the death of Edmund, and flew to arms to defend their independence. Edred, who

was no stranger to their turbulent dispositions, marched immediately into Northumberland, and wasted the country with fire and sword. Terrified at the progress of the English army, the Danes had recourse to their usual method of negotiation: they sued for peace in the most abject manner. Edred granted their request; but to prevent any insurrections for the future, he placed garrisons in all the fortresses of strength, under an able governor, who was charged to watch the motions of the restless Danes, with the greatest circumspection.



*Engraved for Sydnay's History of England.*



**EDMUND I** *Slabbed by* **LEOLF** *the Robber.*











*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Wille del.*

*Grignon sculp.*

**DUNSTAN** dragging **KING EDWY** from his Consort  
**QUEEN ETHELGIVA** on his Coronation Day.



A. D. 953. Peace being thus restored, Edred applied himself to exercises more agreeable to his inclinations than those of war. Religion, or rather superstition, formed the chief feature in the character of Edred; and Dunstan, the famous abbot of Gloucestbury, was his adviser, his director, and, in reality, the sole governor of the kingdom. Dunstan was one of those bold and enterprising men, whom pity cannot soften, and whose stubborn prejudices frequently interrupt the tranquillity of nations. He had no merits but those of a churchman; as an Englishman, they were execrable. He was zealous without discretion; artful without wisdom; profuse without elegance; and open without sincerity. The superstitious monarch was, however, deceived; he even submitted to receive corporal punishment from his hands. The great object Dunstan had in view, and which he pursued with the most unwearied diligence, was the celibacy of the clergy, which he was desirous of extending over the whole kingdom; and, to effect this, he did not scruple to sacrifice the lives of the innocent, or the peace and harmony of his country. Before this period, the monks in England lived without any other restraint than that of virtue; they were even at liberty to marry. The kingdom was full of priests and monks, who lived publicly with their wives. Celibacy was little known in England; the rule of St. Benedict principally prevailed. The new monks, under the pa-

tronage of Dunstan, attracted the veneration of the people by the austerity of their lives: they declaimed with warmth against the secular clergy, whose lives were immoral and offensive. Provoked at this attack, and more at the loss of their benefices, of which they were deprived to make way for the preferment of the new monks, the secular clergy inveighed against them in the most violent manner; their harangues were plentifully seasoned with invective and abuse. These disputes disturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom; they excited very alarming commotions among a superstitious and bigotted people.

A. D. 955. But heaven thought proper to stop, for a season, this unchristian contention. Edred was seized with a quinsy, and expired on the twenty-third of November, in the tenth year of his reign; lamented by Dunstan and his monks, who lost a powerful friend, and a generous benefactor.

The flatteries of the monks, and the servile applauses of a deluded multitude, have given a false lustre to the character of Edred. His valour was unquestionable; his virtue was never impeached. But superstition, the parent of misery and disorder, blasted his fame, and tarnished his reputation. He discarded his reason, to follow the dictates of a blind enthusiasm; and exposed his people to contentions and distress, to indulge the caprice of a blind and headstrong zeal.

## E D W Y.

A. D. **E** DWY, who ascended the throne on the 955. death of his brother Edred, was not above seventeen years of age when he was placed in the seat of power by the unanimous suffrages of the people. His soul was very susceptible of the tender passions; and the charms of Ethelgiva, a beautiful princess of the royal blood, had made a strong impression on his heart. She was related to him in the third or fourth degree; but his passion was too strong to submit to the ecclesiastical rules of consanguinity; he married the princess without publishing his nuptials. Edwy did not tread in the steps of his predecessor; he was no slave to superstition. He had a piercing genius of his own, and dared to follow the dictates of his reason. Dunstan saw that he should no longer be trusted with the rod of power, and declaimed violently against the vices of Edwy. The whole fraternity of monks joined their leader, and concerted the disgrace of the monarch. An opportunity soon offered for putting their scheme in execution. On the day of his coronation, Edwy, fatigued with the tedious ceremony, and willing to avoid the excessive drinking then universally practised, retired from table to the apartment of Ethelgiva. The nobles looking upon the absence of their king as an affront offered to themselves, complained of the insult. Dunstan saw their disgust with a secret satisfaction, and starting from his seat, rushed into the apartment of Ethelgiva, reproached the king for his behaviour in the harshest terms, and dragged him forcibly back to the company of the nobles.

Exasperated at this outrage of the insolent monk, Edwy determined to restrain his power, and convince him, that a polite behaviour at least is due to a monarch of England. His friends, who hated Dunstan, cherished the flames of resentment, and made use of every method in their power to infligate Edwy to revenge. The prince accordingly called upon Dunstan to render an account of his administration of the treasury during the reign of Edred; Dunstan refused to comply; upon which he was declared guilty of malversation in his office, and banished the kingdom.

This exertion of the royal authority roused the attention of the whole clergy. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, one of the most virulent fanatics of the age, suspecting that the resentment of Ethelgiva had been the principal cause of Dunstan's banishment, determined to take a severe revenge on that innocent princess. His soul was a stranger to compassion; he cherished not the virtue of humanity. He sent into the royal palace a company of soldiers, who, with more than brutal violence, dragged the fair Ethelgiva from the arms of her royal consort, branded her face with a red-hot iron, and conveyed her into Ireland. Happily for Odo, and unfortunately for his country, the blind superstition of the times supported his insolence. The monks had filled the minds of the people with a false, ridiculous terror; they pretended that christianity itself must stand or fall with their order; they construed the just resentment of offended majesty into an act of the highest impiety; they represented Dunstan as one of the vicereagents of heaven, and his banishment as a prelude to the total destruction of the religion of the gospel.

Exasperated at the insolence and barbarity of Odo, and afraid of his power, Edwy turned all his rage against the monks; whom he banished from the kingdom. Had he pursued the blow, and drove Odo also out of the island; had he employed the same resolution in securing his throne, as in vindicating his honour; the wreath of royalty would, probably, have flourished on his brow, and an interval of tranquillity succeeded the clamours of disappointed bigotry. But the popularity of Odo intimidated Edwy: he suffered the insolent prelate to enjoy his power unmolested, and lost his crown by the very method he took to preserve it.

A. D. 957. There is no difficulty in arming a superstitious people against their prince, when they are persuaded he is an enemy to religion. The virulence of disappointed malice had blackened the character of Edwy; he was considered as a monster of impiety, whose actions cried to heaven for vengeance. The inhabitants of Mercia and Northumberland flew to arms; placed Edgar, a younger brother of Edwy,



at their head, and proceeded to acts of violence. Dunstan was recalled from banishment, and Edgar put himself wholly under his direction. The standard of rebellion was changed into the standard of religion, by the sanction of a miracle. It was asserted that a voice was heard from heaven, commanding the nobles to set the crown on Edgar's head. Edwy was abandoned by all his subjects, except the West Saxons, and finding it impossible to stem the torrent of opposition, shut himself up in the city of Gloucester. About this time the lovely Ethelgiva, having been cured of her wounds, was returning from Ireland to enjoy once more the happiness of her husband's company. But the heart of Odo was steel'd against the soft pleadings of compassion: his emissaries intercepted her in her journey, and Ethelgiva fell a victim to the fury of unrelenting bigotry.

The civil war still raged with unrelenting violence; till at last both parties, fatiated with blood and slaughter, and perhaps feeling some compassion for the miseries of their country, agreed to terminate their quarrel by a treaty of peace; by which Edgar was permitted to enjoy all his conquests, with the title of king; and Edwy obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Wessex. Odo paid the debt of nature during these unhappy divisions: he died without seeing the triumph of the monks over the secular clergy. Dunstan was promoted to the bishopric of Worcester, to that of London, and to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. The conscientious monk scrupled not to enjoy all these three benefices at the same time.

A. D. 959. Robbed of his amiable Ethelgiva, stripped of his kingdom by an unnatural usurpation, and considered by his subjects as a monster of impiety, Edwy became a prey to melancholy. He had lost every thing that was dear to him, and life itself be-

came a burden. He pined in secret, and at last paid the debt of nature; but not without some suspicions of treachery. Several monks have related, that his soul having been carried into hell, one of those malignant spirits flew immediately to Dunstan with the news; but that the saint, instead of giving himself up to a cruel joy, prayed so fervently for the deceased, that the deity granted his salvation. Very little confidence surely can be placed in the veracity of writers, who scruple not to propagate such absurd relations.

The characters of few princes have suffered more from monkish malevolence than that of Edwy. They have loaded him with almost every vice, though they have not been able to bring a single instance to support the calumny. His severity to Dunstan has been represented as a crime of the deepest dye; a crime against the majesty of heaven. But surely the insolence of that reforming monk deserved a severer chastisement. Whatever power the harangues of pretended sanctity might, in that age of superstitious bigotry, have over the minds of an ignorant people, they have long since lost their force. Reason has resumed her throne, and stripped hypocrisy of the flimsy robe woven by the hand of monkish subterfuge to conceal her deformity; and exposed to the detestation of the humane and the virtuous, the detestable vices that so long lurked under the cloak of religion. It is not, however, intended to represent the character of Edwy as perfect. Frailties form one of the characteristics of humanity. A prince absolutely faultless must be more than man. His youth, however, may be urged as an apology for all his failings. Had he, like his predecessors, submitted to the government of Dunstan, all his faults had been forgotten; and his virtues displayed with all the powers of monkish eloquence.

## E D G A R.

A. D. **C**OULD any excuse be offered for rebellion, 959. the merits of Edgar would have excused the insurgents. Desirous of cultivating the arts of peace, he took the most prudent methods to secure tranquillity. He was too well acquainted with the turbulent disposition of the Northumbrian Danes to trust them with any power. He divided their country into two governments, and stationed a strong body of troops on the northern borders, that they might be always at hand to stop the inroads of an enemy, and quell any insurrection that might happen among the restless inhabitants.

But what rendered him far more formidable, and will transmit his name with honour to posterity, was his powerful navy, which was far superior to any thing enjoyed by his predecessors. His fleet was superior to all the marine forces in Europe. Authors are not agreed with regard to the number of his ships: Malmesbury says, that his navy consisted of no less than four thousand eight hundred vessels: others, that their number was not more than three thousand six hundred. But however that be, this powerful navy was divided into three squadrons. The first was constantly stationed on the eastern, the second on the western, and the third on the northern coasts of the kingdom.

Nor did he suffer this powerful navy to be idle and rotting in different harbours; he kept them cruising during the summer months, and always in readiness to attack an enemy on his first appearance. He himself sailed round the island constantly once a year. His custom was to go on board the eastern squadron immediately after Easter, and sailing to the westward scoured all the channel from the mouth of the Thames to the Land's-End in Cornwall. This being the limit of their cruise, he went on board the western

fleet, and standing to the northward he looked into every bay and creek, on the English and Scottish coasts, and also of Ireland and the Hebrides. Then going on board the northern squadron he visited all the harbours in that quarter, and landed at the mouth of the Thames. These and other regulations conceived with prudence and executed with vigour, preserved his own subjects in a due subordination, and rendered him the terror of his enemies. But the favour he shewed the monks was the most powerful method he employed to establish the public tranquillity. It is not, however, easy to determine, whether these indulgences flowed from his inclination, his gratitude, or his policy. This, however, is certain, that Dunstan and two other bishops, who were equally devoted to him, were consulted in all the affairs of government; they may even be said to have directed every measure of importance. The secular clergy were ignominiously expelled from the monasteries, and their places filled with Benedictine monks, who were equally zealous in promoting the interests of their own order, and in exposing the vices, and loading with obloquy the members of other religious establishments. They were supported by the hand of power, and all arguments urged against them were in vain. Edgar convened a general council of the ecclesiastics of his kingdom, and pronounced in that assembly a long discourse against the secular clergy. He painted their vices in the most glaring and odious colours. This speech, which was then considered as a master-piece of eloquence, is deeply tinged with the spirit of the times. Among a multitude of grave accusations, there occurs a ridiculous charge against the secular clergy, on account of the smallness of their treasure, which in that superstitious age, was considered as an accusation of no small importance.

This







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*W. D. delin.*

*Rennaldson sculp.*

*The first interview of* EDGAR (A. D.) ELFRIDA



This harangue procured him the most unbounded adulation of the monks. But their endeavours to change crimes into virtues have now lost their force; their eulogiums are obnoxious to suspicion, and their panegyrics to ridicule.

Edgar was remarkable for the dissoluteness of his manners. The virtue of no lady was safe, if celebrated for her beauty. Even the sacred recesses of devotion were not sufficient to protect innocence, nor exclude from the amorous monarch the votaries to religion. He carried off and ravished a nun, though opposed by the whole convent. Dunstan, indeed, reproached him for this atrocious crime, but no other punishment was inflicted on him, than a prohibition from wearing his crown during seven years. Edwy, who had not been half so criminal, was deprived of his sceptre. But Edwy opposed, and Edgar supported Dunstan.

A. D. 961. But, among all the amorous adventures of Edgar, that by which he obtained the beautiful Elfrida is the most singular, and therefore must not be passed over in silence. Elfrida was the daughter and heiress to Ordgar, earl of Devon; one of the first and richest noblemen in the kingdom. Desirous of fixing in her mind the principles of virtue, Ordgar caused his daughter to be educated privately in the country; but the fame of her beauty could not be confined; it filled the whole kingdom. Edgar often heard the praises of Elfrida, and conceived a design of making her his partner in the throne. But, desirous of knowing whether her charms were really equal to the portrait delineated by fame, Edgar dispatched Athelwold, his favourite and first minister, into Devonshire, with directions to pay a visit to her father, in order to obtain a sight of Elfrida, and bring him a certain account of her beauty. Athelwold himself was young, and very susceptible of the tender passions; so that the charms of Elfrida stifled in his breast every sentiment of duty, and inspired him with a resolution of attempting to gain her for himself. He returned to Edgar, and made a false report of the charms of Elfrida: he represented her as a person of ordinary beauty; and convinced Edgar, that she was not an object proper for his affections. He, however, artfully insinuated, that though she was unworthy to be the consort of a king, she would be an advantageous match for a subject; and that the vast estate of her father would be to him a sufficient compensation for the want of beauty in her person. Edgar readily gave his consent, and Ethelwold, soon after, married Elfrida. Conscious of the danger that must attend him, should Edgar discover the treacherous part he had acted, Athelwold took every precaution in his power to conceal the beautiful Elfrida from observation. But his perfidy was not long concealed. Edgar, either by chance, or the information of some enemy to Athelwold, was informed of the whole transaction. Exasperated at the treachery of his favourite, Edgar determined to take a severe revenge; but, in order to render the blow more certain, he dissembled his rage, and told Ethelwold, in a very careless manner, that he intended to hunt in the neighbourhood of his seat, and proposed to pay him a visit. The favourite, alarmed at the king's design, and being incapable of making any plausible excuse to elude the royal visit, set out a few hours before the king, under pretence of making the necessary preparations. On his arrival, he discovered the whole to Elfrida, conjuring her to use her utmost address to conceal from the amorous monarch those charms which nature had so lavishly bestowed upon her, lest they should prove the destruction of their domestic peace. But his request was made to a woman conscious of the power of beauty, and enflamed with the ambition of seeing a monarch at her feet. Instead of pursuing the advice of her husband,

she studiously displayed all the graces of her person. Love and fury took possession of the insulted monarch's breast; but he concealed the gathering storm from the eyes of his perfidious favourite. He carried him with him to hunt in the forest of Harewood, and stabbed him with his own hand. Elfrida, to expiate the guilt of being accessory to the murder of her husband, erected a monastery on the spot where he was slain, and was, soon after, married to Edgar.

A. D. 974. But these follies of irregular passion did not divert the attention of Edgar from promoting the happiness of his people. The whole kingdom had hitherto been infested with wolves, and Edgar nobly exerted his authority to extirpate that ravenous species of animals from the kingdom. But, on being closely pursued, they took shelter in the mountains and forests of Wales. Edgar, therefore, changed the tribute, which had been imposed upon the Welsh princes, into an annual tax of three hundred heads of wolves. This produced the desired effect; that creature, in a little time, was no longer to be found in any part of the kingdom.

The monks, who have given us the history of Edgar's reign, have shamefully neglected the chronology, in order to dress up every period of his government in the tinsel robe of flattery. The whole is rather a panegyric on his person and character, than a regular series of his actions. It was, however, about this time, that Edgar gave an instance of his vanity, which it would have been no reproach to their endeavours to add a lustre to his character; had his historians suffered it to glide down the current of time neglected and forgotten. Edgar summoned the tributary princes to attend him at Chester, and going on board his barge, they rowed him down the river Dee to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, while he himself sat at the helm.

A. D. 975. The peaceable reign of Edgar now drew towards a close. Few princes, in those turbulent times, ever enjoyed a longer interval of tranquillity; indeed, few ever took such prudent methods to obtain it. He was feared and respected by his enemies, from his accession to the throne, till he paid the debt of nature, which happened in the thirty-third year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.

It is no easy task to draw a just character of Edgar. The monks, not satisfied with displaying his virtues as a king, have been ambitious of making him pass for a saint. But surely it is difficult to reconcile his actions and the dissoluteness of his manners with the christian perfections that constitute that character. If the enriching churches and monasteries be considered as the greatest virtues, Edgar may be justly considered as a saint. This was indeed the opinion in that age of ignorance and bigotry, and on that basis the sanctity of Edgar is founded. The ages of superstition are not the same with the ages of morality.

But though Edgar has no claim to the title conferred upon him by the pen of adulation, his political talents for government add a real lustre to his character. Notwithstanding his youth, he was a consummate politician, a wise legislator, a patriot king. The prudent methods he pursued for preventing invasions, do him the highest honour. His laws for the preservation of civil happiness are equally admirable. Ever attentive to the trade of his subjects, he regulated the coin of the kingdom, and took care that it should be of a proper degree of fineness, in order to support the credit of the nation in foreign markets. He also reduced the weights and measures to one standard. In a word, he exerted himself so nobly to procure the happiness of his people, and maintain the honour of his crown, that it were to be wished his failings had been less, or that they had been for ever buried in the gulph of forgetfulness.



## EDWARD, surnamed THE MARTYR.

A. D. 975. **D**ISCORD, and all the horrors of a civil war, threatened the nation on the death of Edgar. The great power of Dunstan had alarmed the nobles, and they were now desirous of preventing the mitre from giving laws to the crown. The ambitious Elfrida was no stranger to their sentiments, and determined, if possible, to obtain for Ethelred, her own son, the sceptre of his father, and exclude Edward from his birthright. She fanned the flame of suspicion in the breasts of the nobles, by placing the tyrannical designs of the monks in the most odious point of light. Success at first attended the labours of Elfrida: the nobles were alarmed at their danger; the monks were driven from their benefices in many parts of the kingdom, and the secular clergy restored to their possessions. This successful beginning encouraged Elfrida, whose credit increased in proportion as that of the monks declined. Some doubts had long subsisted with regard to the former marriage of Edgar, and Elfrida lost not the advantage: she urged them, with all the force of female eloquence, as a sufficient reason for setting aside the succession of Edward. Dunstan saw his danger; and, by vigilance and activity, rendered the scheme of Elfrida abortive. He summoned an assembly of the states, and met them in all the pomp of ecclesiastical greatness. He knew the power of Elfrida's party, and feared the majority would declare for Ethelred. No time was therefore given for debate: the archbishop, instead of explaining the intention of this general meeting, led Edward into the midst of the assembly, and set the crown on his head. The members were astonished at his arbitrary proceeding, but the great power of Dunstan silenced every complaint. The resentment of the people, who considered that prelate as a prophet, and one of the viceregents of heaven, extorted a general consent. Edward was placed upon the throne of his father.

The reins of government fell into the hands of Dunstan on the accession of Edward, who was only fourteen years of age when he received, from the hands of that prelate, the sceptre of Edgar. The secular clergy were now exposed to all the fury of monkish resentment. But as the declarations of a prince in his minority, and wholly at the devotion of Dunstan, would carry the most glaring marks of suspicion, recourse was had to miracles and revelations in behalf of the monks. A general council was held at Winchester, where a voice issuing from a crucifix declared in favour of the order of St. Benedict. But this pretended miracle was performed in too blundering a manner to extort conviction; the monks only asserted it was real. Dunstan was exasperated at the obstinacy of his opponents, and took care his next miracle should be attended with more alarming consequences. A general council was held at Calne, in Wiltshire, where, before the major part of the members were arrived, Beornholm, an Irish bishop celebrated for his learning, offered to undertake the defence of the secular clergy; but Dunstan declined the contest, under pretence that he was old and infirm; adding, that it would be the

highest degree of impiety to dispute on a subject which had been determined by a miraculous voice from heaven. Beornholm considered this answer as a mere subterfuge, and determined to maintain his thesis before the whole assembly; but a dreadful catastrophe prevented his design. He had hardly begun the debate, before the floor of the room, in which the assembly was held, fell down, and great numbers were crushed to death; but the beam which supported the seat of Dunstan, stood firm, and the prelate remained unhurt amidst the general slaughter. These pious frauds, considered as miracles in these times of ignorant bigotry, put an end to the contest. It was thought that the Deity had visibly interposed in favour of the celibacy of the clergy, and no farther opposition was made to the scheme for extending it over the whole kingdom.

Soon after Edward's accession to the throne, Elfrida retired, with her son, to Corfe-castle, in Dorsetshire. All animosities between her and the reigning prince seemed to be entirely forgotten, and the former peace and harmony to be restored. On the part of Edward, this reconciliation was real; but Elfrida nursed in secret the fury of revenge, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to execute her horrid design.

A. D. 978. Edward, who harboured no suspicion of treachery, left his attendants in the adjacent forest, where he was hunting, in order to pay a visit to his mother-in-law. He was received with all the external marks of affection by Elfrida; but while he was drinking a cup of wine, he was treacherously stabbed in the back by one of her servants, whom the ambitious Elfrida had prevailed upon to execute her horrid purpose. Edward, on receiving the wound, immediately set spurs to his horse, to escape a second blow, and reach his companions; but the stroke was mortal. He fainted with the loss of blood, fell from his horse, and one of his feet catching in the stirrup, he was dragged a considerable distance along the road; and expired. The servants of Elfrida followed Edward, took up the body, and threw it into a well, to conceal, if possible, the horrid murder. But their attempts were in vain; the body was found a few days after, and buried at Wareham. Elfrida, either stung with remorse for the horrid crime she had committed, or to prevent the effects of the storm which threatened to overwhelm her, retired into one of the monasteries she erected to expiate her guilt, and passed the remainder of her days in penitence and obscurity.

The small time the unfortunate prince Edward filled the throne, his youth, and the few civil events that happened in his reign, render it impossible to draw his character. The monks, who were the only historians of these times, have represented him as a saint, but without giving any reasons for conferring the appellation upon him. They have, however, furnished us with the only plausible reason that can be given for his acquiring the surname of martyr. They tell us, that miracles were wrought at his tomb. The peculiar favour conferred by the Deity on the ancient martyrs, was, if we believe the monks, extended to Edward.

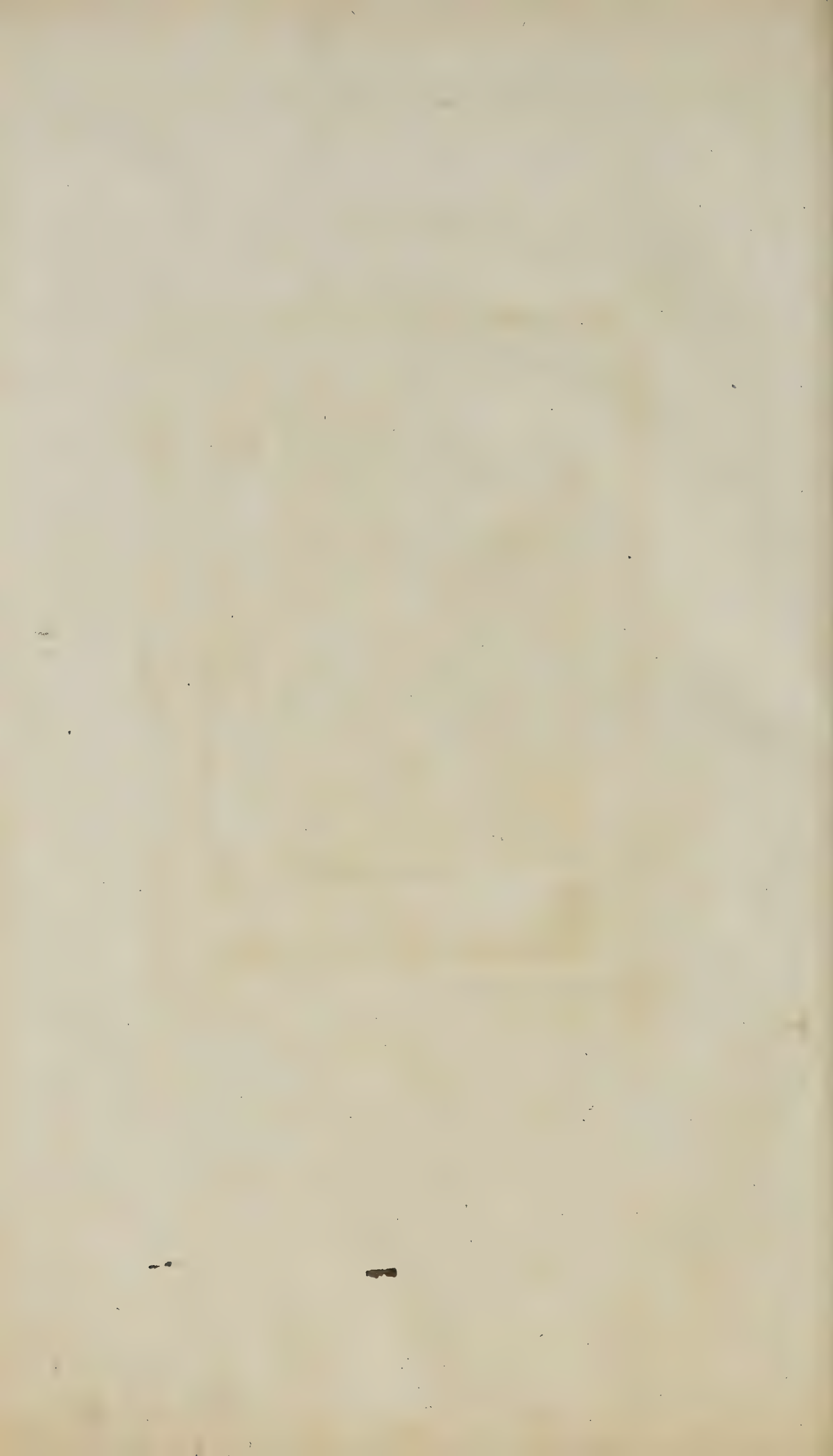


*Engraved for (Sydney's History of England.*



*Edward the Martyr Stabbed  
By Order of his Step Mother ELFRIDA.*







## E T H E L R E D II.

A. D. 978. **E**THELRED was now the lawful heir to the throne of England. The crime of Elfrida, which secluded her from the world, procured the sceptre for her son. Dunstan saw it would be in vain to oppose his accession, and therefore anointed Ethelred, and placed the crown upon his head. He knew the dispositions of Ethelred were never favourable to the monks, and suspected that his own behaviour in the contest between him and his brother had not rendered them more propitious. But he hoped that time might efface the injury, and the sanctity of the monks recommend them to his protection.

Ethelred was only in the twelfth year of his age, when he ascended the throne of his ancestors. He was without experience, without learning, without knowledge. He had no capacity, no genius, no courage. His abilities were unequal to the task of governing a kingdom in the midst of a profound peace, much less in times of danger and distress. The nation was rent into two factions, both courted the favour of Ethelred, and both endeavoured to blacken the character of each other. He wanted penetration to distinguish the caresses of fidelity from those of adulation, and became fluctuating and irresolute: hence his whole conduct was a series of timidity, indolence, perplexity and distrust. The nobles had taken advantage of his brother's weakness, to render their power almost independent of the crown. The royal authority had, in a great measure, lost its force, and the safety of the nation, which depended on the union of the nobility, was destroyed.

A. D. 987. The monks had more than once experienced that Ethelred was not a friend to their order. He besieged the bishop of Rochester in the capital of his own diocese; and the prelate was obliged to purchase his safety with a considerable sum of money. But the opposition they met with from Ethelred, was only a prelude to their misfortunes; Dunstan now paid the debt of nature, and left them exposed to the malice of their enemies. A strong contest ensued with regard to a person qualified to fill the see of Dunstan. The monks were at last victorious, and Ethelgar, a monk of Glastonbury, was elected archbishop of Canterbury. He did not, however, long enjoy the archiepiscopal dignity; and on his death, the see was occupied by Siricius, originally a monk of the same seminary. But he was not equal to Dunstan either in abilities or affection for the monks.

Sixty years had elapsed since the kingdom had been desolated by the ravages of the Danes. The navy of Edgar had ruined their fleets, and confined their pyratral cruises to the shores and harbours of the continent. But the feeble administration of Ethelred, and the destruction of the English ships, which had been suffered to rot in their harbours, encouraged that northern people to renew their ravages. They did not, however, attempt a general invasion till by several previous trials they were assured of the weakness of the government. Having thus obtained sufficient knowledge of the disposition of the English, Guthmund and Justin, two Danish generals, landed with a powerful army at Ipswich in Suffolk. But neither the calamities of his country, nor the danger of losing his crown, could rouse Ethelred from the couch of indolence. Instead of taking the field in person, or endeavouring to excite the courage of his subjects, he listened to the timorous counsel of Siricius, archbishop of Canterbury, and procured a

respite from the horrors of devastation by a method calculated rather to stimulate their avarice, and augment their confidence of success, than to procure a lasting peace to his subjects. He purchased the departure of the Danes, at the price of ten thousand pounds. This infamous treaty was attended with the consequences that must have been expected. The Danes employed the money they received from Ethelred in fitting out a more powerful fleet, not to ravage but to conquer the island.

A. D. 993. This formidable armament was commanded by Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olaus, king of Norway. They ravaged Durham and Yorkshire without opposition. At last the English army appeared, and the Danes would have paid dearly for their plunder; had not three of their leaders, all of Danish extraction, betrayed the cause they had undertaken to defend. They basely went over to the enemy, and left their troops to be cut to pieces by the swords of the barbarians. Flushed with success, and animated with avarice, the Danes advanced against London, but the citizens opposed the enemy with so much spirit and resolution, that the invaders, after losing a great number of men, were obliged to raise the siege, and make a precipitate retreat. This disappointment raised the fury of the Danes to the highest pitch; they laid great part of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire waste, and committed the most horrid cruelties on the innocent inhabitants. In this distress, recourse was again had to negotiation, and the Danes agreed to quit the country on receiving sixteen thousand pounds. The treaty was concluded and the enemy returned to their own country. Olaus, who embraced christianity in England, and who is registered among the saints, religiously observed the conditions of the agreement. He never more attempted to interrupt the tranquillity of England.

A. D. 999. The interval of peace purchased by this infamous treaty, was of no long duration. New armies of barbarians under different leaders soon returned, and spread the horror of war and devastation over various parts of the country. The cowardly indolence of the king, and the treacherous behaviour of his subjects, increased the dreadful calamities, and threatened the island with inevitable destruction. In this alarming crisis, an unexpected event saved the kingdom. The Danes whom the famous Rollo a century before had settled in Normandy, and who had always supported their countrymen in their descents on the English coast, now stood in need of their assistance. Robert, king of France, had defeated the army of Richard II. duke of Normandy, and threatened to drive him out of his dominions. The Danes in England flew immediately to the assistance of Richard, and the English enjoyed a short respite from the miseries of war.

A. D. 1000. But Ethelred was too indolent to make a proper use of this interval of tranquillity; the Danes when they returned from Normandy, found the kingdom as defenceless as before. They again commenced their ravages, and, if possible, exceeded their former acts of barbarity. Ethelred had no recourse to his usual expedients, in order to purchase a peace for a people he wanted courage to defend. He agreed to pay the enemy twenty-four thousand pounds, provided they would immediately depart the kingdom. The money was raised by a tax levied on the people, under the denomination of Danegeld.



lutely necessary; and Edric, finding his perfidy detected, went over to the enemy.

Canute now ravaged the country without opposition. The distress of the people was augmented by insolence, and barbarity was added to destruction. The heart of Edmund was pierced by the miseries of his country, but treachery prevented his affording them any relief. In the midst of these dreadful scenes of adverse fortune, Ethelred paid the debt of nature, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign.

Few of the virtues that add lustre to a crown fell to the share of Ethelred. His cruelty in massacring the Danes has stained his character with infamy. His indolence, at the beginning of his reign, involved his country in misfortunes; and his attachment to the traitor Edric completed its distress. The most

consummate abilities would, indeed, have been hardly sufficient to save the nation at this dangerous crisis, when dissensions prevailed among the counsellors, and treachery among the generals. The timorous disposition of Ethelred was ill adapted to hold the reins of government in those times of danger and distraction. He wanted that fortitude which was necessary to support him amidst such complicated scenes of national distress; and that intrepidity which would have animated him to punish treachery, and retaliate on the invaders of his country all the miseries they had inflicted upon an innocent people.

Ethelred was not, however, wholly destitute of virtues. He enacted several excellent laws, by which the property and safety of the subject were secured, both from the oppressive power of the great, and the illegal innovations of the artful.

## EDMUND II. surnamed IRONSIDE.

A. D. 1016. **I**F valour and intrepidity, blended with compassion, and directed by prudence, could have saved the nation from the yoke of slavery, Edmund would have accomplished the noble design. But the power of the enemy, and the treachery of pretended friends, rendered the task superior to human abilities. Canute, at the head of a victorious army, threatened the destruction of English liberty. Unanimity was absolutely necessary at this alarming crisis; but Edmund had reason to fear, that both his nobility and prelates were deeply tainted with perfidy. The soul of Edmund, however, was superior to fear: he nobly exerted all his abilities in the cause of his country; and having raised an army in Wessex, took the field against the invader.

London had always continued faithful to the family of Edgar, and repelled every attempt that had been made against it. Canute well knew the importance of that city; he considered it as the principal support of Edmund, and that both must stand or fall together. He therefore attempted to invest the city in the absence of Edmund; but he saw no hopes of success, unless he was master of the river both above and below the bridge, in order to prevent provisions from being carried into the city by boats from the country. To effect this design, he dug a deep canal on the Surry side, through which he turned the current of the river, and, by that artifice, drew his ships above the bridge. He was now master of the stream, both above and below the city, which he surrounded with his works. But the Londoners defended the place with such obstinacy, and made so many successful sallies, that Canute was obliged to raise the siege, after losing a considerable part of his army.

Edmund was advancing to the relief of his capital, when Canute abandoned the undertaking. At last the two armies met at Penne, in Somersetshire, and a bloody battle ensued. The victory was long doubtful, but at last declared in favour of Edmund; and Canute was obliged to retire to Winchester, to recruit his army.

The two kings now seemed determined to put an end to the war by a decisive battle. They met at Secorstan, on the borders of Gloucestershire. The battle was fought with the utmost intrepidity by both armies; and night put an end to the contest, before any advantage had been gained on either side. As soon as the morning appeared, the battle was renewed with the same fury as before. Edmund flew from rank to rank, was present in every danger, and marked his tracks with slaughter. Victory hovered over his standard, and was on the point of declaring in his favour, when the traitor Edric, by a stratagem, changed the fortune of the day. He cut off the head of one Osmor, whose countenance greatly resembled that of Edmund, fixed it upon the point of a spear,

and shewing it in triumph, called out to the English, "Behold the head of your king! Edmund is no more!" The forces of Edmund were seized with consternation; and he was obliged to raise his helmet, before he could convince them of their mistake; but he could not, by all his efforts, regain the advantage he had lost. The victory was again doubtful, when night put an end to the scene of slaughter.

Edmund waited impatiently for the morning, not doubting but he should soon obtain a complete victory over the Danish forces: but the first blushes of the dawn convinced him that no enemy was near. Canute, dreading the consequence of a third engagement, had taken the advantage of the night to retreat from the field of battle, and was then at too great a distance for Edmund to fall upon his rear.

The infamous Edric now returned to Edmund's camp, and, with all the marks of sincere contrition, implored his pardon for his former conduct. The soul of Edmund was too susceptible of compassion; he believed the traitor's repentance to be real, and again admitted him into his favour. Success, for some time, attended the standards of Edmund; several parties of the Danes were defeated, and Canute was determined to risk his fortune on one decisive action. Edmund attacked the enemy with an irresistible fury; and the Danish army must have been cut to pieces, had not the traitor Edric once more defeated the efforts of Edmund. Instead of charging the Danish army, he fled from the field of battle, at the head of the wing under his command. The flight of so large a part of the army struck the English with a panic; nor were all the attempts of Edmund sufficient to rally the broken squadrons, and lead them once more against the enemy. A dreadful slaughter ensued, and Canute triumphed over the standards of Edmund.

But the courage of that prince was not to be depressed by misfortunes. He applied himself, with the utmost alacrity, to recruit his forces, and soon found himself at the head of an army sufficient to dispute the palm of victory with the enemy. Canute was astonished to see Edmund again approaching with the utmost intrepidity, and was alarmed for the consequences. He had purchased the last victory with the blood of many of his best officers, and even owed his success to treachery. He, however, led his forces against the English; but both armies seemed unwilling to engage. The two princes acted, on this occasion, with the utmost caution; they stood opposite to each other, but neither gave the signal to engage. During this dreadful interval of inaction, a captain in the English army advanced, and, in a florid speech, displayed the distress which this fatal war had brought upon the innocent inhabitants, in the most pathetic manner; and observed, that as the







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Combat between Edmund Ironside and*  
**CANUTE the GREAT.**



two kings were equal with regard to personal courage, it would be an act of humanity, by preventing the total depopulation of the island; for the leaders to put a final period to their quarrel by single combat; adding, that the victor should be acknowledged sovereign by both armies. This proposal obtained an universal approbation. A general shout ensued; the two leaders submitted to the proposed decision; and retired, with a small number of their friends, into the isle of Alney, an island in the Severn; their troops lining the opposite banks of the stream, and waiting impatiently the event of a combat, which was to decide the fate of the kingdom. Canute perceiving that he was overpowered by the great strength and remarkable activity of Edmund, proposed to make a division of the kingdom, and terminate their quarrel by an act of mutual friendship. The generous Edmund listened to the proposal; he was more desirous of healing the wounds of his bleeding country, than of being placed in the seat of power. The fury of the passions immediately subsided, and malevolence gave place to kindness. The two princes threw away their swords, and flew into the embraces of each other. Both armies caught the generous flame of reconciliation, and gave a general shout of undissembled joy. The treaty was concluded in the presence of the nobles and principal men of both nations; by which it was stipulated, that Edmund should retain all the country to the south of the Thames, together with the city of London, Wesssex, East-Anglia, and Essex; and the rest of the kingdom to be ceded to Canute.

We have followed Hovenden, and Ethelred, abbot of Rieval, in relating the circumstances which at-

tended the reconciliation of Edmund and Canute; but think it necessary to add, that several of our ancient historians mention not the combat between the two kings; though they all agree, that a peace was concluded without a battle.

The English now flattered themselves that a final period was put to their distress; that discord would be succeeded by harmony; and the noisy horrors of war give place to the calm pleasures of domestic peace. But the malignant breath of treachery blasted all their hopes: the lovely plant of British liberty was cut down by the hand of a traitor. Ever restless, and ever uneasy; terrified at the turpitude of his own crimes, and dreading the effects of Edmund's resentment, Edric determined to prevent the stroke of justice, by committing an act that shocks humanity. He bribed two ruffians, acquainted with every vice, to assassinate his sovereign. The attempt succeeded, and Edmund fell a victim to perfidy.

The reign of that prince was too short; and even that small interval so crowded with events; that his virtues could not be sufficiently displayed to form an adequate idea of his character. It may, however, be said with justice, that his courage was invincible; his activity amazing; his generosity unbounded. He was intrepid in danger; patient in adversity; modest in success. He was a friend to the brave, a friend to the virtuous; a friend to his country. But as virtues become vices when carried to excess, so the magnanimous generosity of Edmund degenerated into weakness. By pardoning Edric, who had so often betrayed the interest of his country, he lost at once his kingdom and his life.

## C A N U T E THE GREAT.

A. D. 1017. **E**DMUND left two sons, but they succeeded not to the throne of their father. Canute seized the sceptre of Edmund, but endeavoured to conceal his usurpation under the appearance of justice. He summoned a general assembly of the nobility and clergy, and produced witnesses, suborned for that purpose, to declare, that in the treaty between the two kings, it was stipulated, that in case of the death of either of the contractors, the other should succeed to his dominions, preferably to his own sons. The members were astonished at this new claim; but the dread of Canute's resentment stifled all opposition. The voice of truth was silenced by the frowns of power. The assembly swore allegiance to Canute, and he was crowned king of England.

But, though he had succeeded in his attempt upon the government, he was persuaded that the English would embrace the first favourable opportunity of placing one of the descendants of Edmund on the throne of his ancestors. He, therefore, sent the young princes to the court of Sweden, requesting that they might be assassinated. Shocked at the thought of committing so horrid a crime, and afraid of the resentment of Canute, the Swedish monarch sent the young princes secretly to Solomon, king of Hungary, who received them with the utmost kindness, and gave them an education suitable to their birth. Edmund, the eldest, died soon after; but his brother, Edward, married Agatha, daughter to the emperor Henry II.

The sons of Edmund were not the only persons whom Canute thought proper to remove for his own security. Several of the principal nobility, who were still attached to the race of their ancient kings, fell victims to his safety. The traitor Edric suffered the punishment due to his crimes. He had the

assurance to reproach Canute with ingratitude; and complained, that the rewards he had received were inadequate to his services. Provoked at his insolence, and detesting his character, Canute immediately ordered him to be beheaded, and his body to be flung into the Thames. Thus perished Edric, whose crimes were a blemish to human nature, and have branded his memory with eternal infamy.

One obstacle still remained, and which required policy, rather than force, to remove it. Richard, duke of Normandy, who had given protection to Alfred and Edward, the two sons of Ethelred, was disposed to support the claim of his nephews. He demanded the crown of their brother Edmund. Canute was alarmed at the message of Richard. He well knew the English were strongly attached to their ancient race of kings, and that Richard was able to give them the most powerful assistance. Edmund, unsupported by any foreign power, had wrested the sceptre from his hands, had he not been betrayed by an infamous traitor. Richard was a warlike prince, beloved by his subjects; and favoured by the Danes in general. Canute saw the danger, and determined to prevent it. He sent a splendid embassy to Richard, demanding his sister Emma in marriage, and offering his own sister, Hestrietha, to the Norman prince. The proposals were accepted, the nuptials were celebrated, and the double marriage cemented their friendship.

A. D. 1018. The wars of Canute had exhausted his treasury, and his officers and partisans were still unrewarded. He, therefore, loaded the English, particularly the citizens of London, with imposts. Necessity, rather than tyranny, induced him to exercise a severity not agreeable to his disposition. The wisdom of his administration soon after obliterated the impressions of this rigorous treatment. He made



no distinction between the English and the Danes. He confirmed the Saxon laws and institutions. He distributed justice impartially: no respect of persons, no favour was obtained by either party. Innocence was sure of protection; the guilty of punishment. Such measures soon conciliated the affections of the English. Canute was no longer considered as an usurper. The two nations became one people; and happiness and tranquillity succeeded a long series of troubles and distress.

A. D. 1019. A war having broke out between the Danes and Vandals, Canute found it necessary to visit his hereditary dominions, which were threatened with destruction. The Vandals had defeated the Danish army, and carried fire and sword into the heart of their country. The utmost expedition therefore was used by Canute in fitting out a fleet, and embarking a number of forces sufficient to stop the ravages of the enemy. A body of English troops, under the command of earl Godwin, one of the most powerful noblemen, was shipped for this expedition. The Vandals, not expecting Canute was landed in his dominions, took no care to guard the avenues to their camp, so that the Danish monarch marched unmolested to attack them; but before he could reach the enemy, night overtook him, and he was obliged to encamp. During the night earl Godwin, without communicating his design, threw himself, at the head of the English, upon the camp of the enemy, and obtained a complete victory. Charmed at this unexpected success, Canute loaded the English with favours, and gave earl Godwin his sister in marriage.

A. D. 1020. Canute on his return to England, removed every officer that had been guilty of oppression in his absence. Even Eric, duke of Northumberland, formerly one of the principal officers in the army, was banished the kingdom. But what still endeared him to the people was the sorrow he expressed for the multitudes that had fell victims to his ambition. He built a church at Ashdown, on the spot where he fought a bloody battle with Edmund; and founded chauntries in those places where any slaughter had been made of the English. Every act of supererogation was sure to gain the affections of the people. Canute was now esteemed for his piety and virtue.

A. D. 1028. Olave, king of Norway, had for some years laboured to restrain the ferocity of his subjects, and render their lives conformable to the precepts of religion. He would not suffer them to pursue their favourite profession of piracy and plunder. These restraints were odious to the Norwegians, and they determined to dethrone him. Canute took advantage of these divisions, landed in Norway at the head of a powerful army, and drove Olave from the throne. And Canute, by being master of three great kingdoms, became the most powerful sovereign in Europe. His ambition was now satisfied; but his own reflections on the fleeting nature of sublunary objects, soon convinced him of the vanity of human greatness. History has preserved a very remarkable instance of his reverence for the power of the supreme Being, and the limited authority of earthly monarchs. One day when his courtiers were carrying their flatteries to an unbounded height, Canute, who then kept his court at Southampton, led them to the sea side, and ordering a chair to be placed on the beach, near the surface of the tide, which was then flowing apace, seated himself, and with a majestic tone of voice thus addressed himself to the water: "Thou, O sea, art a part of my dominions, and the land whereon I sit is mine: my orders were never broke with impunity. I therefore charge thee not to encroach any farther on my land, nor presume to wet the feet of thy sovereign." But deaf to his voice and fearless of his power, the sea continued its usual course, and washed him with its billows. On which he rose from his seat, and turning to his courtiers, "Behold," said he, "the narrow limits of mortal power! the sceptred hand of human great-

ness exerts its force in vain. The sea rolls on in contempt of its authority: the storms of heaven make no distinction between the monarch and the slave. Learn then from this example to set a proper boundary to odious flattery: and remember that he only deserves unlimited praises, who holds in his hands the powers of nature, and whose voice both the winds and the sea obey." It is added, that Canute would never after wear his crown; but ordered it to be placed on the head of the crucifix in the cathedral of Winchester.

Canute now devoted his whole time to what was then considered as the noblest and most acceptable acts of piety; the founding churches and monasteries. He granted a charter to the celebrated monastery of St. Edmondsbury, by which all its lands and privileges were confirmed. He gave the profits of the port of Sandwich to Christ-church in Canterbury, and founded a monastery of Benedictine monks in Norfolk. But in order to establish his character for piety beyond even the whispers of suspicion, he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, and engaged all the princes through whose dominions he passed, to exempt the English pilgrims and merchants from all tolls and duties, which had before been exacted from them. He visited every shrine, and paid his devotions before every relic; but what rendered him a more welcome guest at the court of Rome; were the prodigious sums he lavished in that city: riches were more welcome to the pope than devotions.

Canute on his return was received by his subjects with the utmost demonstrations of joy. All the laws passed by the former kings of England, particularly those of Ethelred, were enforced; several new ones, adapted to the times, were added; and the most proper methods taken to render the people happy.

But while he was employed in cultivating the arts of peace, and endeavouring to disseminate the seeds of virtue in every part of his kingdom, his attention was diverted from these offices of humanity, to support the dignity of his crown. Duncan, grandson to Malcolm II. king of Scotland, being in possession of Cumberland, refused to do homage to Canute for that fief, pretending it was due only to such kings as were natives of England. Provoked at this insolent allegation of the Scottish prince, Canute marched at the head of a powerful army: but by the interposition of the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms a peace was concluded without a battle; Duncan agreeing to pay homage for that fief, to the kings of England.

A. D. 1035. This was the last military action of Canute; he spent the remainder of his life in acts of piety and devotion. Tranquillity was established in every part of his dominions, and he paid the debt of nature in the arms of peace.

Contradiction seems to have been a principal feature in the character of Canute. His youth was marked with blood and cruelty: his age with piety and devotion. He sacrificed every thing in the morning of his reign to ambition; in the evening to piety. The sceptre was at first the rod of tyranny; at last the index of mercy. No monarch ever raised popular odium so high, or allayed it so effectually. He was a great general, a consummate statesman, a wise legislator. He was perfectly acquainted with the temper of the human heart, and took care to turn the various dispositions of his subjects to his own advantage. When age had softened the passions of youth, and the precepts of religion had erased the impressions of a ferocious education, Canute became a most excellent prince; and the virtues he practised during the peaceable interval of his administration, gave him a much better claim to the title of Great, than all his victories. His laws are founded on the basis of justice and humanity; they leave hardly any grievance without redress. Though surrounded with flatterers, he was impregnable to all their attacks; in the midst of his victories he possessed humility.

The



The virtues he practised at the close of his reign, totally obliterated his vices at the beginning. He lived beloved, and died lamented.

Canute left two sons by his first wife, Alfwin, daughter of Elfhelm, earl of Northampton, named Sweyn and Harold: and by Emma, who survived him, a son, named Hardicanute; and a daughter, named Gunhilda. Sweyn was placed upon the throne of Norway before the death of his father; and Gunhilda was married to the emperor Henry III. That princess, some time after her marriage, was accused of adultery; and the only means of vindicating her conduct, was by single combat. The accuser was a person of gigantic size, and famous both

for his strength and valour. For some time, no person could be found to undertake the vindication of Gunhilda's innocence. At length her page, who was a mere stripling when compared to his antagonist, entered the lists. The power of the champions was, indeed, unequal; but the youth having the good fortune to cut the sinews of one of the legs of his antagonist, he fell to the ground; and the page pursuing his advantage, cut off his head, and laid it at Gunhilda's feet. Her innocence being thus vindicated, the princess renounced the emperor's bed, notwithstanding his earnest entreaties of forgiveness; and became a nun in a monastery at Bruges, where she died.

## H A R O L D I. surnamed H A R E F O O T.

A.D. 1036. ACCORDING to the treaty made by Canute with Richard, duke of Normandy, Hardicanute, Emma's son, should have enjoyed the English crown on the death of his father. But Canute thought proper to place Hardicanute on the throne of Denmark, and left the crown of England to Harold. This occasioned a great dissension in England; the people were divided into parties. The English declared for Hardicanute; the Danes for Harold. A civil war was thought inevitable; till the two brothers, in order to prevent the depopulation of the island, agreed to make a division of the kingdom. Accordingly, all the country on the north side of the Thames was allotted to Harold, and the rest of the kingdom to Hardicanute. But, as the latter was in Denmark, it was stipulated, that Emma, assisted by earl Godwin, should govern his part of the kingdom during his absence.

The ambition of Harold was, however, far from being satisfied with part of the kingdom; he aspired to the whole. Godwin was the only person capable of preventing his designs, and Harold took an effectual method to gain him over to his interest. Avarice was the ruling passion of that powerful nobleman, and Harold determined to gratify it. He, therefore, seized the treasures of his father Canute, deposited at Winchester, though they were the real property of Emma. Godwin could not withstand the offer of Harold; he abandoned the interest of Hardicanute, and embraced that of his rival. Harold was declared king of England, and Emma devoted her time to works of piety and devotion.

The great talents of that princess were well known to Godwin, who dreaded the consequences of a revolution. He insinuated to Harold, that his throne could not be established while the children of Emma survived, and were assisted by the interest and counsels of their mother. Harold saw the propriety of this remark, and formed a design for getting the two sons of Ethelred, Alfred and Edward, into his power. A letter was accordingly forged, in the name of Emma, inviting them into England. The princes complied with what they thought the request of their mother; and Godwin seized Alfred, after killing

about six hundred of his attendants, and carried him to London. Harold, who possessed all the cruelties of the Danes, sent Alfred to the monastery of Ely, where his eyes were put out, and he soon after expired under the most excruciating tortures. A timely retreat secured the safety of Edward. Emma was ordered to depart the kingdom; and she accordingly retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, where she met with a kind reception, and Bruges was assigned for her residence.

A.D. 1038. Harold had now no competitor in the island for the crown of England; and, to prevent his brother, Hardicanute, from attempting any thing to his prejudice, he fitted out a powerful fleet to guard the coasts from every insult. The tax laid on the people, to support this naval armament, occasioned great uneasiness: the Welsh broke out into open rebellion, and laid a considerable part of the country waste. An English army, however, soon reduced the insurgents; and Harold, to prevent any future disturbances in those parts, passed a law, by which every Welshman who crossed Offa's dykes without permission, was condemned to lose his right hand.

A.D. 1040. The violence and cruelties of Harold had now procured him the hatred of his subjects; and would, probably, soon have deprived him of his crown. Hardicanute, his brother, was at Bruges with a powerful squadron, under pretence of paying a visit to his mother; but it was strongly suspected that he had other views. The loss of his English dominions had always sat heavy on his mind. But whatever was his real intention, an event happened which banished all the ideas of hostility. Harold paid the debt of nature on the eighteenth of May, and left the throne vacant for his brother, without a battle.

Harold had not the least pretensions to any of the good qualities of his father. He was headstrong, obstinate, brutal, and cruel. He was free from the superstition which prevailed in his time; he revered not the principles of piety. His vices have been handed down to us in odious colours; his virtues, if he possessed any, are buried in oblivion.





## HARDICANUTE, or CANUTE II.

A.D. 1040. **T**HE English had so severely felt the miseries of a civil war, that they made no opposition to Hardicanute's ascending the throne. But he soon gave so odious an instance of his violence and inhumanity, that he lost the affections of his subjects. He ordered the body of his brother Harold to be dug up, and thrown into the Thames. The body was found by some fishermen, and decently interred. Hardicanute was offended at this office of humanity, and again exercised against it the same indecent revenge.

This brutal and disgusting conduct excited the indignation of the people. The exaction of heavy imposts augmented the discontent. Powerful fleets were fitted out when no danger threatened the island: the neighbouring nations were all at peace with England. What increased the distress of the people, was a scarcity of corn. The season had been unfavourable to the fruits of the earth, and the nation was threatened with the dreadful consequences of a famine.

A.D. 1041. Alarmed at these apprehensions, and exasperated at the cruel perseverance of the sovereign, the inhabitants of Worcester flew to arms, and put two of the king's collectors to death. The enraged monarch, who never felt for the miseries of others, sent a body of troops to revenge the insult. His orders were obeyed with the brutality so conspicuous in the character of their master; the city was pillaged, and laid in ashes. The insurgents were too well

acquainted with the cruel disposition of Hardicanute, to wait the approach of his messengers of destruction; they retired into an island in the Severn, and took proper precautions for their defence. The troops, after destroying the city, advanced to attack this resolute handful of men, who were determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. The assault was begun with great fury, but without success: it was often repeated, but always rendered abortive. Perceiving all their efforts were in vain, the troops abandoned the enterprize, and left them at liberty to return to their desolated city.

Fortunately for England, Hardicanute did not long wield the sceptre. His reign of cruelty was soon terminated. Two years put a period to his power. He died suddenly at Lambeth, while he was celebrating the nuptials of a Danish nobleman.

The principal features in the portrait of Hardicanute were indolence, gluttony, cruelty, and excess. His courage was problematical; and the grievous burdens he laid upon his subjects, sufficiently prove, that he acted rather as an enemy than a king. He had no claim to the glorious title of being the father of his country. His palace was one continued scene of gluttony and drunkenness; and it is strongly suspected, that he put a period to his life by eating immoderately. He always shewed the utmost filial duty to his mother, and fraternal affection to his brother Edward. These were his only virtues; his vices were innumerable.

## EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

A.D. 1042. **T**HE Danish yoke had long been heavily felt by the English, and an opportunity now offered of shaking it off for ever. Sweyn, the only surviving son of Canute the Great, was in Norway, and in no condition of making a descent on England with any hopes of success. Edward, the son of Ethelred, was the only remaining branch of the Saxon kings, except the sons of Edmund, who were then at the court of Hungary, and almost forgotten by their countrymen. Godwin was alone capable of opposing with any chance of success, the elevation of Edward. The friendship of that powerful nobleman was, therefore, thought necessary, but it was feared it could not be easily obtained. He was universally considered as the murderer of young Alfred, and the principal cause of all the misfortunes that had attended Emma. It was, therefore, natural for him to imagine, that Edward would take the first opportunity of revenging all the miseries he had inflicted on the family of Ethelred. The advantages which it was hoped the nation would reap from the accession of Edward, however, stifled all private animosity. Godwin undertook to support the interest of that prince, who engaged to marry his daughter, and continue the earl and his sons in the posts they had, for some time, enjoyed.

The election of a king came on in an assembly of the nobles summoned for that purpose at Gillingham; where Godwin, in a long and eloquent speech, displayed the advantages of placing Edward on the throne of his ancestors, and the miseries that would, probably, overwhelm their country, if Sweyn were

permitted to seize the sceptre of power. At the conclusion of his speech, he raised Edward in the midst of the assembly, and cried out, "Behold your king." No opposition was made to the attempt of Godwin; Edward was elected by the unanimous voice of the whole assembly.

A.D. 1043. The great scarcity that prevailed in England, rendered it prudent to defer the coronation of Edward; but as soon as that calamity was removed, he received the crown of his ancestors, with great solemnity, at Winchester. This ceremony was attended with some insult and virulence against the Danes; but the moderation with which Edward held the reins of government, reconciled them to his administration: they soon became blended with the English, and formed one people. No farther mention is made of any difference between them.

Edward began his reign with an act very incompatible with his character as a saint. He stripped his mother Emma of all the treasures she had amassed, and shut her up in a monastery. It is also said, that he accused her of a criminal intercourse with Alwin, bishop of Worcester, and other notorious crimes. No other method remained for Emma to vindicate her innocence, than by undergoing the fiery ordeal. She submitted to the decision, which was then considered as an infallible test of innocence, and was acquitted: she walked over nine red-hot ploughshares, unhurt. This story is, by many of our English historians, considered as a monkish fable, and, as such, exploded. It must, indeed, be granted, that neither the Saxon annals, Cadmer, nor William of Malmesbury, have mentioned this circumstance; which



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Queen Emma's Chastity*  
TRIED BY ORDEAL FIRE.







which seems too remarkable to have been omitted, had it really happened. But however that be, the disgrace of the queen-mother was not attended with any dangerous consequences.

A.D. 1045. The great power of the Godwin family now filled the nation with apprehensions. Sweyn, one of his sons, whose passions hurried him to the commission of many crimes, attempted the chastity of an abbess, and was banished the kingdom. But he was not idle in his retreat; he fitted out a fleet of ships, and committed several outrages on the English coasts. He afterwards murdered earl Bearn, who had kindly undertaken to procure his pardon from Edward. These enormous crimes seemed to render him an object of detestation, rather than of mercy; but the great power of his father, joined with the interest of several of the prelates and principal nobility, procured his pardon, and he returned again to England.

Edward's behaviour, on this occasion, gained him the applause of the whole kingdom; but he soon forfeited the esteem of his subjects by the attention he paid to foreigners. His education at the court of Normandy had formed strong attachments to the manners, customs, and inhabitants of that province. His court was filled with Normans, and the principal dignities of the church were conferred on these strangers. Their language, their customs, and their laws, became fashionable in England. Their interest was soon so great, that no favour was to be obtained from Edward, but by their intercession. Godwin perceived their influence, and was alarmed. He made loud remonstrances to the king, but in vain; Edward continued firm to his attachments. Finding no redress from the throne, he complained to the people, and declared openly, that the good of the nation was in danger of being sacrificed to some foreign interest. The people caught the infection; and Godwin perceiving he should be supported by his countrymen, determined to take the first favourable opportunity of making these foreign favourites feel the effects of his resentment.

A.D. 1048. He did not wait long; an event soon offered, which inflamed the minds of the English, and seemed to threaten the nation with the horrors of a civil war. Eustace, count of Boulogne, having paid a visit to the king, set out for Dover on his return to his own dominions. One of his servants, who was sent before his master, to provide lodgings in the town, behaving in a very insolent manner, a fray ensued, in which the Frenchman lost his life. Exasperated at the fate of his servant, Eustace and his attendants fell upon the inhabitants, and several of them were slain in the conflict: the house, where the quarrel happened, was broke open, and the master fell a sacrifice to the fury of Eustace. The town was now alarmed; a general tumult ensued, in which twenty of the inhabitants were killed, and nineteen of the Count's servants. Eustace himself found it difficult to make his retreat. He returned to Edward, attended by his followers who had escaped the fury of the townsmen, and made the most grievous complaints; but represented the circumstances in the most partial manner. Candour was sacrificed to passion, and truth to revenge. Edward, without examining carefully into the real causes of this insurrection, ordered Godwin to march immediately into the place, at the head of a body of troops, and lay the town under military execution.

Surprised at the peremptory orders of the king, and determined to support the liberties of his country, Godwin remonstrated with his Majesty: he justly observed, that by proceeding in so precipitate a manner, the consequences would be highly injurious to his character, and destroy at once the claim and liberty of the subject: that the meanest person in his dominions had a right to be heard in his own defence; and that to inflict punishment before the party is convicted, would be an infringement of every law, either human or divine.

Edward had been so long used to the language of flattery, that he was astonished at the boldness of Godwin. The free manner in which he delivered his remonstrances provoked Edward; he considered it as an insult on majesty. But Godwin was not to be intimidated by the frowns of power; he refused to obey the orders of his majesty; he chose rather to suffer the consequences of disobedience, than inflict punishment on the innocent, or sacrifice the liberties of his country at the shrine of foreign insolence.

Edward, either convinced of the injustice of his orders, or fearful of the resentment of his subjects, did not insist any farther on being obeyed; but determined to punish Godwin for his behaviour. An opportunity soon offered. The Welsh had taken advantage of the late disturbances, and made inroads into the English territories, of which Sweyn was governor. Edward summoned a meeting of the nobility at Gloucester, to enquire into the cause of these disorders. The Welsh appeared before Godwin and his son reached the assembly, and accused them as the aggressors. The first impressions determined Edward; he did not give himself the trouble of hearing both parties; his measures were determined by the representations of the first complaint. Nothing less than the destruction of Godwin and his whole family could satisfy the vengeance of Edward: they were accordingly cited before the council; and, on refusing to obey the summons, were banished the kingdom. Godwin himself retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders; and Harold to Ireland, where they found shelter from the frowns of incensed majesty. Edward was a stranger to the tender feelings of humanity: he was not satisfied with the banishment of Godwin and his sons; his amiable consort, the accomplished Edgitha, also felt the weight of his resentment. He stripped her of every thing valuable, and confined her in the monastery of Werewell; determined (says Malmesbury) that she alone should not enjoy peace and plenty, while her husband, and the rest of her family, were plunged into difficulties, and abandoned to distress.

A.D. 1050. The tax, known by the name of Danegeld, had long been odious to the English. The reasons which originally rendered it necessary had long since ceased, but the impost was still continued; the danger was over, but the people were still oppressed with the burden. Edward, persuaded he could not perform an action more acceptable to the English, abolished it. He went farther; he distributed all the surplus remaining in his treasury among the original owners. This act of kindness endeared him to his subjects; they became more strongly attached to his person.

About this time, William, duke of Normandy, paid a visit to Edward, and was received with the warmest marks of gratitude. He had protected and supported Edward in his exile, and merited a suitable return. The duke was highly satisfied with his reception, and returned to Normandy loaded with presents. This visit, though it then gave no alarm to the people, proved fatal, in its consequences, to the liberties of England. William pretended, that during his stay, Edward had constituted him heir to his dominions; and on this weak pretence, though wholly destitute of truth, he founded a claim that overthrew the constitution of this country.

A.D. 1052. Soon after the departure of William duke of Normandy, Emma paid the debt of nature; the cruel behaviour of a son put an end to a life which gave him being. Filial duty was not one of the virtues of Edward. The character of that prince has been treated with great rigour by most of our English historians, but without producing a single fact to prove she deserved it. The monks, indeed, who will not admit the character of Edward to be stained with a single vice, were under a necessity of blackening the memory of Emma; because, if she was innocent, Edward must have been guilty of the flagitious crime of ingratitude to a parent, and of bringing



bringing down the grey hairs of his mother with sorrow to the grave. But surely there is no reason for historians of these times to follow their example; they have no cause to support; at the expence of truth. Justice should be impartially administered, and every real blemish impartially displayed, even though it should be found on the robe of a canonized monarch.

Godwin had now raised a powerful squadron; and being joined by his son Harold, with another fleet from Ireland, insulted the coasts of England, and entered the mouth of the Thames. Edward was greatly alarmed; the city of London was thrown into the utmost confusion; and the king marched, at the head of an army, to oppose the landing of the insurgents. Godwin saw the danger that might attend a battle, and was willing to avoid it. He sent a very submissive message to Edward, protesting, in the strongest manner, that he had no other intention than that of submitting his actions to a fair trial; nor wished any thing more than that of being restored to his honours and estates. The principal nobility, who had imputed the sole cause of these disorders to the king's predilection for foreigners, interceded with the king in favour of Godwin and his family. Convinced that it would be at once imprudent and ineffectual to oppose their powerful intercession, Edward agreed to pardon Godwin, and a convention was concluded, which proved fatal to the royal authority. All the foreigners, who had so long basked in the favour of royalty, were banished from the kingdom; and Edward finding his power insufficient to secure the hostages given by Godwin for his good behaviour, sent them to the court of Normandy.

A.D. 1053. Peace was now restored; domestic discord ceased; and the English, freed from the insolence of foreign favourites, enjoyed all the advantages resulting from tranquillity. But a cloud, that threatened to involve this scene of happiness, soon appeared. Godwin was struck with an apoplexy while he was sitting at the king's table, and died three days after. Thus fell the most powerful subject hitherto known in England. The monkish writers have attributed his death to a stroke of the divine vengeance, for the murder of Alfred; but the account they have given us is evidently calculated to render the memory of Godwin infamous. His behaviour to the Norman favourites filled them with implacable malevolence. But, as the more ancient writers mention nothing remarkable with regard to his death, it is sufficiently evident that the whole is founded on calumny, and dictated by malice. Stowe, from an ancient manuscript, says, that the death of Godwin occasioned a general mourning; the people bewailed him as a father and a support.

Fortunately for his country, his power did not terminate with his death. His eldest son, Harold, who far surpassed him in abilities, succeeded to all his authority, and proved an equal support to the English against the Norman interest. Harold, by his great affability and address, gained the friendship of Edward. The art of Godwin's successor was equal to his power; both the nobles and people were firmly attached to his interest.

A.D. 1054. Scotland had, for some time, been less fortunate than England: the torch of civil discord had been lighted by the hand of ambition, and the whole kingdom was involved in horror and confusion. Macbeth, the celebrated usurper, had driven Malcolm from his dominions, and the unfortunate prince applied to Edward for support against the tyrant of his country. The English monarch considered it as a duty incumbent on kings to assist royalty in distress. Ten thousand men, under the command of Siward, earl of Northumberland, were sent to support the Scottish monarch, and drive the usurper from the throne. Siward, one of the most celebrated generals and intrepid soldiers of the age, immediately joined his forces with those under the

command of Macduff, the Scottish commander, and marched against the rebels. A desperate engagement ensued, wherein Macbeth was totally defeated, obliged to fly to the mountains for shelter, and Malcolm placed on the throne of his ancestors. Siward, soon after, paid the debt of nature; and Tofti, one of Harold's brothers, succeeded him in the government of the northern provinces. Tofti inherited all the boisterous intrepidity of his father: he was at once bold and resolute, afraid of no danger, awed by no character: nothing stopped his course when impelled by ambition; and his zeal for the interest of his friends carried him far beyond the bounds of discretion.

A.D. 1056. The Welsh had made frequent incursions into the English territories, and committed many excesses. Alfgar, governor of East-Anglia, held a treasonable correspondence with these insurgents; and being found guilty of the crime, was declared an out-law, and banished the kingdom. He retired immediately to Ireland, where he raised a body of forces, joined a fleet of pirates, and landed in Wales. He was assisted by Griffith, prince of North-Wales, and soon after defeated a body of Edward's forces. The victors now committed very dreadful ravages in Herefordshire: they entered the capital of that county, massacred the inhabitants, killed seven canons who guarded the door of the cathedral, burnt the monastery of St. Ethelbert, and laid the city in ashes.

Exasperated at these inhuman proceedings, Edward sent Harold, at the head of a body of forces, to chastise the insurgents. The abilities of the English general struck the invaders with terror; they fled into South-Wales, and applied, in the most submissive manner, to Edward, for peace. Their request was granted; the tranquillity of the country was restored, and Alfgar was restored to his estate and government.

Edward having no children of his own, because he had refused all commerce with his wife, either on account of his natural inability, or pretended vow of chastity, was desirous of settling the succession to the crown, in order, if possible, to prevent the horrors of a civil war. He had recalled his nephew, the son of Edmund Ironside, from the court of Hungary, but he died soon after his arrival; and Edgar Atheling, the son of that prince, was too young to hold the reins of government. Disappointed in his design of placing a descendant from the ancient race of kings on the English throne, Edward turned his eyes towards his kinsman, William duke of Normandy, who had already sufficiently established his reputation for prudence and intrepidity. Secrecy was absolutely necessary to procure success, and it was accordingly observed with the greatest caution. William received the intelligence with pleasure, and eagerly embraced the flattering hopes of adorning his brow with the English diadem.

A.D. 1058. It has been already mentioned, that Edward had sent the hostages delivered by Godwin to the court of Normandy. Among these hostages were Ulnoth, the brother, and Hacane, the nephew of Harold. They still continued in confinement, though the death of Godwin had, long since, released them from their obligations. Harold, commiserating the condition of these exiles, obtained an order for their being released, and embarked for Normandy; but a violent storm overtook him in his passage, and drove him on the French coast, in the government of the count of Ponthieu, who detained him prisoner at his court, and demanded a very exorbitant sum for his ransom. Harold, who beheld with contempt the ungenerous action of this petty prince, applied to duke William, who immediately ordered the count to set the English nobleman at liberty. Harold repaired directly to William's court; and, by his great affability and polite address, soon insinuated himself into the friendship of the Norman. William was no stranger to the great power of Harold,



Harold, and considered the acquisition of his interest as a step of the greatest importance in his design upon the crown of England. He accordingly disclosed the secret correspondence of Edward; and to attach him more firmly to his interest offered him his daughter in marriage. Harold, though astonished at the discovery, and exasperated at the behaviour of the English monarch, prudently concealed his resentment. He knew he was now in the duke's power, and determined to temporise. He accordingly promised William all the assistance in his power. Pleased with the acquisition of so great an ally, William loaded him with favours; but in order to render his engagements more solemn, he exacted from him an oath to observe the conditions of the agreement: and desirous of rendering the oath still more sacred, William, in conformity to the idle superstition of the times, had concealed under the altar several relics; these, after the ceremony, he shewed to the English nobleman, imagining that by this artifice the oath was become inviolable.

But the ambition of Harold was much greater than his superstition. He looked with contempt on the stratagem of William, and laughed at the obligation of an oath extorted from him. He returned to England with the hostages, and determined to oppose the duke with all his power.

A. D. 1063. The Welsh, though they had been so often chastised by the English, and so often obliged to sue for peace, continued their destructive inroads; Griffith was still at the head of a band of plunderers, and still carried fire and sword into the English territories. Exasperated at this perfidious conduct, Edward sent Harold, at the head of a body of horse, to surprize the invader; but Griffith made his escape. He was obliged, however, to leave most of his ships behind him, which Harold immediately destroyed, and returned to England. Some time after the Welsh, exasperated at the conduct of Griffith, put him to death, and sent his head, and the stern of his ship, to Harold, who transmitted them to the king.

Tofti had assisted his brother in reducing the Welsh to obedience, and always behaved with the greatest intrepidity; he was a stranger to fear. But his behaviour as a governor, was one continued series of oppression. He loaded the people with excessive taxes, and put every person to death that dared to oppose him. Unable to support themselves under such complicated distress, the people flew to arms, drove Tofti from his capital, and elected Morcar, the son of their late governor, to fill the seat of Tofti. Alarmed at these insurrections, Edward dispatched Harold at the head of an army to enquire into the cause of this revolt, and, if necessary, to reduce the insurgents to reason. Harold met the Northumbrians, who were now greatly reinforced, at Northampton, and endeavoured to procure a reconciliation between them and his brother; but this the insurgents absolutely refused. They told Harold that they were a free people, and would not be enslaved;

that they were willing to pay obedience to a just and humane ruler, but would defend their liberties against every species of tyranny, or perish in the noble attempt. Harold, who admired their resolution, examined into the cause of their complaints against Tofti; and finding they were well grounded, gave a signal proof his love of justice; he no longer supported the interest of his brother, but procured a confirmation of their election of Morcar. Tofti, finding himself abandoned by Harold, who alone had power to support him, left the kingdom, and retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders. This noble example of equity, greatly increased the popularity of Harold, who soon after married Alghitha, sister to Alfgar, cementing by that act of prudence, the friendship that had for some time subsisted between him and that nobleman.

A. D. 1065. Edward now stooped under the weight of age and infirmities. He had many years since vowed to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome; but finding it impossible to perform it, obtained the pope's dispensation, on condition of rebuilding the abbey of Westminster, which the Danes had laid in ruins. This work engaged his whole attention, and on its being finished, summoned a general council of the nation to confirm the charter he had granted to that edifice. He exempted it from all episcopal jurisdiction, settled large revenues on it, and granted it the privileges of a sanctuary. He attended with great devotion the dedication of that religious structure, and seemed to be re-animated on that solemn occasion. But this was the last action of Edward's reign. He was seized with a violent fever, which put an end to his life on the fifth of January, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign; and his body, pursuant to his own request, was buried in the abbey he had just consecrated. He died without naming his successor.

The monks, who tasted sufficiently the bounties of Edward, extolled his virtues to the skies; they have even exalted his faults into acts of piety. His continence, from whatever cause it proceeded, occasioned his being ranked among the saints: an action by which he forged new chains for his country, and drenched the ground with the blood of his subjects, was considered as the most exalted act of piety. A very superficial attention to the actions of his reign will, however, be sufficient to convince every unprejudiced person that he was far from deserving the character given him by the monks. And that he was unprofitable and cruel; faithless as a friend, and inexorable as an enemy. The most commendable circumstance in his government was his attention to the administration of justice. As a legislator, he deserves the highest applause. His laws were long the objects of the people's affection. They were dictated by mercy, and written with the pen of equity. Had his conduct in general been equal to his dispensation of justice, his memory would have been handed down with applause to the latest posterity.

## H A R O L D II.

A. D. 1066. **H**AROLD had so effectually gained the affections of the English, that he was immediately declared the successor of Edward; he stepped into the vacant throne without opposition. Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir to the crown was forgotten; and the claim of the duke of Normandy, who had indeed no better title than the intentions of Edward in his favour, was not even mentioned. But though he had no competitor to fear at home, he well knew that William the Norman would

exert all his power to wrest the sceptre from his hand, and that several of the European powers would lend him assistance. Nor was William the only enemy Harold had to fear; his brother Tofti vowed revenge for the assistance he had given the Northumbrians. He applied to Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and William, duke of Normandy for assistance. They both promised to assist him; and Baldwin immediately fitted out a strong squadron, which enabled Tofti to commence hostilities against his brother, by insulting



the coasts of England. But he was, soon after, defeated, and obliged to fly to Scotland, with the scattered remains of his fleet, for protection.

This attempt of Tofti did not prevent Harold from pursuing every prudent measure for procuring the affections of his people. He eased them of several taxes; he listened to their complaints, and dispensed justice with an impartial hand: he became the patron of the clergy, and a liberal friend to churches and monasteries. He knew that Edgar Atheling was beloved by the people, as the only remaining heir of their ancient kings: he, therefore, took that prince under his protection, gave him a liberal education, loaded him with favours, and favoured all those who were more immediately attached to his person and fortune. By these prudent measures he conciliated the affections of the English; the people considered him as their father, and the voice of faction and discontent was no longer heard.

While Harold was thus nobly employed in settling the domestic tranquillity, William the Norman exerted all his power in collecting an army, and fitting out a fleet to seize the crown, which the people had unanimously placed on the head of Harold. He could plead neither the right of election, nor that of inheritance; not even a party in England was formed in his favour. But impelled at once by ambition and revenge, he determined to pursue the measures he had formed, and place on conquest the right he could not support by any legal pretension. He sent ambassadors to Harold, upbraiding him with his breach of faith, and summoning him to resign the possession of the crown. Harold was not to be intimidated by threats; he was a stranger to fear. He returned a very spirited answer, and William was convinced that he had nothing to expect from negotiation. An invasion of England was, therefore, resolved on: nothing less than the conquest of the whole kingdom was to be effected. Many circumstances concurred to favour an enterprise, which, otherwise, must have appeared chimerical. William was celebrated for his valour; he had triumphed over the joint efforts of France, and all its vassals. The Normans themselves were a brave and warlike people: all the warriors of Europe were desirous of serving under his standards, and of sharing in the spoil of a rich and flourishing people. War was the sole employment of every chieftain, then almost independent of the power of his sovereign. The fame of his intended expedition was soon spread over Europe, and multitudes flocked to his standards. The emperor declared loudly in his favour: the imperial council issued a proclamation, permitting all the vassals of the empire to enter into his service. The count of Anjou sent him a considerable body of forces: the count of Ponthau followed his example. Eustace, count of Boulogne, and the viscount of Thouars, in Poitou, joined him in person, at the head of their vassals. The count of Bretagne sent him a body of five thousand men, under the command of his eldest son. But what tended still more to render the duke's expedition successful, was the pope's declaration in his favour. He sent him a consecrated banner; and published a bull, declaring the justice of William's cause, and animating all the Christian powers to assist him in his attempt on the English throne. Harold was declared a perjured usurper, and every person excommunicated who dared to oppose the armies of Normandy. But still the great support of war was wanted. The treasures of William were far from being sufficient, and the states of Normandy absolutely refused to grant the prodigious sums he required. The wealth of individuals, however, supplied what the states had refused; and William was soon enabled to collect a fleet of three thousand sail, and an army of forty thousand men; a force which he imagined sufficient to produce a fatal revolution in the dominions of Harold.

The state of England, at that time, increased his

hopes of success. There were few places of strength in the kingdom; London and Dover only were capable of sustaining a siege. A peace of fifty years had softened the dispositions of the English, and rendered them incapable of sustaining the fatigues of war. They were enervated by a long slumber on the bed of indolence; their manly discipline, and the love of their country, were exchanged for effeminate luxury. Many of the nobility were of Danish or Norman extraction, and were, therefore, inclined to favour William rather than Harold.

William did not, however, think all these advantages sufficient to render his expedition successful. He had engaged Harfager, king of Norway, in conjunction with Tofti, to invade the northern parts of England, in order to make a powerful diversion in his favour. They accordingly landed at the mouth of the Humber, and spread over the whole kingdom. Harold advanced, at the head of an army, against the invaders, and totally defeated them: both Harfager and Tofti fell in the action. But this defeat, though glorious to Harold, was attended with fatal consequences; he lost many of his bravest officers and soldiers in the action, and disgusted the rest, by refusing to distribute among them the Danish spoils, which he reserved to supply the exigencies of the state. A false report tended also to facilitate the enterprise of William. Harold received intelligence, that the duke of Normandy, discouraged by contrary winds, had abandoned his enterprise: the English fleet, collected to oppose the landing of the Normans, was, therefore, dismissed the service.

At length the Norman armament appeared on the coast of England; and Harold having no fleet capable of engaging so formidable a squadron, William landed his forces, without opposition, at Pevensey, in Suffex. The duke himself, in leaping on shore, fell down, and cried out, "Thus I take possession of the country." The least unexpected accident is sufficient to strike superstitious minds either with terror or with joy.

The landing of the Normans spread a general alarm through the kingdom. Forces were raised, to join the victorious army of Harold, in every county; and had that prince listened to the advice of his brother Gyrth, the expedition of the Norman had been rendered abortive. He represented, that to venture the crown upon one decisive engagement, was highly imprudent, and contrary to all the rules both of policy and war. He very justly observed, that a general battle was the most favourable event the Normans could hope for in their present situation, because despair would augment their courage; they must either conquer or perish. But, by deferring a general engagement, the Norman army would soon be reduced to the greatest extremity, especially if they were perpetually harassed by flying squadrons, and their foraging parties cut off. He added, that by intrusting the army to his care, the enemy might be conquered without a battle; but if an engagement should ensue, and his forces be defeated by the Normans, powerful resources were at hand, and the enemy would be ruined even by a victory. The English nobles approved of this advice, and his mother joined her entreaties to enforce the arguments of her son. But Harold was inflexible; he determined to give the enemy battle, and risk his crown on the fortune of a single day.

This resolution being taken, Harold marched against the enemy, notwithstanding he was deserted by many of his veterans. He encamped on a hill at some distance from the Normans; and the next morning, mounting his horse, in company with his brother Gyrth, advanced to reconnoitre the strength and position of the invaders. This view convinced Harold, that he had been too precipitate in his measures; and, at his return, proposed retreating to London, in order to augment his army. Gyrth opposed the measure with some warmth: he justly observed, that he had now proceeded too far to de-  
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eline a battle; that his honour was engaged; and that to retire a single step, would be construed into cowardice, considered as a flight, and be attended with a fatal loss of his reputation: that he should have listened to the advice of his nobles before he had advanced against the enemy; at present, he must either conquer or perish.

Convinced, by the reasons of his brother, that there was now a necessity for giving battle to the enemy, Harold applied himself to make the necessary preparations for the decisive event. While he was thus employed, some monks arrived from the Norman camp; and being introduced to Harold, declared, that William, to prevent the effusion of human blood, sent him the following offers; either to resign the kingdom to him, or hold it of him in fealty; to submit their cause to the arbitration of the pope, or to fight him in single combat. Harold replied, that the God of battles would soon be the arbiter of their differences.

Negotiations were now at an end, and the hour was approaching which was to put a final period to the dispute between these two powerful armies. The night preceding the battle was spent in a very different manner by the contending parties. The Normans passed it in prayer; the English in riot. The dawn put a period to their exercises, and both armies prepared for battle.

The English were greatly inferior to the Normans in number; and Harold, to compensate for this disadvantage, drew up his men in one column, upon the declivity of a hill, having a large ditch, and a line of hurdles, in their front. The Normans were drawn up in three lines, and advanced to the charge, carrying the pope's consecrated standard at their head, with great alacrity. The attack was made with the utmost fury; but the English stood firm, and obliged the assailants to retire. The Normans returned to the charge with redoubled fury, and were again driven back by the English. The battle continued the whole day, and victory, more than once, seemed to declare in favour of Harold. The abilities of the two commanders, and the valour of their troops, were equal. Liberty inspired the English; glory, blended with despair, the Normans. The former knew, that every thing they held dear depended upon their valour; the latter, that a retreat was impossible. William flew from rank to rank, from squadron to squadron, animating by his words, and encouraging by his example. Harold, with equal spirit, with equal valour, and with superior success, opposed him. Death marched in his rear: the Normans were astonished at the power of his arm. William perceived his danger, and had recourse to artifice. He ordered his troops to make a hasty retreat. The stratagem succeeded. The courage of the English proved their destruction: they pursued the Normans, whom they considered as a flying enemy. Their phalanx, which had been hitherto impenetrable to all the attacks of the invaders, was broken. The duke perceived it; and facing about, repulsed the pursuers with great slaughter. The English, however, regained the advantageous ground they had quitted, and again bid defiance to the attacks of the enemy. At last Harold, and his two brothers, were slain at the head of their forces; and the soldiers, having lost their leaders, fled from the field of battle. Above sixty thousand of the English fell in this dreadful engagement; and the Norman purchased the victory with the loss of fifteen thousand of his best troops.

The standard of English liberty fell with Harold, a prince who merited a better fate. He was humane, generous, affable, and intrepid: he loved his subjects, he loved his friends, he loved his country: he was a champion for freedom, and fell in its defence: he wished not to survive the constitution of England. The Norman writers have laboured to blacken his memory, in order to render that of the conqueror more splendid; a circumstance that

too often attends a change of fortune. Had the Norman lost the battle of Hastings, we had never heard of Harold's vices, nor William's virtues; the former would have been extolled to the skies, and the latter painted in his true colours. He would have been represented as a lawless usurper, who came to ravage the country of an innocent people; and wrest the sceptre from the hand of a sovereign, whose principal care was the happiness of his subjects. Time has destroyed the flimsy veil which the hand of partiality has thrown over the characters of these two princes, and placed their virtues and vices in a genuine point of light. A comparison is unnecessary; Harold fell in defence of that liberty which William destroyed.

Harold was the last of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The throne was filled by a stranger; and new laws, new customs, and even a new constitution, were introduced, instead of those observed by the Saxons. It will, therefore, be necessary to give the reader some account of the government, manners, and learning of that people. Liberty constituted one of the principal features in the character of the Saxons: they had no idea of a despotic power: they considered a king only as a more distinguished citizen, bound by the same laws, and subject to the same customs as his subjects. His murder was compensated by a fine, as well as that of the lowest of the people; the only pre-eminence he enjoyed was, that the fine was larger. They had no established rule with regard to the right of succession to the crown; the children, indeed, often succeeded their father in the seat of power; but a small circumstance was sufficient to set it aside. Present emergencies were more attended to than general principles: they thought not on future contingencies; the consequences that might attend this breach in the succession were not regarded. All affairs of moment, ecclesiastical or civil, were proposed in the general assembly of the nation, called Wittenagemot; and without the consent of that body, no laws were binding upon the subject. It is not easy, perhaps impossible, to determine with precision, who the members were that formed this national council. The bishops, abbots, and aldermen, or governors of provinces, called earls after the Danish conquest, are known to have formed one part; but whether the representatives of boroughs, or the more wealthy citizens, composed the other, is not determined.

The people were divided into three orders; nobles or thanes; freeholders, or freemen; and slaves, or villeins. The nobles chiefly resided on their estates: cities were then little frequented; attendance at court was esteemed a species of oppression. Their houses were open to strangers; they vied with each other in acts of hospitality. The business of the freemen principally consisted in cultivating their estates, the industry of the people being chiefly confined to agriculture. The villeins were employed in domestic occupations, or in cultivating their lord's demesnes.

Death was never inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon laws; crimes of every species were compensated with pecuniary fines. A price was fixed on the head of each person, according to his rank; even that of the king was not excepted. The price of wounds, and the loss of members, was settled; and was always proportioned to the size and danger of the former, and the use of the latter.

Various methods of trial subsisted under the Anglo-Saxon government; but that by juries generally prevailed. But where the crime could not be proved by witnesses, recourse was had to the most ridiculous methods, equally calculated to punish the innocent or the guilty. Single combat, the judgment of the cross, and the trial by fire or water, called the ordeal, were the tests introduced by a superstitious people, who were persuaded that heaven would openly declare in behalf of the innocent, and pour destruction on the head of the guilty. The celebrated



celebrated Montesquieu very justly observes, that our ancestors rested the honour, the fortune, and the lives of citizens, on circumstances which depend less on reason than chance; and incessantly made use of proofs incapable of convicting, and which had no manner of connection either with innocence or with guilt. The cultivation of reason has destroyed these preposterous methods of trial; and relieved society from a series of complicated distresses.

The force of the island consisted of the militia. Every freeman was under an indispensable necessity of arming in defence of the state: he marched to battle under the standard of his lord, and was not to leave the army till the time of his service was expired. The whole nation were soldiers: every citizen fought in defence of his own property, and that of the whole society.

Learning was at a very low ebb under the Anglo-Saxon government. The arts and sciences cultivated by the Greeks and Romans were buried under the ruins of the empire. An impenetrable cloud of Gothic ignorance had stifled the rays of wisdom; the avenues to knowledge were hardly known. Alfred, indeed, exerted himself nobly in defence of literature; during his reign, the glimmerings of science appeared. He founded the university of Oxford, and endeavoured to allure the muses to the banks of the Isis; but he died too soon. His suc-

cessor, Edward the Elder, followed his example, and founded the university of Cambridge. But their labours were not sufficient to complete the noble design. The ravages of the Danes destroyed the lovely branch which the generous Alfred and his son had planted, and spread over the whole kingdom a blacker cloud of ignorance than before. A few persons of learning, indeed, flourished during these uncultivated ages. After Menevensis deserves to be mentioned here: he was one of the most learned men of his time, and bishop of Sherborne in the reign of Alfred, whom he greatly assisted in his studies. He wrote several books, but one only has reached our times: it is intitled, "Annales Rerum Gestarum Ælfredi Magni." Three editions of this work have been published; one by archbishop Parker, another by Camden, and another by Wise. St. Dunstan is said to have been a good musician, painter and graver; but he has no title to be considered as a learned prelate. We wish, for the honour of our country, that we could have enlarged the catalogue of learned persons that flourished in these ages of military ferocity; but among the few that cultivated the muses, the greater part of them are forgotten: their works, which, doubtless, long floated on the current of time, are now sunk in the gulph of oblivion.

## B O O K V.

From the Norman conquest, to the restoration of the Saxon line, under Henry II.

### WILLIAM I. surnamed THE CONQUEROR.

A.D. 1066. **T**HOUGH William had gained the battle of Hastings, he was far from thinking he had conquered the spirit of English independence. He knew the nobles were brave, ambitious, and enemies even to the shadow of slavery; that they had powerful resources; that they were totally devoted to the race of the Anglo-Saxon kings; and had reason to believe that Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir to the English crown, was then in the capital; perhaps already placed on the throne of his ancestors. The utmost caution was, therefore, necessary to secure the advantage he had gained. The English had, indeed, lost much of their ferocious spirit of liberty by the conquests of the Danes; and the reign of Canute had rendered them familiar with the government of strangers. The peaceable reign of Edward had greatly contributed to make them in love with the arts of peace, and to prefer domestic tranquillity to the boisterous alarms of war. But still they were powerful; and there was the highest reason to believe, that the loss of their friends, and the dangers of their country, would rouse them to vengeance. A single defeat would be fatal to the Norman army. William, therefore, determined to make himself master of some place of strength; that if the English should unite in opposing his designs, he might wait in safety for reinforcements from Normandy. Dover was the only place that offered him a secure retreat; and William accordingly led his victorious troops before that fortress, which, by the joint efforts of art and nature, was rendered almost impregnable. The castle was full of soldiers, who had fled thither after the defeat at Hastings; but so great was their consternation, that they delivered up the fortress to the Norman upon terms of capitulation.

The death of Harold, and the total defeat of the English army, had thrown the capital into the utmost confusion: anarchy presided in the councils of the nobles. Edgar Atheling, though beloved by the people, wanted spirit and abilities to hold the helm of government in so tempestuous a season. The archbishop of Canterbury, indeed, placed him on the throne, and nobly exerted all his abilities to restore order and subordination among a terrified and divided people. But his attempts were in vain: every salutary scheme was opposed; and every measure, which tended to promote unanimity, and prevent the crown from being placed on the head of a foreigner, was rendered abortive. They acted like people who courted the yoke of slavery.

William was informed of these dissensions, and determined to turn them to his own advantage. He left a strong garrison in Dover; and dividing his army into three bodies, marched directly towards London. The only opposition he met with on his march, was from Fretheric, abbot of St. Albans. He caused a considerable number of trees to be felled, and placed in the roads, to impede the progress of the Norman. William ordered the abbot to appear before him; promising, that if he complied, no harm should happen to his person. The abbot obeyed; and being asked why he had endeavoured to stop the passage of his army, nobly replied, "I have done no more than my duty; and had others of my rank equally exerted their abilities, you had never penetrated so far into this country, nor summoned me to give an account of my conduct." Struck with the noble boldness of the answer, William dismissed the abbot without passing the least censure on his conduct.

In proportion as William advanced towards the capital,





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*







capital, the confusion among the English increased. No plan was formed for opposing the march of the Conqueror; no general was chosen to lead the troops against the enemy: The clergy, instead of employing their authority to heal the divisions, and inspire the people with courage and unanimity, laboured to increase the disorder. Most of the dignified ecclesiastics were Normans, and declared in favour of William; they justified an enterprize which was consecrated by papal authority. The friends to the constitution of England perceived it was now too late to support the falling state of their country; that opposition would only tend to exasperate the Conqueror, and forge heavier chains for a brave and warlike people. They determined therefore to submit to William, and sheath the sword of destruction, which threatened the ruin of their bleeding country. Accordingly the primate, the nobility, and even Edgar Atheling himself, repaired to the Norman camp, and entreated William to accept a crown, which his virtues and abilities had rendered him worthy of enjoying. They were received with the greatest politeness. It was the interest of William to endear himself to the nation, and acquire, by acts of humanity and kindness, the love and esteem of the people.

The ceremony of the coronation was performed in Westminster-abbey on Christmas-day. But during the solemnity, a tumult ensued which threatened the place with destruction. The abbey was surrounded with a body of Norman soldiers, who hearing a confused noise occasioned by the acclamations of the people, when the crown was placed on William's head, imagined it was the voice of tumult and disorder, and that the life of their duke was in danger. Fired at what they considered as a perfidious stratagem of the English, without giving themselves the least time for examination, they set fire to the adjacent houses, and assailed the populace with the utmost fury. The alarm spread with amazing rapidity, despair was visible in every countenance; the Norman himself fled trembling to the altar, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the tumult was at last appeased.

A. D. 1067. The victory at Hastings had sufficiently established the valour of William; but it was necessary that he should also establish the character of a wise and humane governor. The first acts of his administration were well calculated for that purpose. He seemed desirous of engaging the affections of his new subjects, by listening to their complaints, and removing every enormity, and correcting every act of oppression. The impartial execution of justice practised in Normandy, he introduced into England. The severe discipline of his army was softened by presents and affability. The treasure of Harold, which fell into his hands, was greatly increased by bounties and presents from the rich and the powerful. This enabled him to give rewards to his followers, distribute charities to the monasteries, to send presents to the churches of France, Aquitain, and Burgundy, where masses had been said for the success of his expedition, and to remit large sums to the pope, with costly presents to the church of St. Peter at Rome. He also erected a church and monastery on the field where Harold was slain. The church was dedicated to St. Martin, and the abbey, which was filled with Benedictine monks, and exempted from episcopal jurisdiction, was called Battle-abbey. He granted the city of London a new charter, by which all the privileges and immunities that city enjoyed in the reign of Edward the confessor, were confirmed. He affected to treat the English nobility with the utmost kindness, and not only caressed Edgar Atheling in a very particular manner, but granted him large estates, and confirmed to him the title of earl of Oxford, which had been conferred on him by Edward the confessor. These acts of kindness produced the most pleasing effects on the generous minds of the English; they flattered themselves with a long series of domestic tranquillity under a wise and im-

partial administration. But the subsequent actions of William convinced them that they formed their opinions too soon. He seized on all the estates of those who had joined Harold against him, and gave them to his Norman officers; erected fortresses in various parts of the kingdom, and filled them with foreign troops. He disarmed the people, and broke the militia. These measures gave the English great uneasiness: they now perceived that William acted rather as a conqueror than a king; and wished that power, rather than the affections of his subjects, might be the support of his crown.

After taking every prudent precaution to secure his new kingdom, he passed over into Normandy, carrying with him the principal of the English nobility, under pretence of enjoying the pleasure of their conversation, and of shewing them to the world as the greatest ornaments of his court. But this was too gross to impose on the understanding of the most credulous. It was sufficiently evident they were carried abroad as hostages to secure his conquest, add a lustre to his power and adorn his triumph. Their magnificence did him honour. The foreign princes were astonished. Such a profusion of ornaments was before unknown in Normandy. William kept his Easter in the abbey of Fecamp, where he was visited by Rodolph, uncle to the king of France, and a great number of the principal persons in Normandy and the adjacent provinces. But while he was indulging himself in joy and festivity, all the precautions he had taken to secure the tranquillity of England were frustrated. The insolence of the Normans could be restrained by no authority, but that of William. Proud from the victory they had obtained, greedy of plunder, and looking with contempt on a people who had so easily resigned their liberties, they were guilty of every excess. They plundered the houses of the English, violated the chastity of their wives and daughters, and practised such enormous cruelties, that nothing but savage brutality could invent. Revenge roused the spirit of the English. They perceived their dreadful situation, and despair urged them to retaliate on the invaders of their country all the miseries they had suffered from the hand of wanton despotism. They were not yet totally insensible to the charms of liberty, and determined either to drive their tyrannical masters out of the kingdom or perish in the attempt. But they were destitute of leaders, and could form no regular plan for executing their design. The inhabitants of Kent, who severely felt the rod of power, applied to Eustace, count of Boulogne, for assistance. He listened to their complaints, and promised them relief. The castle of Dover was considered as the most proper place for a retreat if the enemy should prove too powerful; and they agreed to begin their operations against the enemy, with seizing that important fortress. The plan was conducted with the utmost secrecy, and Montfort the governor being absent with part of the garrison, there was great reason to hope that the attempt would be crowned with success. The night appointed for the execution of this project arrived, and the Kentishmen repaired in small parties to the place of rendezvous. About midnight Eustace landed his forces, and led the combined troops immediately to the attack. The strength of the castle saved the Normans from the resentment of the English. They assailed the gate with the utmost fury; but they spent their force in vain. The garrison was now alarmed; they sallied out upon the English, and put them to flight. Many were precipitately thrown headlong from the rocks, and the count's son taken prisoner. Eustace himself, at the head of a few followers, escaped to his ships.

This miscarriage was far from intimidating the English; they broke out into open rebellion in various parts of the kingdom. They even formed a scheme for massacring all the Normans. They never considered that it was almost impossible to conceal this dreadful contrivance. Some among the number of



perpetrators would certainly reveal the secret. This actually happened; William received private intelligence of the design; he hastened to England, and broke all their measures. The conspirators had proceeded too far to retreat; they marched into the north, fortified the city of Durham, and set at defiance the whole Norman power. Had the English shewn the same spirit immediately after the battle of Hastings, William had never seized the English sceptre; but it was now too late. The people, in general, were without arms, and the Normans in possession of the principal fortresses of the kingdom. Their attempts to regain their liberty had, therefore, now no other effect than to rivet more effectually the chains of slavery, and add a large increase to their weight. William immediately revived the tribute of Danegeld, in order to punish the English for their rebellions. This tax, which Edward the Confessor had abrogated, always gave the greatest uneasiness to the people. William knew that this impost would render him odious, but was determined to proceed: he no longer courted the favour of the English. Aldred, archbishop of York, who had hitherto strenuously supported all the measures of William, was alarmed at this exertion of arbitrary power, and laboured assiduously to render it abortive. He had recourse to persuasions and remonstrances; but finding all his attempts were vain, he not only abandoned the interest of William, but anathematized him, and all his family. This, however, had no effect upon William's conduct; he defied the ecclesiastical as well as the temporal power, and levied the tax with the utmost rigour.

A.D. 1068. William was not, however, satisfied with impoverishing the English by taxes and extortions; he determined to confiscate the estates of all those who had in the least assisted Harold. It was in vain to urge, that when William first landed in England, Harold was in actual possession of the crown; that the whole nation had sworn fealty to him; and, consequently, that he had a right to their services; that their subsequent submission had been accepted by William; and that he had himself promised to protect them in their rights and privileges. These reasons were unanswerable; but they were urged without effect: William acted not on the principles of justice.

The nobles now felt the difference between the government of a king and the despotism of a tyrant, and determined not to submit tamely to such oppressions: passive obedience and non-resistance were doctrines reserved for after times; they were not known under the Anglo-Saxon government. The nobles joined the populace, and broke out into open rebellion. This insurrection threatened the destruction of the Norman government: the most considerable persons in the kingdom were among the insurgents; and unanimity only was wanting to render their designs successful. The kings of Denmark and Scotland promised them assistance. William was alarmed at the storm that threatened to overwhelm him: he marched immediately against the insurgents, before they were joined by the forces they expected. The great activity of the conqueror rendered the whole design abortive. The nobles submitted, and were received into favour. William thought proper, for a time, to lay aside his arbitrary scheme of oppression. Edgar Atheling, whom the cries and intreaties of the people had roused to action, fled into Scotland, with his mother, and two sisters, and were received by Malcolm with the utmost kindness. Formerly an exile himself, he had learned compassion in the school of adversity. William demanded the fugitives; and Malcolm, with a noble magnanimity which does honour to his memory, treated the message with contempt. A war between the two nations was the consequence; and the northern parts of the kingdom became again obnoxious to the sword of desolation.

The court of Malcolm was soon crowded with

English nobles; and the Northumbrians, sure of being powerfully assisted, committed the most dreadful ravages on the territories of the Normans; many of whom chose to abandon their estates, and retire into their own country, rather than be perpetually harassed by the attempts of an exasperated people. Nor were the Scots the only people that threatened to attack the English monarch; the Danes and the Irish had joined in the confederacy; and it was agreed to make the attack at the same time in different parts of the kingdom. Had this plan been executed with vigour, it would have shaken the foundations of William's power; but it was rendered abortive by the dissensions that prevailed in their councils. The Danes, however, landed at the mouth of the Humber; and William thought it most advisable to purchase their absence by a large sum of money.

A.D. 1070. The English insurgents, when deserted by their foreign allies, were unable to support themselves against the Norman army: they were obliged to submit to superior force; and the Conqueror had now an opportunity of introducing into England the innovations he thought necessary to support that despotic power by which he was determined to govern the kingdom. He had now the plea of rebellion to offer as a reason for his conduct; and he failed not to use it. He confiscated the estates of the nobles, and gave them to the Normans and other foreigners who had assisted him in the conquest of this unhappy country. For an Englishman to be possessed either of riches or power, was considered as a sufficient crime to render him obnoxious to punishment. The innocent and the guilty suffered equally under the rod of oppression. The most ancient and opulent families were reduced to indigence; they pined for want on the very estates which had descended to them through a long line of illustrious ancestors.

The feudal polity, which had been long introduced into France and Normandy, was considered by William as the best, perhaps the only method of rendering the servitude, to which he had reduced his subjects, perpetual; by destroying the very idea of liberty, and rivetting the chains of slavery on a generous, though conquered people. He accordingly divided the kingdom into seven hundred baronies, which he bestowed upon his particular friends. No Englishman was suffered to enjoy that honour. These baronies were subdivided into sixty thousand, two hundred and fifteen knights fees; which were distributed among their retainers, and a few of the Englishmen who had been fortunate enough to gain the favour of the Conqueror.

Nor were the clergy excepted from these arbitrary proceedings: they were obliged to furnish a certain number of soldiers; and in case of refusal, to suffer the same punishment. The temporalities of the ecclesiastics enjoyed no greater favour than the estates of the laity. The pope remonstrated against these proceedings, but without effect. William no longer wanted his assistance, and was not to be intimidated by the thunder of the Vatican. Alexander II. who then filled the papal chair, perceived it would be in vain to contend against the power of William, and determined to accomplish by policy what he could not effect by force: he flattered himself with being able to extend his supremacy over the English dominions; but this, he knew, must be effected by an artful conduct. William was too violent to be openly opposed. Ermevroy, bishop of Sion, appeared well qualified for carrying on this difficult and delicate negotiation; and accordingly Alexander sent him into England with the character of legate. Several of the English clergy were become obnoxious to William: the arrival of the legate, therefore, was agreeable to the Conqueror, who now determined to punish them under the sacred mask of religion. Ermevroy, instructed to gain the favour of the English monarch, summoned a general council



council of the clergy; where Strigand, archbishop of Canterbury; Agelmar, bishop of Helmham; Elgeric, bishop of Durham, and several other prelates, were deposed: one English bishop only was suffered to keep his see; all the rest fell victims to the resentment or policy of the Norman. Nor was this sufficient to satisfy his ambitious intentions: he prevailed upon Ermeftroy to change the tenure of the church lands; and instead of holding them free of all secular dependence, to hold them in military tenure, or by knight's service.

Thus William, by the assistance of the pope's legate, sufficiently humbled the English clergy, and filled their posts with foreigners. It must, indeed, be remembered to his honour, that he preferred none but persons remarkable for their genius and learning. The celebrated Lanfranc, an Italian monk, was placed in the see of Canterbury; Thomas, one of the canons of Bayeux, was created archbishop of York; and the sees of Winchester, Helmham, and Selsey, were filled by three of his own chaplains.

Ermeftroy now imagined that very considerable concessions would be made to his holiness, but he was mistaken: William was jealous of his power, and determined to keep the church, as well as his lay subjects, in subjection: he required, that all the ecclesiastical canons voted in any synod, and even the bulls sent from Rome, should receive his sanction before they were of any force in his kingdom. He had seen so many abuses of spiritual power, that he was determined to prevent their repetition in his kingdom; and passed a law in the national assembly, that none of his ministers or barons should be excommunicated without his consent. By these prudent measures, he flattered himself with having effectually clipped the wings of ecclesiastical ambition, and prevented the Roman pontiff from raising commotions in his kingdom. But he was mistaken; Lanfranc effected, by his assiduous labour, what the pope himself had attempted in vain: he laid the foundation of that alarming authority which the Roman church afterwards exercised over this kingdom.

The English now severely felt the chains of slavery which had, for some time, been forging for them. Some were intimidated into passive obedience, while others formed the noble resolution of supporting their independency, or perishing with the liberties of their country. Many of the latter retired to the isle of Ely, and set at defiance all the power of the Norman. Among these was the brave Hereward de Wake, son to the late Leofric, lord of Brunne, reputed the greatest warrior of his age. He was chosen captain of this resolute band, and bravely exerted the great talents he possessed. William was alarmed at this opposition, and marched immediately a large body of troops to chastise the insurgents. But it was no easy task to drive them from their retreat. He attacked the island several times in vain, and was at last obliged to convert the siege into a blockade. Malcolm, king of Scotland, took the advantage of William's being employed in this difficult attempt, and made an irruption into the northern provinces. William was therefore obliged to have recourse to stratagem, and effected by art what he found exceeded his abilities to perform by force: he attacked the possessions of the monks of Ely, and laid them under military execution. Alarmed for their estates, the religious offered to betray the island, and pay him a thousand marks, provided he would restore to the convent the lands he had seized. William readily embraced the offer; and the abbot, faithful in his treachery, opened a passage to the royal army. Finding himself betrayed, and disdain- ing submission, the gallant Hereward cut himself a passage through the Norman forces, and made his escape; the rest were obliged to surrender at discretion.

The Scots still continued their ravages; and William having reduced the insurgents, advanced, at

the head of his forces, to give them battle. The two armies met at Nithisdale, where the Scottish forces had intrenched themselves in a very advantageous situation. William thought it imprudent to attack the enemy till his forces had recovered themselves from the fatigue of a long and painful march. He therefore encamped near Malcolm's army, without making any attempt to begin hostilities. Several days passed, without either army's making the least motion to disturb the other. Equally valiant, and equally expert in military knowledge, the two kings were fearful of the consequences of a battle. Their armies were nearly equal, and it was very doubtful to whom fortune would give the palm of victory. The Scot knew, that if his army was defeated, Scotland would be left open to the ravages of an enraged enemy. The Norman, already surrounded by enemies, his crown, perhaps his life, depended upon the issue of this single action. Consequences like these wholly engaged the attentions of the contending monarchs; both were unwilling to venture the important stroke, and both armies continued inactive. At last a negotiation for a peace was opened by the prelates that attended the two princes. No opposition was made to the treaty, which accordingly soon took place between them. By one of the articles, Edgar Atheling was to return to England, and renounce all his right to the crown, on receiving a sufficient maintenance from the Conqueror.

A.D. 1073. It was now natural to expect, that William would have enjoyed some respite from the toils of war: he had reduced the English to subjection, and concluded a peace with the Scottish monarch. But the alarms of invasion were not yet over: Philip of France was jealous of William's prosperity, and attacked the patrimonial dominions of the Norman. Godfrey de Mayenne joined the invading army, and drove the Normans entirely out of that country. Alarmed at this unexpected attack, William passed over to the continent, at the head of an English army. He immediately attacked the invaders, recovered the territories they had taken, and obliged Philip to conclude a safe and honourable peace. By this noble exertion of their innate bravery and resolution, the English recovered the confidence of William, who soon after restored some of the laws of Edward the Confessor; a circumstance which greatly contributed to render his government less odious to the people.

A.D. 1074. While William continued in Normandy, he received advice, that fresh troubles were excited in England by persons whom he never suspected of disaffection. His Norman subjects were seized with the spirit of rebellion. Several of the chiefs who had engaged with him in the conquest of England, enriched by the wealth he had bestowed upon them, disdained to submit to his imperious dominion. Roger, the youngest son of William Fitz Osborne, earl of Hereford, had applied to William for licence to marry his sister to Ralph de Guar, earl of the East-Angles; and received a peremptory denial a little before the king passed over into Normandy. Enraged at this refusal, especially as there was no necessity for applying to William, the young lady not being an heiress, it was resolved to solemnize the marriage without waiting for the king's return, or making any farther application for his consent. The ceremony was accordingly performed with great magnificence. The imperious behaviour of William naturally became the subject of conversation, and the most bitter reflections were made on his tyrannical government: they expressed their contempt for him as a bastard, and determined to submit no longer to his arbitrary administration. They accused him of using every species of tyranny over the English, who were unjustly subjected to the arbitrary nod of an usurper. Earl Waltheof, one of the greatest warriors of the age, was the only Englishman who retained any power. He had lately married



married Judith, the king's niece, and was created earl of Northumberland for his valour. This brave soldier was one of the guests, and joined with the rest in the conspiracy to dethrone William; but fearful of their own power, they agreed to solicit the assistance of Sweyn, king of Denmark, a sworn enemy to the imperious Norman.

Calm reflection soon convinced Waltheof, that the conspiracy was at once idle and unjust. Remorse succeeded, and he informed Lanfranc of the whole design. The prelate persuaded him to cross the seas immediately, and reveal all he knew to William. Waltheof followed the advice of the archbishop; but unfortunately for him, he had also revealed the secret to his wife, who sent an express to the Conqueror, and used all her art to incense him against her husband. Waltheof, however, met with a gracious reception, and flattered himself that he had nothing to fear. The conspirators were alarmed at the disappearance of Waltheof; and some steps taken by the regency convinced them that the secret was betrayed. They immediately flew to arms, without waiting the arrival of the Danes, on whose assistance they placed their chief confidence. But their efforts were in vain; they were every where disappointed; so that when William landed in England, he found the conspiracy intirely suppressed. The brave Waltheof, notwithstanding the atonement he had made for his crime, was committed to prison. Lanfranc exerted all his interest to save him, but in vain: the Norman was inflexible; Waltheof was tried, and executed. Thus fell the last Englishman who enjoyed any considerable degree of power or interest in the nation. His infamous wife did not long enjoy her inhuman triumph over her husband; she was universally despised, and suffered that disgrace and contempt her perfidy so justly merited.

A.D. 1075. Though Alexander had met with such bad success in his attempt to extend the papal supremacy over England, his successor, Gregory VII. was not in the least intimidated. The unbounded ambition and superlative insolence of this pontiff had already set half Europe in a flame. He was disposed to employ the most sanguinary measures to establish the projects he had formed for carrying the papal grandeur to an unbounded height. He was the principal agent in those dreadful contests which had so long subsisted between the courts of Germany and Rome. Persuaded that St. Peter's successor had a right to dispose of crowns, he undertook to excommunicate and depose Henry IV. and to instigate his subjects to take up arms against their lawful sovereign. Spain, Portugal, and Poland, felt the weight of his ambition; even the plains of Asia were not exempted from his tyranny; the thunder of the Vatican was heard beyond the Bosphorus. Success had increased the violence of his ambition; he was determined to extend the despotism of Rome over the islands, as well as the continent of Europe. He dispatched a nuncio to William, insisting on his doing homage to him for his kingdom, as a fief of the Roman see; and demanding the payment of Peter's pence, which the pious liberality of the Saxon princes had constantly sent to Rome; but without ever intending to render the custom binding on their successors, or considering it as a badge of submission to the holy see. William, however, was not to be terrified by the unreasonable demands of an insolent ecclesiastic: he told him, that the money should be remitted as soon as it could be collected; but resolutely refused to pay him homage. "Fealty, said he, I never have, nor ever will pay." And, to convince the pope that he was in earnest, and despised his power, he would not suffer the English bishops to attend a general council which the pontiff had summoned to meet at Rome.

A.D. 1077. Ambition is often sufficient to break the sacred ties of nature. The family of William now became to him a source of misfortunes. That prince had promised before the peers of France,

that as soon as he was settled on the English throne, Robert, his eldest son, should be left in possession of Normandy. Philip, king of France, desirous of creating dissensions in the family of William, instigated Robert to demand the possession of his patrimony. Fired with what he considered as an injury, Robert laid his claim before his father, and urged the completion of it with some warmth. William was highly offended; and told him, that he never would part with any of his dominions, and that death only could put him in possession of Normandy. The refractory spirit of Robert was exasperated at this peremptory denial: he formed cabals against his father; and at last carried his imprudence so far, as to break out into open rebellion.

William saw with grief the undutiful behaviour of his son, and determined to chastise his insolence. He transported an army, chiefly composed of English, into Normandy, and advanced against the insurgents. Robert soon perceived he was in no condition to face his father's army, and retreated to Gerberoy, a strong fortress in the Beauvoisis. William followed him, and invested the castle. Several skirmishes happened between small parties of the two armies, but with very little advantage to either. At last Robert, disdaining to be thus ingloriously shut up within the walls of a castle, drew out his forces, and gave his father battle. The contest was very sharp, and, for some time, continued equal. At last an arrow, from an unknown hand, struck William's horse, which immediately fell, and the king was thrown, almost breathless, to the ground, where he was in the utmost danger of being trod to pieces. In this deplorable situation, he called for help; and Robert hearing the well known voice of his father, was struck with horror: all the sentiments of duty and filial reverence were awakened in his breast; he raised him from the ground with the utmost tenderness, threw himself at his feet, implored his pardon, and offered to purchase his forgiveness by any atonement. But William was too deeply affected with the affront he had received, to pardon his son: he renounced not immediately his resentment: he, however, drew off his army, and returned to Rouen. Robert dismissed his forces, and followed his father. The queen interposed in behalf of her son; and her influence, added to the submission of Robert, produced, at length, a reconciliation. Robert was again received into the favour of his father; but William did not think it prudent to leave him in Normandy, lest the same instigations should again produce the same alarming events. He carried his son into England, and sent him, at the head of an army, to repel the inroads of the Scots, who, taking the advantage of William's absence, had invaded the northern parts of England.

A.D. 1079. William now rested from the toils of war. The English were effectually subdued, and the greater part of all the estates in the kingdom possessed by Normans; so that, according to the emphatical expression of William of Malmesbury, "England was become an habitation and dominion of strangers." This interval of tranquillity enabled William to finish a survey of the kingdom, begun by Edward the Confessor. In this survey an account was taken of all the lands in England, their extent in each district, their value, their quality, and the number of the tenants, cottagers, freemen, sokemen, villeins, and slaves; black cattle, sheep, hogs, cattle for draught, and other animals, with the names of those to whom they belonged; and the number of mills and fisheries. This work was six years in compiling; and was at first called, The Roll of Winchester, because originally kept in that cathedral; but it was afterwards named Domboc, or Domesday-book, because there was no appeal from its authority; its evidence was decisive. It is still preserved in the exchequer, and committed to the care of the chamberlain.



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Walt. delin.*

*Reynolds sculp.*

*(ROBERT, Son of WILLIAM the Conqueror,  
saving his Father's Life, at the Battle of Gerberoy.)*











*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Anselm Fitz-Arthur claiming the Ground  
wherein WILLIAM the CONQUEROR was going to be Buried.*





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*WILLIAM the CONQUEROR Seizing his BROTHER ODO  
Bishop of Bayeaux & Earl of Kent.*



A. D. 1082. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king's uterine brother, lately created earl of Kent, and appointed chief justiciary of the kingdom, had amassed immense sums of money by the most illegal and oppressive methods. He was by nature turbulent and ambitious, and deeply tinctured with the folly of the times, in placing confidence in the idle predictions of astrologers. One of those itinerant fortune-tellers, among other ridiculous assertions, foretold that Gregory, who then filled the papal chair, should be succeeded by a prelate whose name was Odo. Animated with the hopes of obtaining that seat of envied greatness, Odo, who placed the most implicit faith in what was then called the language of the stars, determined to employ the vast treasures he had collected by the rapacious hand of injustice, in procuring the chair of St. Peter. He purchased a palace at Rome, furnished it in the most superb manner, and employed a great number of agents to engage the voices of the cardinals in his favour. He, however, kept his design a profound secret, and proposed to withdraw privately out of the kingdom, and take up his residence at Rome, till the death of Gregory should open a way to the succession. But his intentions could not be concealed: one of his pretended friends informed William of the chimerical projects formed by his brother. The loss of such enormous sums, and the consequences that might attend his endeavours to obtain the papacy, determined William not to suffer him to leave the kingdom. He accordingly ordered him to be arrested; but his officers being intimidated at the immunities enjoyed by the clergy, hesitated to execute his orders: they feared the ecclesiastical more than the civil power. William perceived their scruples; and seized the bishop with his own hand. It was in vain that Odo pleaded his exemption from temporal jurisdiction; William answered, that he arrested him not as bishop of Bayeux, but as earl of Kent. Gregory had recourse alternately to persuasions and menaces to obtain the release of Odo, but in vain. William set all the thunders of the vatican at defiance, and kept the ambitious prelate closely confined in one of the castles of Normandy.

William's favourite amusement was hunting; and his extreme passion for that rural diversion induced him to execute a design which has justly loaded his memory with reproach. He laid waste a large extent of country in Hampshire, in order to form a capacious forest. The spot devoted to destruction was remarkable for its fertility, and adorned with all the beauties of nature; it was full of churches, monasteries, villages and farms. The inhabitants had never injured him; never joined in any rebellion against his government. But the voice of innocence and justice pleaded in vain. William drove the inhabitants from their dwellings, and the religious from their retreats. He demolished the structures, ecclesiastical and civil, seized the property of the inhabitants, without making the sufferers the least compensation for their losses. Nor was he satisfied with this inhuman stretch of tyrannical power. He enacted the most severe laws relative to the forests, by which those who dared to kill a deer, a boar, or even a hare, were condemned to lose their eyes. And it should be remembered, that at this very time the killing a man might be compensated by paying a very moderate fine. Humanity is not in the catalogue of a tyrant's virtues.

It was useless to complain. Every oppression was laid upon the English. He not only robbed them of their wealth and estates, but even formed a project for depriving them of their language. He ordered the French to be taught in the schools throughout the kingdom. It was spoken at court, and therefore studied by the polite part of the inhabitants. It was used in the courts of justice, and all the public acts, and private contracts, were written in that language.

A. D. 1087. The French barons having made incursions into the territories of Normandy, William

crossed the sea in order to put an end to their depredations. This attempt to disturb the tranquillity of William's hereditary dominions, occasioned a misunderstanding between him and Philip I. During his stay in Normandy, William was taken ill, and for some time confined to his bed. He was always corpulent, and this misfortune increasing with his years, he was now become very unwieldy. Philip turned this natural infirmity into ridicule, and expressed his surprize, that his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. This pleasantry being reported to William, he resented it in the highest degree; and declared, that he would celebrate his recovery at Notredam with ten thousand lances instead of lights; alluding to the practice of women, who then offered wax-tapers at the altar after their recovery from child-birth.

His health was no sooner restored, than he entered France at the head of a powerful army, and committed the most inhuman ravages that fury, blended with malice, could invent. Towns and villages, churches and chapels, palaces and huts, were alike destroyed: a smoking desert closed the rear of his army. The city of Mantes was one of those unfortunate places that fell into his hands, and felt the dreadful effects of his unbounded rage; He laid it in ashes, and beheld with satisfaction this horrid sacrifice to his revenge. But his triumph was of no long continuance; his horse, terrified by the smoking ruins, suddenly started aside, and bruised his belly against the pommel of the saddle. A rupture attended by a fever was the consequence. He was carried to Rouen; and sensible that his end was approaching, he was struck with remorse for the many violences and cruelties he had committed to satisfy the cravings of an unbounded ambition. He lavished donations on churches and monasteries, and practised all the external acts of religion, which in that bigotted age, were considered as the highest, and most powerful acts of religion. He gave Normandy and Maine to Robert his eldest son, and named William his second son, as his successor to the crown of England. Henry, his youngest son, he left only the portion of his mother Matilda; but foretold, that he should one day succeed to the undivided inheritance of his father, and surpass his brothers in power, in prudence and in riches. He paid the debt of nature on the ninth of September, in the sixty-first year of his age.

The attendants of William no sooner perceived that the stroke of death was over, and had heard the groan of expiration, than they immediately deserted the lifeless body to plunder his coffers and seize on his valuable effects. They even stripped his corpse of the rich mantle with which it was covered, and left the remains of this mighty conqueror, whose nod had decided the fate of thousands, naked and exposed. A country gentleman beheld this scene of rapacity, and was touched with compassion. He caused the body to be embalmed at his own expence, and made the necessary preparations for interring it in the church of St. Stephen in Caen, pursuant to William's own request. The procession was awfully solemn, and an elegant funeral oration was pronounced by Gilbert, bishop of Evreux, who, with six other prelates, attended this mournful ceremony. But just as they were going to deposit the body in the earth, one Anselm Fitz-Arthur, a Norman gentleman, pressed forward through the croud, and with an audible voice, forbade the prelates to inter the body. "That spot," said he, "was once the floor of my father's house, which was unjustly seized by William, who I now summon before the tribunal of the Most High, to answer for that flagrant act of tyrannical oppression." The people trembled, and the bishops were struck with terror at the solemnity of this invocation. At last it was agreed to give thirty sols for leave to bury the royal body, and Henry promised, if his claim should appear to be well founded, to make him a reasonable satisfaction for his estate.

Thus died William the mighty conqueror of England:



England; a prince liberally endowed by nature with all the talents necessary for placing him on the pinnacle of human greatness. His genius was piercing, and improved by a noble education: He was intrepid in danger, and fruitful in resources; a great general, and a valiant soldier. He was formed to shine both in the council and the field. He was an excellent judge of men, and employed none but those of the greatest capacity either in church or state. But his ambition carried him beyond the bounds of humanity: He availed himself of the right of conquest, the only title by which he had acquired a great kingdom, to trample upon the laws of justice, and erect the throne of despotism upon the ruins of the constitution of a free people. Avarice and oppression were two of the principal features in his character; he sacrificed to the former every principle of justice, and to the latter every dictate of humanity. He extended the iron rod of tyranny over a people his

as if he had conquered; he felt not for the miseries of innocence in distress. William was not, however, wholly destitute of virtues. The noble stand he made against the insolent demands of the Roman pontiff, deserves the highest applause: he exposed his subjects to no tyranny but his own. In private life he was a tender husband, an indulgent parent, and, where political interest did not interpose, a generous master. He introduced the regulation of the *curfew* into England, by which all the inhabitants were obliged to extinguish their fires, and put out their lights, at the sound of a bell, which was tolled about eight o'clock in the evening. This has been unjustly represented by several historians as the badge of English servitude: for it is known that William had established the same custom in Normandy before he landed in England; and it appears that it also prevailed in Scotland.

## WILLIAM II. surnamed RUFUS.

A. D. 1086. **T**HOUGH the Conqueror was desirous of placing his second son, Rufus, on the English throne, he was aware of the difficulties that would, probably, attend his accession. The right of primogeniture was, undoubtedly, vested in his brother Robert. It was also natural to imagine, that the English were not yet sufficiently reconciled to the Norman government, to admit a descendant from the Conqueror to take possession of the throne without one struggle for their liberty; and that the Norman barons would oppose any division in the dominions of their late master: it was for their interest that the same person should sway the sceptres of England and Normandy. Rufus was no stranger to these difficulties; and knowing that his right of succession was founded on a letter the late king had written to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, he hastened to England, before any intelligence of the death of his father reached that kingdom, in order, if possible, to secure the possession of a throne which, of right, belonged to his brother.

Lanfranc had been entrusted with the care of William's education, and looked upon him with the affection of a father: but he refused to exert his interest in his favour, unless he would promise, in the most solemn manner, "To govern with equity and moderation, maintain the liberties of the people, and behave like a dutiful and obedient son to the church." Rufus readily consented; and the prelate applied himself assiduously to remove every difficulty, and procure for his princely pupil the sceptre of England. He well knew that the government of the Conqueror was obnoxious to the inhabitants; and that all his endeavours would, therefore, prove abortive, unless some method could be devised to remove the prejudice of the people. A change of measures was universally desired, and it was therefore necessary to promise, that their wish should be granted. A report was accordingly propagated, that William had contracted a natural affection for the English; that he had seen with grief their oppressions, and earnestly wished to alleviate all their misfortunes: that he considered the forest laws as shamefully oppressive, and fit only for a nation of the most abject slaves: that he thought the English and Normans equally his subjects, and intended to make no difference between them: and that he intended to restore the nation to its former liberty, and govern intirely by the laws of Edward the Confessor. These reports excited a joy in the breast, of the English more easily imagined than expressed. They looked upon Rufus

as a person sent by Providence to remove their complicated distress, and once more restore that happiness and domestic tranquillity which the iron rod of tyranny had destroyed. They wished to see Rufus placed in the seat of power.

But the task was still more difficult to gain the Norman barons over to the party of Rufus: they could not behold the disjunction of England and Normandy without regret: they were possessed of large estates in both, and desirous of avoiding the inconvenience of being subject to two masters. They foresaw, that if a war should break out between England and Normandy, an event highly probable, they must sacrifice the estates they possessed in one province to the preservation of those in the other. These considerations induced them to favour the pretensions of Robert. The temper of William also rendered them averse to his government. Cruel, insolent, and rapacious, he had inspired them with detestation instead of love. Recourse was, however, had to the art of persuasion. They were taught to believe, that if Robert obtained possession of the throne, there would be no hopes of their keeping possession of their English estates: his Norman friends would be gratified with the possessions they themselves had formerly wrested from the natives of the country: that their interests were therefore closely connected with those of Rufus, to whom their great benefactor, with his dying breath, had bequeathed the crown of England.

These lenient and persuasive arts would, however, have failed of the desired effect, had not the inactivity of Robert given them a force much greater than their own. Rufus owed the English crown to the indolence of his brother. Robert was so sure of the affections of the people, that the ambitious designs of his brother gave him no uneasiness; and when his friends advised him not to trust his interest wholly to precarious hope, probably founded on deception, but to cross over immediately into England, and conciliate, by his presence, the affections of that generous people; he answered, with a haughtiness which nothing but the most superlative vanity could inspire, "That precipitation was unnecessary; the sceptre was his undoubted right; the English were his inseparable friends, and would never presume to appoint a successor to the throne in his absence." He was, however, for once, mistaken, and became the dupe of his own vanity. Lanfranc's unwearied application in favour of Rufus, prevailed over the interest of an absent prince; and William was crowned by that prelate on the seventh of September.



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William knew the popularity of Robert, and that the Norman barons would not fail to join his standards, should he land in England at the head of a powerful army. He therefore justly considered the English as his only support, and determined to court their affections by the most lenient and conciliating measures. He practised not these assuasive arts in vain. Flattered by the particular attention of their sovereign, the English paid him unbounded obedience. They considered him as their friend, their protector, their father, and determined to support his government against the attempts of every enemy. Their natural honesty and openness of temper always rendered them the dupes of ambitious or designing men. The time-serving measures of Rufus both gained and secured him the English crown.

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the chief minister and favourite of Robert, jealous of the authority of Lanfranc, whose great abilities and high station he envied, passed over into England, under pretence of soliciting the restitution of an estate he formerly possessed as earl of Kent, and which had been confiscated by the Conqueror. He was received with great affection, and reinstated in his former possessions. But the recovery of an estate was not the principal design of Odo's visit: he intended to wrest the sceptre from the hand of Rufus, and give it to Robert, as the undoubted heir of the Conqueror. He accordingly applied to several of the principal barons, and found them ready to support the pretensions of his patron, provided they could be assured of a sufficient force from Normandy to second their attempt. Robert promised them all the assistance in his power, and that he would land, at the head of a powerful army, as soon as his presence became necessary.

Animated by these encouragements, the partisans of Robert broke out into open rebellion. Several parts of the kingdom were at once thrown into the utmost confusion, and many of the counties again laid waste by the sword of desolation; William was alarmed; but that remarkable presence of mind which never forsook him, supported him amidst the rebellion of the Norman barons. He shewed not the least signs of uneasiness; his passions precipitated him not into violent measures: he followed the advice of Lanfranc, and laboured to stifle the rebellion by the gentle methods of reason and conciliation. He chose rather to convince the insurgents of the folly of supporting a cause pregnant with destruction, than to force them to submission by blood and slaughter. The success of these prudent measures was soon apparent; the chief of the conspirators abandoned the cause of Robert, and became the firm friends and adherents of Rufus. The prudent counsels of Lanfranc triumphed over the violent instigations of the bishop of Bayeux: Odo himself escaped to Normandy; but his large possessions were seized by Rufus, who distributed them among those who had served him faithfully in this alarming crisis of danger. Robert lost all his interest in England; and Rufus was firmly established on the throne he had usurped from his brother.

A.D. 1088. Prosperity is, perhaps, the surest touchstone of virtue. While William was surrounded with enemies, and felt the crown totter on his brow, he distinguished the English by every mark of favour. But he no sooner saw all his enemies at his feet, and himself firmly fixed in the seat of power, than he forgot all his promises, and treated them with the cruelties of a conqueror. He increased, instead of mitigating the severity of the forest laws. The complaints of the English were urged in vain; he was deaf to their petitions, and beheld their miseries without redress. Lanfranc saw these measures with grief and astonishment: he remonstrated against the despotic administration of his sovereign in the most forcible manner; he urged his

own solemn promises when a candidate for the crown; he urged the noble and generous behaviour of the English; but his efforts were in vain: Rufus, indeed, proceeded with more caution; the great character of the archbishop, and his prodigious interest with the people, kept the king within the bounds of decency. But this check was soon removed: Lanfranc, who had kept the passions of Rufus under some restraint, paid the debt of nature, and allowed his tyranny a full career. The death of that worthy prelate was justly regretted by all the virtuous part of the nation, Normans and English. He made no distinction between the two nations; every good man was sure of his favour and protection. He gained the love of all parties; and was justly considered as a faithful and vigilant pastor, and an able and upright statesman.

The whole nation now felt all the weight of arbitrary power; the English were at once insulted and oppressed: even the privileges of the church, so sacred in those early times, proved a feeble rampart against his usurpations. Mitres and croiers were put up to sale; and the highest bidder was sure to be the purchaser. Nor were these illegal methods sufficient to satisfy his avarice; the appointing of successors to vacant benefices was delayed by this all-grasping monarch, that he might seize their revenues. The alarm occasioned by his tyrannical administration was universal; but the terror of his authority stifled the voice of complaint; even the murmurs of the ecclesiastics were in vain; their distress produced no tumult or commotion.

A.D. 1090. The indolence of Robert, which had lost him the English crown, threatened also to deprive him of his Norman dominions. Robert was valiant; and at the head of an army prudent and intrepid; but he was a stranger to policy; he had no talents for holding the reins of government. The restless and independent spirit of his vassals was greatly increased by his loose and negligent administration. The sword of civil discord was drawn, and Normandy felt all the horrors of an intestine war. Robert had mortgaged the Contentin to his brother Henry for three thousand pounds. Perhaps a less degree of natural affection never subsisted than between the three sons of William the Conqueror; Henry, fearful of losing the dominions he had obtained, applied to William for assistance; and advised him to attack the Norman dominions of his brother, where he could not fail of the greatest success. Rufus, whose avaricious soul was never satisfied, passed over to Normandy, at the head of a powerful army. Robert was in no condition to oppose his brother; he beheld with astonishment his towns successively taken, and even the capital itself on the point of falling into the hands of the invader, by the treachery of the governor. He applied in vain to the king of France for assistance; that monarch was attached to the interest of William. Henry now saw his error, and trembled for his own dominions. He deserted the party of Rufus, and joined Robert with an excellent body of forces. The two brothers arrived just soon enough to save the capital; and Robert, exasperated at the perfidy of the governor, caused him to be thrown headlong from the battlements of the castle.

A.D. 1091. William having thus miscarried in his attempt upon Rouen, laid aside his design of making himself master of Normandy, and returned to England. Perhaps he did not think it prudent to engage the combined army of his two brothers: a defeat might have been attended with the loss of his crown. His tyranny had rendered the English ripe for a revolt, and they would gladly have joined the victorious army to hurl him from the throne. A peace was, soon after, concluded between Robert and William; by which it was stipulated, that on the death of either, without issue,



the survivor should succeed to his dominions. The interests of Henry were totally forgotten; his name was not mentioned in the treaty.

Alarmed and exasperated at this contemptuous treatment, Henry resolved to revenge the insult upon Robert, and accordingly made himself master of Mount Michael. This insult roused the indolence of Robert: he informed his brother William of this act of hostility, and it was agreed to march a powerful army against Henry, in order to chastise him for disturbing the peace of his brother's dominions. They began with taking possession of the Constantin, and then advanced to the siege of Mount Michael, where Henry had shut himself up, and determined to defend the fortress to the last extremity. The place was strongly fortified both by art and nature: it was situated on a rock, one side of which was washed by the sea, and wholly surrounded by the tide at high water. Instead, therefore, of attempting to reduce it by storm, the two brothers prudently turned the siege into a blockade, and determined to continue before the place till famine should force the besieged to surrender.

While the army lay thus inactive, William used frequently to ride round the camp, to see that a proper discipline was observed among the soldiers. One day, as he was employed in this exercise, he observed two men advancing full speed from the castle. William, who was a total stranger to fear, instead of retreating, advanced to meet them, not doubting but he should be able to take one, if not both of them, prisoners. They met with equal fury; but the lance of one of the soldiers piercing the chest of William's horse, he fell, and the king was thrown violently to the ground. The soldier leaped from his saddle, and raised his hand to dispatch his fallen adversary with his sword, when William exclaimed, "Hold, fellow! I am the king of England!" Struck with veneration, the assailant sheathed his sword, raised him from the ground with the highest expressions of respect, and received a noble reward. This is, perhaps, the only commendable action in his whole reign. Henry was, however, soon after, obliged to surrender the castle to his brother Robert; and being deprived of all his possessions, wandered from one place to another, with few attendants, and often in the greatest poverty and distress.

A.D. 1094. William still entertained the dangerous ambition of making himself master of Normandy. He had, indeed, concluded a peace with Robert, who had ceded to him several towns; but treaties were feeble bars to the ambition of William. He made a second invasion of Normandy, and soon made himself master of several important places. But the king of France, alarmed at his progress, marched, at the head of a powerful army, to the assistance of Robert. The scene was now totally changed: the towns and castles which Rufus had taken were successively recovered, and William reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive. He immediately dispatched an express to England for a large reinforcement of troops; and threw up strong intrenchments round his camp, to render abortive any design Robert might form against his army.

The levies were immediately raised in England; and a general muster was appointed at Hastings, where the number was found to amount to twenty thousand men. It was an established custom for the barons or knights, under whom soldiers were raised for foreign service, to furnish each man with ten shillings towards defraying the expenses of the campaign. William wanted money more than men; and therefore, when the soldiers were drawn up on the sands, the treasurer told them, that they might be dismissed from the service, on paying to him, for the king's use, the bounty-money they had received. The offer was readily embraced; they

paid the money to the treasurer, and were immediately discharged. This money enabled William to put an end to the campaign with honour. He corrupted many of Robert's vassals, and detached the king of France from his interest. But an incursion of the Welsh obliged him to return to his own dominions sooner than he intended, and saved Robert the mortification of seeing his towns taken from him, without being able to give the invader battle.

The Welsh had been exasperated by the tyranny of the Norman barons whose estates lay on the borders of their country; and, to revenge the injuries they had received, poured like a deluge into the English territories. Their routes were marked with destruction; neither age nor sex were spared. They laid in ashes all the towns, villages, and farms, they met with; and rendered the counties of Salop, Chester and Hereford, a smoking desert. Exasperated at their cruelties, William advanced against them at the head of a numerous army. But the Welsh, not thinking themselves able to meet him in the open field, wisely retreated to their mountains, whence they continually detached flying parties, who harassed the rear of William's army with perpetual skirmishes, and cut off his convoys; so that he was obliged to return without effecting his purpose.

A.D. 1095. An affair of much greater importance now called for his attention. A dangerous conspiracy was formed against his life by some of the principal barons of the kingdom. Robert Mowbray, the most powerful subject in England, was at the head of this dangerous design. The great interest and connections of Mowbray had engaged many of the nobility to join his party, which now became very numerous. William took the most prudent methods to render the design abortive. He summoned Mowbray to attend him at Winchester, to answer for his plundering four merchant ships, which had put into an English port under his jurisdiction. Robert, conscious of his guilt, or vain of his services, refused to obey the royal mandate. William, therefore, marched immediately against him; and Mowbray being in no condition to give William battle, shut himself up in Bamborough castle, which the king immediately invested. Mowbray knowing that the fortress, though impregnable, must, for want of provisions, be forced to surrender, found means to escape from the castle. He repaired to Tinmouth, and endeavoured to corrupt the governor; but before he could effect his purpose, a detachment of William's army followed him, and took him prisoner. The castle of Bamborough surrendered, and the governor impeached all the conspirators. Mowbray was sentenced to be confined for life in Windsor-castle, several were executed, and the estates of the greater part of them were confiscated.

Geoffrey count D'Eu was impeached by Geoffrey Baynard of high treason, in being privy to the late conspiracy. He denied the charge, and offered to vindicate himself by single combat; but being defeated by his antagonist, he was condemned to be castrated, and lose both his eyes. His cousin, William D'Alder, was sentenced to be publicly whipped, and afterwards hanged on a gallows thirty feet high. He suffered the whole punishment with the greatest intrepidity, and, with his dying breath, declared himself innocent of the crime laid to his charge. What bitter reflections must these dreadful severities have excited in the minds of the English! How different are these tyrannical proceedings from the mildness of the Saxon laws!

A.D. 1096. William had some time since appointed the famous Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. It was customary at that time for persons raised to any place of dignity to make presents to the king proportional to the value of the post; and William, in consequence, expected a very considerable sum



sum from Anselm. But to his astonishment, the prelate's offering amounted to no more than five hundred pounds. Enraged at this parsimonious gift, the king refused to take it, and treated Anselm with great indignity. The archbishop left the presence, carrying the money with him, and could not be prevailed upon to furnish any aid towards the expenses of government. Anselm was as tenacious of the church, as William was of the prerogatives of the crown, and most anxious to see the crown as yet.

A schism now happened in the Roman church. Two prelates claimed the pontifical dignity. Odo, bishop of Ostia, under the name of Urban II. was acknowledged pope in Italy and France; while his competitor, Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, under the title of Clement III. was considered as the successor of Peter, by several of the European powers, and particularly by the king of England. Anselm opposed his sovereignty. The haughty prelate disdained to submit to any temporal authority. He even determined to mortify William, and accordingly demanded leave to repair to Rome, and receive his archiepiscopal pall from the hands of Urban II. adding, that he regarded him as the true head of the church. Provoked by this insolence, William was with the utmost difficulty prevented from laying violent hands on the churchman; and Anselm, perceiving that he should not be supported by the prelates and clergy, retired out of the kingdom. William seized immediately on the temporalities of the archiepiscopal see; nor could he ever be persuaded to restore them to the church. They continued in his hands till he paid the debt of nature.

Superstition and enthusiasm form two of the principal features of these times, and produced such consequences as have astonished people of more enlightened ages. A monk of Picardy, known by the name of Peter the hermit, having made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, represented, at his return, in such strong colours, the outrages and oppressions exercised by the Turks on the christian pilgrims, that Urban II. considered him as a proper instrument to exhort the sovereigns of Europe to undertake the conquest of the Holy Land. Peter was accordingly sent from province to province, in order to sow the seeds of enthusiasm, and rouse the people to action.

Urban II. perceiving that the strong paintings of Peter began to produce the desired effect, held a council in the open fields near Placentia, at which above thirty thousand seculars, besides ecclesiastics, were present. The project of invading Palestine was universally applauded; but none engaged in the enterprise. Urban, therefore, held a second council at Clermont in Auvergne, where he made a speech in the market-place, in which he expatiated on the miseries suffered by the Christians in the Holy Land, and painted, in the strongest colours, the scandal that was daily offered to the Christian princes by the Turks, in not suffering their subjects to visit a city, where the great author of their religion had laid down his life for the redemption of the human race. This speech, exactly calculated to the meridian of the times, produced the desired effect. The Italians had wept over the miseries of the Christians in Asia; the French took up arms in their defence. That country was then peopled with a great many new lords, restless, independent, and fond of a life of war and dissipation. Most of them plunged in crimes the natural attendants of debauchery; and in an ignorance equal to their guilt. The pope promised them the remission of all their sins, and to open to them the gates of paradise, on the easy conditions of gratifying their predominant passion for war and tumult. No wonder that such terms were readily embraced by a multitude of enthusiasts. An infinite number of persons took the cross, and were ready to precipitate themselves upon Asia. Many even forgot, on this occasion, the duties they owed to themselves, to their families, and to their country. The glory of the undertaking banished all other considerations. They

reflected not on the fatigues, the obstacles, and the dangers they must meet with before they trod the plains of Palestine. The churches and cloisters made their advantage of this enthusiastic madness; they purchased, at very low rates, many of the estates of the barons, who imagined that a little money and their arms were sufficient for them to conquer kingdoms in Asia. Every thing conspired to fill their minds with the most chimerical ideas. The glory of the enterprise, the piety which it indicated, the advantages that might result from it to religion, the honour of extirpating the infidels, and the brilliancy of an eastern conquest, acted too powerfully on the minds of a superstitious people to be withstood. The meanest lords of manors set out at their own expense, and the poor gentlemen followed them as squire. They enlisted an infinite number of cavalry and infantry, under a thousand different banners.

This fanatical fury, though it robbed Europe of millions of inhabitants, had also its advantages. It tended greatly to establish the peace of nations. Great part of the turbulent barons with their vassals were removed to a distance, and their estates vested in the hands of more peaceable proprietors. The sovereigns enjoyed their crowns, and the people their estates in more tranquillity: they were no longer alarmed with the fury of these restless spirits that had often spread the horrors of civil discord over their respective kingdoms. The French monarchy recovered its lustre by this enthusiastic insanity: the principal part of the large estates of the most opulent and powerful barons being purchased by the crown. But no prince gained more, or deserved it less than Henry, Robert's brother, infected with the enthusiasm of the times, and impatient to undergo all the fatigues of a holy war, took the cross, and applied himself to make preparations for leading an army into Palestine. But he soon perceived that the revenues of his duchy were too small to answer this purpose: they were not sufficient to enable him to appear in a manner suitable to his rank and station at the head of his vassals. He had therefore recourse to his brother, and mortgaged his duchy for three years to Rufus, for the trifling sum of ten thousand marks. William raised the money by contributions on his subjects; and Robert, after putting him in possession of Normandy, set out at the head of his vassals to gather laurels on the plains of Palestine.

A.D. 1099. William was now considered as one of the most powerful princes of his time. England and Normandy were once more united; and the many contentions that had subsisted between the barons of the two provinces entirely laid aside. Both were subjects to William, and both felt the weight of his tyranny. But notwithstanding the great power of Rufus, a single lord of la Fleche, a small town in Anjou, alarmed the monarch of England. That nobleman made so many inroads into William's dominions, and struck such terror into the inhabitants bordering on his dominions, that Rufus was obliged to cross the seas several times, in order to drive him out of his territories. But Helie was not to be intimidated; he embraced the first opportunity of William's absence to renew his incursions, and this year laid siege to the city of Mans. William was hunting in the new forest when he received advice of this transaction; when, turning to his attendants, he asked them in what direction the city of Mans lay from them. He was immediately answered, and turning his horse's head towards the place, rode full speed to the sea side, calling to those that were about him, "Let him that loves me, follow me." Dartmouth was the first sea-port town, and there they found only an old and crazy vessel, which William entered notwithstanding all the persuasions of his attendants to the contrary. The master of the vessel declared, that the tempestuous weather rendered it madness to put to sea; it was nothing less than running into unavoidable destruction. But the soul of William was not



to be terrified by danger. "What!" said he to the master, "didst thou ever hear of a king that was 'drowned'?" Silenced by this reproof, the master sailed immediately out of the harbour, and the next morning reached Barfleur in safety.

Surprised at the astonishing dispatch of William, Helie, after a few skirmishes, raised the siege, and retreated with the utmost precipitation. William followed the flying enemy, attacked their rear, and took Helie himself prisoner. The captive was treated with insult; which so incensed that intrepid nobleman, that he told Rufus, "He had little cause for triumph, as his success was owing rather to 'surprise than valour'." Adding, "That if he were again at liberty, he would not find it easy to defeat 'him in a fair engagement.'" This speech awakened all the sentiments of valour in the breast of Rufus. He immediately ordered the count to be set at liberty. "Be gone," said he fiercely, "do thy worst; and, 'by the face of St. Luke, if thou hast the good fortune to conquer me, I will not ask the smallest 'return for the freedom I now confer upon thee.'" But no farther action happened between them.

While William was pleasing himself with the acquisition of Normandy, Robert was displaying his intrepid courage against the infidels. After the greatest fatigues, and the loss of multitudes of enthusiastic soldiers, the famous city of Jerusalem was taken, and the diadem of that celebrated capital offered to Robert. But whether that prince was not desirous of a crown that must be supported by continual wars, or preferred the English sceptre to that of the Holy City, is uncertain: he, however, declined the offer, and the crown was placed on the head of Godfrey of Boulogne. Had Robert perceived the consequences that followed his declining this honour, he would not, possibly, have refused it. He was considered as a person without the least regard for religion, because he refused to support the advantageous conquest which had been obtained at the expence of the lives of thousands.

A. D. 1100. Though Jerusalem was recovered from the infidels, the enthusiastic madness of the times still continued: numbers of warriors were daily flocking to the plains of Asia. Among those who were seized with the fanatical insanity, was Henry, earl of Poitou, who offered to mortgage his dominions to William for a sum of money sufficient to defray the expences of the holy war. Rufus, who joined impiety to his other vices, and ridiculed both the motive which gave rise to the crusades, and the madness of those who engaged in so chimerical

an undertaking, listened to the offers of Henry. He agreed to pay down the sum demanded on being put in possession of the provinces; and ordered a numerous fleet to be fitted out, on board of which he proposed to embark in person.

While these preparations were making, William amused himself daily with hunting in the New Forest. Sir Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, and famous as an archer, attended the king in these diversions. One day, as they were returning from the chase, and at a distance from his attendants, William alighted from his horse, to wait till they joined him. He was hardly on the ground, before a stag, rushing from an adjacent thicket, passed near the king. William immediately let fly an arrow, which wounded the deer, and he followed the creature, expecting he would soon fall. While William was engaged in watching the wounded stag, another issued from the same thicket, and crossing the path between Tyrrel and the king, the knight shot an arrow, which, either by glancing against a tree, or the horns of the deer, changed its direction, struck the monarch in the breast, and piercing his heart, he fell dead on the spot, without uttering a word. Tyrrel, who had been the innocent cause of this fatal catastrophe, fled immediately to the sea-side, and escaped to France. The royal corpse was treated with the same neglect as that of his father. His attendants, who feared his power, and had followed his fortunes, paid no regard to his remains. The body was suffered to lie in the very posture it fell, till they perceived a peasant approaching with his cart, into which they threw the body, and in that ignominious manner it was conveyed to Winchester, and buried in the cathedral. No funeral pomp attended this monarch to his tomb; his grave was not watered with the tears of his people. An accidental blow put an end to his life, on the second of August, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

William had some virtues, and many vices. He was intrepid and magnanimous, a lover and encourager of arts and learning, a friend to military merit, and an implacable enemy to every species of superstition. But he was ungrateful, avaricious, tyrannical, perfidious, cruel, rapacious and dissolute. In a word, his few virtues were obscured by his vices, which have fixed an eternal stain upon his memory. He built Westminster-hall, London-bridge, and the greater part of the Tower. He acquired the surname of Rufus from his hair being of a red colour.

## HENRY I. surnamed BEAUCLERC.

A.D. 1100. **T**HE throne of England, by the death of William Rufus, without issue, undoubtedly belonged to Robert; who, after the reduction of Jerusalem, returned to Italy, where he married Sibylla, daughter of William, count of Conversana, a lady celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments. In that delicious climate he was enjoying the delights of love and repose, when the throne of England became vacant by the untimely death of his brother. But indolence and pleasure were more prevalent with Robert than the acquisition of a diadem. He continued in Italy till the throne was filled by another.

Henry, the younger brother of William, was hunting in the same forest when the arrow from the bow of Tyrrel put a period to the life of Rufus. He knew the indolence of his brother Robert, and determined to seize the crown in his absence. He posted directly to Winchester, and made himself master of his brother's treasures. This acquisition

almost insured his success. He now easily gained over the nobility and prelates to his interest; and he was crowned at London on the fifth of August, three days after his brother's decease.

Henry was aware of the danger that might attend this act of usurpation. He knew that Robert, with all his faults, was a favourite of the English; and therefore wisely determined to gain the love of his people, and colour the unjust measures he had pursued to seize the sceptre of his brother, by the appearance of justice and humanity. Henry was not to learn, that the first acts of a king make the strongest impressions on the minds of the people. He granted a famous charter, under the great seal of England, whereby he restrained himself from seizing the revenues of vacant bishopricks and abbies. He engaged to admit the heirs of barons to the enjoyment of their estates, without exacting those enormous fees which had been required by the two preceding princes. He promised to remit the wardship of minors,





Engraved for Sydney's History of England.





minors, by which the crown received the profits of their possessions during their minority. He engaged not to oppose any marriages which the barons might contract for their daughters, sisters, nieces, or kinswomen, unless the persons proposed were his enemies. He promised to exercise with justice and moderation the right of levying imposts, to pardon all past offences, to remit all debts due to the crown, and to maintain, in their full force, the laws of Edward the Confessor.

This charter was signed, with great solemnity, before all the archbishops, bishops, barons, earls, sheriffs, &c. in England; as many copies of it were taken as there were counties in the kingdom, and the transcript was lodged in the principal abbey of each division.

The signing of this charter was followed by an act of justice which endeared Henry to his subjects. Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, the oppressive and detested minister of Rufus, was thrown into prison, and fell a victim to the resentment of the public. He abolished the curfew, and granted the citizens of London a new charter, containing very ample privileges.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, had rendered himself extremely popular by the vigorous opposition he made to the measures of the late king; and his reputation for sanctity had greatly increased during his banishment. The English were, therefore, very desirous of seeing that famous prelate restored to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. Henry was no stranger to the affection of the people for their pastor, and immediately recalled Anselm from his exile. On his arrival, Henry proposed that he should renew the homage he had done to his brother; but this the lofty prelate absolutely refused; the pope having very lately declared, in a council held at Rome, that it was highly absurd to suppose, that hands destined to create God should be profaned by being ignominiously inserted between hands stained with blood, and polluted with rapine and impure contacts. Henry, though he despised the shallow reasoning of the Roman pontiff, thought it prudent not to insist any farther on the homage, lest he should involve himself in a disagreeable contest with the primate. He was, indeed, desirous of procuring his assistance in effecting a design he had conceived of marrying Matilda, daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland, by Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling. That princess had resided in the monastery of Wilton ever since the death of her father, and had, for some years, worn the veil, but never taken the vows; and it was questioned whether it was lawful for her to marry.

Anselm refused to decide this question by his own authority. He summoned a general council at Lambeth; where, after the case of Matilda was thoroughly examined, Anselm declared the princess free from all religious engagements, and at full liberty to marry. The ceremony was accordingly performed by the archbishop himself, and Matilda seated on the English throne. Henry could not have performed an act more agreeable to the English nation. The people looked with the highest veneration on their ancient race of kings; and beheld, with love and admiration, the only remaining branch of the Saxon line seated on a throne so long filled by her illustrious ancestors.

A. D. 1101. Robert now returned from the plains of Italy, and took possession of his duchy without opposition. He also made preparations for recovering by force the crown of England, which had been so unjustly usurped by his brother during his absence. The separation of England and Normandy was repugnant to the interest of the most powerful barons, and they were, therefore, well disposed to second the attempts of Robert, provided he landed, at the head of a respectable army, in England. Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury; Warrenne, earl of Surry, and several other nobles, were the

firm friends of Robert, and exerted themselves in his interest. Henry perceived the gathering storm, and was persuaded, that the surest way to break its force was to cultivate the friendship of Anselm, whose influence was boundless. He consulted him on every occasion, and followed implicitly his advice. The prelate was deceived by his caresses; he thought him sincere; he supported his interest, and kept his troops from deserting. A general meeting of the states was summoned; where Anselm solemnly engaged, that the king would govern his kingdom according to the laws of equity and justice in all matters, religious and civil.

Robert now landed at Portsmouth, at the head of a numerous army, and was joined by several of the most powerful barons in the kingdom. The crown tottered on Henry's brow: he saw his brother advancing towards the capital, and feared the consequences. The power of Anselm alone supported the drooping monarch. The prelate declared publicly, that if Robert persisted in his design of driving Henry from the throne, he would excommunicate him, and all his adherents. The censures of Anselm were more dreaded than the armed force of Robert. The thunder of the church was then considered as the voice of heaven; and the soldiers refused to fight against their Maker. Robert soon felt the consequences of Anselm's threatenings: his forces, instead of increasing in strength, grew weaker daily; and even those that continued firm to his interest advanced with timidity. The two armies met near Winchester, but continued inactive. Henry was fearful his troops would desert him in the day of battle, and Robert was desirous of waiting for fresh reinforcements.

Anselm exerted all his interest, during this interval of inaction, to sheathe the sword of war, by concluding a peace between the two brothers. He was at last successful, and a treaty was signed by the contending princes. Robert was to receive an annual pension of three thousand marks; and the friends of each party to be restored to their lands and estates, both in England and Normandy. Peace being thus restored, both armies were disbanded; and Henry carried his brother to his court, where they lived in the greatest harmony during two months, when Robert returned to his own dominions.

Though this treaty was very advantageous to Henry, he was the first that violated the articles. Determined to revenge the desertion of his barons, he commenced prosecutions against them; and they thinking it imprudent to appear, their estates were confiscated, and they themselves banished from the kingdom. Robert, who was strongly tinctured with the spirit of chivalry, considered his honour as concerned in recovering the honours and estates of those noblemen who had suffered in violation of the treaty between him and his brother. Benign and generous himself, he was persuaded that his presence alone was sufficient to kindle the flame of candour and humanity in the breast of his brother; but he was mistaken. Henry was determined not to part with the large estates he had confiscated, as he was now in no fear of the attempts of an enemy. Robert arrived in England; but soon found that he had followed the warmth of humanity at the expence of his interest, and almost of his safety. Henry refused to hear his remonstrances, and even hinted that his own liberty was in danger. Robert saw his error when it was too late; and was glad to make his escape at the expence of his pension.

But Henry found a more formidable competitor in Anselm than in the duke of Normandy. Conscious of the merits of his late services, the prelate determined, if possible, to render the clergy independent of the crown. He was no stranger to the violent temper of Henry, nor the jealousy with which he beheld every attempt to lessen the prerogatives of the crown. But he was not to be deterred by difficulties, nor intimidated by dangers. He well knew,

that



that the superstition of the people would support him, and that perseverance only was necessary to render the authority of the mitre little inferior to that of the crown. Henry saw his danger, and was alarmed for the consequences. The power of the church had grown to such an enormous height, that the thrones of the princes of Europe tottered under them. The beneficent religion of the meek and humble Jesus was changed into a system of the most tyrannical power. Ambition and prejudices had effaced the pure principles of the gospel. Anselm knew the power of the Roman pontiff, and that it would be exerted in his favour. He was desirous of establishing the celibacy of the clergy, and of wresting from the crown the right of giving investiture to bishops and abbots. A synod was accordingly convened, in which a sentence of excommunication was fulminated against married priests. Pleased with this success, Anselm determined to proceed, notwithstanding he perceived he should be opposed by the whole power of the crown. Nor was he contented with depriving Henry of a prerogative enjoyed by all the monarchs that had filled the English throne from the first establishment of christianity; he proposed, that all the bishops who had received investiture from the king, should immediately resign their sees, or stand absolutely excommunicated. Exasperated at this insolent attempt, Henry summoned Anselm to appear in the king's court. He obeyed; and was commanded instantly to do homage to the king, to consecrate such persons as had been nominated to vacant sees, or to depart the kingdom immediately; the king declaring, in express terms, "That no person should reside in any part of his dominions, who refused to pay the allegiance due to a sovereign." But Anselm despised the threats of royalty; and with the resolution of a man conscious of his power, told the court, "That he was not to be intimidated from doing his duty; that he should immediately retire to Canterbury, where he should continue to exercise his archiepiscopal functions, and wait the issue with resignation and tranquillity." As Henry was determined not to part with so valuable a branch of his prerogative, and the prelate not to recede from the cause he had undertaken, there remained no hopes of an accommodation. At last it was agreed by both parties, to send a deputation to Rome, in order to lay the whole dispute before his holiness; and that in the mean time the bishops and abbots should continue to exercise the functions of their respective offices.

A.D. 1105. Robert, though a brave and generous prince, was incapable of governing his own dominions. Abandoned alternately to devotion and dissolute pleasures, the affairs of his duchy were neglected; his subjects became a prey to the avidity of his officers; and rapine and injustice ranged at large over the dominions of Normandy. The mildness of his disposition gave a boldness to depredation, and his indolence a tacit sanction to outrage. The complaints of the people were uttered in vain; nothing could rouse Robert from the couch of superstitious inattention. Neglected by their own prince, and subject to the continual insults of rapine and violence, the Normans applied to Henry for redress. That prince listened with pleasure to their complaints; but not having even the shadow of a pretence to justify a rupture with his brother, he contented himself with writing a letter to Robert, in which he represented, in the strongest terms, the enormity of his conduct in not redressing the grievances of his subjects, and securing their properties from the hand of the spoiler. He intreated him, in the most pressing manner, to resume the conduct of a prince, and to act in such a manner as might acquire him the glorious title of being the father of his people. He added, that he thought it his duty as his brother, and the relation he bore to the inhabitants of Normandy, to use every means in his power to redress their grievances; and if, contrary to his

wishes, this epistle produced no effect, his brother must not think it strange if he himself espoused the cause of the oppressed Normans, should they apply to him as their protector.

This letter soon produced the intended effect. The hopes of assistance animated the Normans, their complaints against the government increased to an amazing height. Robert was alarmed, and applied himself to remove the complaints of his people; but it was now too late. Henry had raised a storm which threatened destruction to his brother's authority. His letter had inflamed the minds of the people; they formed themselves into parties against the government; and the nobility joined in a request to Henry, begging he would take a distressed province under his protection.

Henry had now obtained the secret purpose of his soul, and soon after passed over into Normandy, at the head of a powerful army. The nobility flocked to his camp; but the season being too far advanced before his troops were ready to take the field, Henry did not think it prudent to begin hostilities. Many of the Norman and English barons now feared the consequences that might attend an open rupture between the two brothers, and laboured assiduously to bring about a reconciliation between them. Robert accordingly paid Henry a visit, and, by the interposition of their nobles, their disputes seemed to be amicably terminated. But before Henry passed over into England, he seized the strong towns of Bayeux and Caen, belonging to Robert, in defiance of the laws of nature and nations, and garrisoned them with English troops.

A.D. 1106. Robert, astonished at this act of hostility, passed over into England; and, with great mildness, though with a resolution becoming an injured prince, expostulated with his brother on his late conduct in Normandy. He displayed the injustice of the action in its proper colours, and peremptorily demanded the restitution of the towns he had seized, contrary to every law, both human and divine. Henry absolutely refused to make any restitution; he even treated the remonstrances of his brother with contempt. Convinced that nothing could be obtained by negotiation, and that war alone must decide the controversy, Robert returned to Normandy, and determined to defend his territories to the last extremity.

Had his own commanders behaved faithfully, and exerted themselves, in defence of their country, in any degree equal to their master, Henry would, in all probability, have fallen into the hands of his brother; but, through the cowardice of one of their generals, the Norman army was defeated, and Robert himself, with several of his nobles, and Edgar Atheling, were taken prisoners. Henry reduced the whole duchy to obedience, and returned, with his captives, in triumph, to England. Edgar Atheling was set at liberty, with a trifling pension; and lived to a good old age, neglected and forgotten. But Robert was committed, a close prisoner, to Cardiff-castle, where he continued till he paid the debt of nature, which did not happen till twenty-seven years after his defeat. The example of this intrepid duke of Normandy affords a convincing proof, that a prince endowed with a large share of good nature and affability, without wisdom and discernment, is incapable of holding the reins of government, so as to acquire either honour to himself, or happiness to his people.

A.D. 1107. The deputies were now returned from Rome, charged with a fulminating letter against the king, for his assuming the right of investitures. "Because," said the pontiff, "Christ is called the door, therefore all ecclesiastics must enter into the church through Christ alone; not through any profane layman, however great in temporal power." This species of reasoning was far from convincing Henry; he treated it with the contempt it deserved. But he feared the power of the pontiff, and was desirous



desirous of avoiding an embarrassing dispute with his clergy. He, therefore, suppressed the pope's letter; and prevailed on the bishops, who had attended the Roman council, to declare, that the pontiff did not disapprove of his granting benefices, though he did not chuse to declare his opinion in writing. Anselm, who was acquainted with every thing that had passed at Rome, supported the cause he had undertaken with firmness and resolution. He not only refused to consecrate some new bishops, who had received investiture from the king, but also to communicate with them. Henry was irritated to the greatest degree; and the prelate, to avoid the storm, retired to Rome. The people were alarmed at the departure of their archbishop; they dreaded the consequences of an excommunication; and remembered with terror all the horrid scenes exhibited in Germany, in consequence of an anathema fulminated by the Roman pontiff against the emperors Henry IV. and V. They already saw, in imagination, the flames of dissention and discord lighted up in their own country, by the dreadful torch of religious fury. Henry himself was desirous of avoiding the consequences, and dispatched an ambassador to Rome, who told Paschal, that his master would sooner lose his crown than part with the right of granting investitures. "And I," replied Paschal, "would rather lose my head than allow him to retain it." Every thing indicated a rupture between Henry and the pope; but the former not chusing to see his country wasted by the unrelenting hand of religious bigotry, wisely gave up the claim of investitures, and the pope consented to his exacting from bishops the homage they owed him as temporal peers. An accommodation having thus taken place between Henry and the church, Anselm was re-established in his archiepiscopal chair.

A. D. 1109. During this interval of public tranquillity, ambassadors arrived from Henry IV. emperor of Germany, to demand Matilda, Henry's daughter, in marriage; and the terms of the treaty were adjusted in the presence of the council. Soon after this transaction, the famous Anselm paid the debt of nature and was universally regretted by the clergy. He was a prelate of great learning, considering the age in which he lived; but so ambitious, haughty, and bigotted, that he destroyed the peace of the church, which it was his duty to preserve. Power, and not piety, was the end he wished to attain. He sacrificed internal purity to external magnificence; and preferred the shadow to the substance of religion.

A. D. 1116. Though Henry had, for some time, been master of his brother's territories, he found it very difficult to defend his usurpation. He was frequently involved in wars; and found it often necessary to cross the sea, in order to stop the inroads of the neighbouring princes and discontented barons. William, the son of duke Robert, a prince of the greatest hopes, had fled to the court of Anjou for protection; and the justice of his cause, with the unnatural cruelty of his uncle, exciting in the breasts of the neighbouring princes a detestation of Henry's proceedings, they resolved to reinstate him in the dominions of his father. Lewis the Gros, king of France, was at the head of this association. That prince, as sovereign lord of Normandy, had granted William investiture of all the territories of duke Robert; and resolved, in conjunction with the rest of the confederates, to support him in his just rights against all the power of the usurper. Henry was now sufficiently alarmed, and crossed over into Normandy, at the head of a powerful army. But the season was too far advanced for any military operations of consequence to take place; and the two armies, after a few skirmishes of no consequence, retired into winter quarters.

A. D. 1119. The two preceding campaigns were spent to very little purpose. Henry was obliged to act on the defensive, and the allied army made but

a slow progress in reducing the fortified towns of Normandy. But having gained over the earl of Anjou to his party, Henry was now able to meet the enemy in the open field. The two armies met in the plain of Brenneville, where a bloody battle ensued. William, at the head of a chosen body of troops, attacked the van of Henry's army with such impetuosity, that he broke their ranks, and penetrated to the main body, where the king of England commanded in person. But Henry maintained his ground with surprising coolness and presence of mind; he rode from rank to rank, encouraging those who stood firm, and rallying the squadrons which had been broken by the intrepid attack of the young Norman prince. The engagement now became general; and while Henry was employed in leading his troops against the enemy, he was in the utmost danger of falling a victim to one of those chances so frequent in war, by which the monarch and the private soldier, the coward and the brave, are equally exposed. William de Crispin, a Norman knight, celebrated at once for his strength and intrepidity, cut his way to the spot where Henry, regardless of his own safety, fought in person. Pleased with the glorious opportunity of gaining the victory by a single blow, Crispin fell, with the utmost fury, on the king of England, and gave him two such violent blows on the head, that the blood gushed out from his mouth and ears, and he seemed, for a moment, to have lost his senses. Crispin perceived his advantage, and was just going to strike a third blow, when Henry, with surprising resolution, struck his adversary with so much fury, that he fell headlong from his horse, and was taken prisoner.

This personal bravery of Henry had no other effect than defeating the intention of the Norman knight: the battle raged with the utmost fury, and Fortune seemed inclined to give the palm of victory to the French and Norman army. Henry himself began to tremble for the consequences. In this alarming crisis, the English, who formed the rear of the army, advanced, and charged the enemy with so much fury, that, unable to sustain the shock, they gave way, and fled with the utmost precipitation. All attempts to rally them were in vain. Lewis himself was hurried away with the torrent, thrown from his horse, and escaped by the assistance of a peasant, who conducted him from this dreadful scene of confusion, through woods and bye-paths, to the castle of Andeli.

Lewis, notwithstanding his late defeat, was soon able to take the field against the enemy; and a second battle, more furious than the first, ensued, in which both claimed the victory, and, perhaps, with equal reason. The French monarch now perceived that it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to restore the young prince to the dominions of his father by force of arms; and therefore applied to the council of Rheims, assembled by pope Calixtus II. flattering himself with being able to turn the thunder of the church against the English monarch. Aware of the danger, Henry took the most prudent method to divert the storm. He sent large presents to the pontiff, and brought over Calixtus to his interest; so that all the attempts of Lewis were rendered abortive. The pope declared himself satisfied with the reasons Henry had offered for his conduct, and dissolved the assembly. A peace was, soon after, concluded between the contending monarchs, and Henry was permitted to keep possession of Normandy.

A. D. 1120. But the success of Henry was greatly overbalanced by a domestic misfortune, which embittered the remainder of his life. William, his only son, who had been recognized as his successor in a general council of the nation, and attended him into Normandy, was now on his return, with his father, to England. The ship in which the prince embarked was, by some accident, detained several hours after the rest of the fleet; and the interval



being spent in drinking, neither the master, nor any of the seamen, were capable of carrying the ship out of the harbour. They ran her upon a sunken rock, where she immediately foundered. All was now a scene of hurry and confusion: the boats were hoisted out, and every one endeavoured to provide for his own safety. The prince, with a considerable number of his companions, leaped into the long-boat, and, with great difficulty, got clear of the ship. But hearing the cries of Matilda, his natural sister, who had been left in the general confusion, he ordered the seamen to row back to the ship, and, if possible, save her life. He never considered, that in such distracting incidents, all respect for persons is lost, and self-preservation the only principle that then fills the human breast. Fatal experience convinced him of his error. They no sooner reached the side of the ship, than such numbers jumped into the boat, that they sunk, and every soul perished. No less than one hundred and forty young noblemen lost their lives by this dreadful accident. The king was inconsolable for the loss of his son: he endeavoured to conceal his grief, but without success: he never got the better of his misfortune; a cloud of melancholy spread over his countenance, and the loss of his son hung heavy on his heart.

A. D. 1121. Desirous, however, of having an heir to succeed him in the throne, Henry, who had, some years since, lost his amiable queen Matilda, married Adela, daughter to the duke of Louvain, a young lady amiable at once for her beauty and accomplishments. But the hopes both of the king and the nation were disappointed; Adela brought Henry no child.

A. D. 1127. Disappointed in having a son to succeed him on the throne, Henry was desirous of securing the crown for his daughter Matilda, who had lately lost her consort, Henry V. emperor of Germany, and was now returned to her father's court. He accordingly summoned a meeting of the states at Windsor, where it was unanimously agreed to acknowledge the empress Maud, or Matilda, as queen of England, in case Henry died without male issue. The English beheld that princess with affection, as she was descended, on her mother's side, from the ancient race of their Saxon kings, whose memories they revered.

A. D. 1128. But Henry was not satisfied with this acquisition; he was also desirous of securing to her the duchy of Normandy. Accordingly he married her to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk, earl of Anjou. By this political stratagem, he effectually detached Fulk from William, son to duke Robert, and all the allies of that unfortunate prince. But this step, which was taken without the advice of his barons, was extremely disagreeable to the English; and Henry had reason to dread the effects of their resentment. The young duke of Normandy, whom Lewis the Gros had put in possession of Flanders, considered this as a proper opportunity for re-commencing the war, and wresting his hereditary dominions out of the hands of the English monarch; but before he could carry his designs into execution, he was killed in a battle with the landgrave of Alsace. By the death of this young prince, Henry became the undisputed heir to the duchy of Normandy, Robert having no other legitimate issue.

A. D. 1129. Henry had now surmounted all opposition, and a series of profound tranquillity succeeded the boisterous seasons of war and devastation.

The loss of his son, which still oppressed his spirits, had tended greatly to convince him of the vanity of human enjoyments. He saw the folly of grasping at power, that eludes the touch; and of labouring to secure enjoyments as fleeting as the morning cloud. The milder sentiments of mercy and forgiveness succeeded to those of fury and resentment, which had so long filled his breast, and proved a continual source of uneasiness. He extended his pardon to all who implored it; and attached to his interest, by acts of kindness and generosity, several persons of great influence and power; but not a single ray of pity was extended to his brother Robert, who was still a prisoner in Cardiff-castle.

A. D. 1135. Henry often visited his Norman dominions, and enjoyed the pleasure of being present at the birth of several of his daughter's children. While he continued in that country, which seemed the favourite place of his residence, he received advice that the Welsh had renewed their incursions. Exasperated at the behaviour of that restless people, Henry resolved to pass over into England, and chastise the invaders; but before he could embark, death put a final period to all his undertakings. He died at the castle of Lyons, near Rouen, on the first of December, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign. His brother Robert had paid the debt of nature about ten months before him, in the castle of Cardiff.

The character of Henry exhibits a series of inconsistencies, which too often fall to the portion of frail humanity. He possessed many valuable qualities, but they were sullied by a greater number of faults. His behaviour to his brother and nephew have thrown such a stain upon his memory, as all his good actions can never obliterate. The bands of fraternal affection were separated by the sword of ambition; and the laws of justice, of humanity, of nature, and of nations, were sacrificed at the shrine of unnatural usurpation. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that the wisdom and vigour of his administration procured to the distressed Normans that tranquillity, happiness, and safety, which they had so long solicited in vain. Like all his predecessors of the Norman race, he was jealous of every encroachment on his power; but he relieved his subjects from several oppressive grievances, under which they had long laboured, and from which they had often petitioned to be relieved. He protected, by his power, the liberties of England; and guarded, by his address, against the insolent usurpations of the Roman pontiff. He was severe in the execution of justice; the licentiousness of the times rendered it necessary. He was an implacable enemy to extortion; the officer who made use of oppression was sure to feel the whole weight of his anger. If he often broke some of the articles in his charter, it should be remembered, that he was the first of the Norman race that made any contract with the people; and that the charter of Henry formed the basis of English liberty. Learning and learned men were not common in these times of superstitious ignorance: Henry cultivated the one, and encouraged the other. He obtained the surname of Beauclerc, or the fine scholar, from the progress he had made in the sciences; which, considering the bigotry and barbarity of the age, was not contemptible. If, therefore, the vices of Henry have fixed an eternal stain upon his memory, his virtues were of the utmost service to his country.







W. A. del.

G. G. sculp.

Engraved for Sydney's History of England

## S T E P H E N.

A. D. **N**O prince ever took more pains to secure the crown to his family, with so little effect, as Henry. His conduct affords a striking example of the vanity of human foresight. Stephen, earl of Boulogne, son of Adela, one of the daughters of William the conqueror, was the first among the favourites of Henry. He had bestowed upon him several large estates in England. But gratitude was not in the catalogue of Stephen's virtues. He had sworn eventual fealty to the empress Maud; the remembrance of his oath was buried in the grave with Henry; and persuaded that riches and intrigue were sufficient to over-balance the claim of that prince, he hastened to England to seize, by usurpation, the crown which had adorned the brow of his patron. Stephen's younger brother had been bred in the monastery of Augny, and the late monarch had made him abbot of Glastonbury and bishop of Winchester. He was of an active and turbulent disposition; bold, dissimbling, and faithless; ready to adapt himself to the circumstances of the times, and always preferred his own interest to that of his country: even fraternal affection had little weight with this dignified ecclesiastic. By a pleasing address and fluency of speech, he had gained the esteem and admiration of an ignorant populace: while his frank and familiar address procured him an unbounded influence over the clergy. The bishop of Salisbury was also a person of great abilities, great riches, and great influence with the people. These two prelates were the principal supporters of Stephen's pretensions. On his arrival in London, he was received with open arms by the citizens, and the two prelates in his interest insisted on the primate's placing the crown upon his head. The archbishop, who with them, had sworn fealty to Maud, refused to perform the ceremony. Artifice was therefore necessary to gain him over to his interest; and these conscientious prelates had recourse to perjury. Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, made oath before the primate, that Henry on his death-bed, had expressed his intention of placing Stephen on the English throne, in preference to his daughter. This oath removed all the scruples of the archbishop, and Stephen was crowned with the usual ceremonies.

That prince was not to learn that riches are the genuine source of power; and that partisans to any cause are easily procured by bribes and promises. The first act of his reign therefore was to seize the late king's treasures, which amounted to one hundred thousand pounds, an enormous sum in those days. By a proper distribution of this money, he gained over to his interest many of the indigent nobility, and still more of the indigent soldiery. The people, who were more guided by superstition, than by the principles of reason or equity, considered Stephen as their lawful sovereign; the religious ceremony of the coronation had removed every suspicion; and silenced every doubt that arose in the mind. It was impossible, they thought, for the head of the church to be mistaken; whoever he anointed must be the undoubted heir to the crown of England.

But it was not enough that the populace were gained over to the interest of Stephen, it was also necessary to prevail on the more thinking part of the nation, the nobles and the clergy, to embrace the same sentiments. He passed a charter, whereby he promised many advantages to the clergy, particularly, that on the demise of a bishop he would instantly give the investiture to the person appointed by a regular canonical election. He promised the nobility

that they should not be prosecuted for taking the diversion of hunting in the royal forests; and to the people, that the tax of Danegeld should be abolished, that the laws of Edward should be restored, and executed in their full extent. These flattering acts were the artifices of his ambition; the stratagems by which he fixed the crown of England on his head.

But Stephen found the English noblemen were determined to oblige him to keep his promises, and not like his predecessors, break them as soon as he was firmly fixed in the seat of power. Robert, earl of Gloucester, a natural son of the deceased monarch, led the way to these necessary resolutions. He was determined to support the cause of his sister; but the power of Stephen rendered it necessary for him to conceal his design. He accordingly swore allegiance to Stephen, but with this reserve, that he should not invade any of his rights or dignities. Stephen saw the full force of this reserve, but the great influence of that popular nobleman, rendered it necessary to receive him upon these terms. The clergy, pleased with the cautious reserve of Gloucester, annexed conditions to their oath of allegiance: they declared that it should be binding no longer than while he defended the ecclesiastical liberties of England, and supported the discipline of the church. The barons were determined not to be wanting to themselves in this fortunate crisis, when the sceptre trembled in the hand of an usurper. Accordingly they required, in return for their submission, the liberty of fortifying and putting their own castles in a posture of defence. By this step the tranquillity of the nation was sacrificed to the ambition of the nobles. These were long the source of civil discord, and often filled the kingdom with blood and slaughter.

A. D. 1137. The licentious designs of the nobles were soon apparent. Many of them had no sooner finished the fortifications of their castles, than they renounced their allegiance, and set the power of the crown at defiance. Stephen saw his error, but it was now too late to correct it. The disorder spread every day, and threatened the kingdom with the most destructive consequences. The oaths they had taken were renounced or forgotten: power only was the idol worshipped by the nobles. It was in vain to attempt the removing of these enormities by reason or persuasions; Stephen therefore made his own power the sole measure of his conduct. He sacrificed to the rage of despotic government, both his own concessions, and the ancient privileges of his subjects. His authority was chiefly supported by mercenary soldiers, who, having exhausted the royal treasury, subsisted by depredations. Stephen, however, found means to procure the duchy of Normandy, as well as the sceptre of England. His eldest son did homage for that province to Louis the younger, king of France, and received his daughter in marriage. The count of Blois, and even Geoffrey, count of Anjou, resigned their pretensions to that duchy, in exchange for pensions. Normandy and England were governed by an usurper.

A. D. 1138. But this acquisition of power increased the disturbances in England. The people were exasperated at the government: they were now desirous of hurling from the throne a prince they had so lately considered as their protector. The duke of Gloucester perceived the general defection of the people, and displayed the standard of rebellion. His interest was supported by David, king of Scotland, who entered England at the head of a powerful army, and penetrated as far as Northallerton, in Yorkshire.

Several



Several of the English barons, who still continued firm in their allegiance, entered into an association to give battle to the northern invaders, and deliver their country from the dreadful ravages of the enemy, or perish in the noble attempt. They erected upon a wheel-carriage the mast of a small ship, on the top of which was a silver crucifix; and the pole decorated with the ensigns of St. Peter, St. John of Beverly, and St. Wilfred.

The English surrounded this superstitious ensign in a close compacted body; and to break the first shock of the enemy, the front was composed of pikemen and archers intermixed. The attack was begun by the Galloway men, who formed the van of the Scottish army, with all the fury so natural to their character. But their efforts were in vain; the English stood firm, and plied them so incessantly with their arrows, and other missiles, that they were put to flight. The prince of Scotland now advanced, at the head of a chosen body of knights and archers, and attacked the English with so much impetuosity, that they gave way, and he pierced to the rear-guard; but not being properly supported by his followers, he was in the utmost danger of being taken prisoner; and escaped by throwing away his badge of distinction, and mixing with the English; where he remained undiscovered till the battle was over, and then made his escape. The other part of the Scottish army, by a false report that their king was slain, were seized with a panic; and David himself, after exerting in vain his utmost power to rally them, was hurried away with the torrent, and obliged to retreat to Carlisle, where he was afterwards joined by his son, and great part of his army.

This engagement, known by the appellation of the battle of the standard, might have been fatal to the interest of Maud and her brother, had Stephen known how to profit by his victory. But flattering himself that he had now secured the peaceable possession of the throne, he set no bounds to his ambition. Success rendered him confident: he engaged in a controversy with his clergy, to whom he was indebted for the crown, and to whose authority he could not be a stranger. Stephen had for some time determined to correct the error he had committed, in permitting the nobility to fortify their castles. The evil was every day increasing, and the monarch perceived that the kingdom was garrisoned against himself. The bishops, in imitation of the temporal lords, had erected castles on their estates; and Stephen determined to begin his intended reformation by attacking the strong holds of the clergy. Accordingly he seized the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, and obliged them, by menaces, to deliver up their castles.

A.D. 1139. Exasperated at the attempt of his brother to infringe the privileges of the church, Henry, bishop of Winchester, who had lately been invested with the legantine authority, convoked a synod at Winchester, and summoned Stephen to appear in person. The king, who despised the hypocritical pretences to sanctity, whereby the ecclesiastics imposed upon the credulity of the people, refused to obey the summons. He, however, sent one Aubery de Vere, the most learned lawyer of his age, who justified the king's proceedings with great eloquence and force of argument. He observed, that the followers of the meek and humble Jesus could not, with the least pretence to propriety, endeavour to oppose their sovereign with the arm of flesh: that it was irreconcilable with their functions as the preachers of peace, to engage in the tumults of civil discord; and that the castles they had fortified could be considered in no other light than the sanctuaries of discord, and the asylums of rebellion. The legate lost all patience at this bold remonstrance; and he was just going to pronounce an ecclesiastical anathema on the king, and all his adherents; when Aubery gave him to understand, that whoever dared to pronounce any spiritual interdiction

against him and their sovereign, should never live to behold the fruits of his insolence. This spirited declaration had more effect than all his reasoning. Astonished at the boldness of the deputy, and dreading the consequences of Stephen's resentment, the synod did not think it prudent to proceed. The prelates departed; and the two complaining bishops were obliged to part with their castles.

The empress Maud considered the differences that subsisted between Stephen and the church as a very fortunate circumstance, and determined to turn it to her own advantage. She ventured to come over to England, attended by her brother the earl of Gloucester. Their whole retinue, however, consisted of no more than an hundred and forty men; a force that could give no alarm to Stephen. But the earl of Gloucester was himself an army. He was the idol of the people, who were desirous of fighting under his banners, and driving from the throne a prince who had forfeited, by his actions, every claim to sincerity. The empress repaired to Arundel castle, where she was affectionately received by the queen dowager, who resided in that fortress. The earl of Gloucester retired to Bristol, a great number of his friends residing in the neighbourhood of that city.

Stephen was alarmed at the arrival of the empress and her brother. He feared the popularity of Gloucester, and that the nation would join his standard, in order to place his sister on the throne of her ancestors. He advanced immediately to Arundel castle, at the head of a considerable body of forces, in order to make himself master of that fortress. The queen dowager was alarmed at the approach of Stephen; and dispatched a messenger, requesting that he would not besiege the empress in her palace, but give her liberty to retire to some other place; assuring him, that she had received her as a guest only, not as a competitor for the crown; and flattered herself, that she should not be compelled to violate the rights of hospitality. Stephen very readily complied with her request; and the empress naming Bristol as the place she chose for her residence, the king ordered his brother Walleran, earl of Mellent, to escort her to that city.

On her arrival at Bristol, she openly declared her title, and asserted her claim to the crown of England. The people flocked to her standard; and Miles, high constable of England, having recognized her title, carried her to the castle of Gloucester, which he had prepared for her reception.

A.D. 1140. The whole kingdom now became a scene of anarchy and confusion; almost every individual declaring for one or other of the contending parties; some swayed by affection, and others by interest. The powerful barons attacked each other's territories with all the rage of the most implacable enemy. Castles, churches, monasteries, towns and villages, were every day levelled to the ground, or laid in ashes, to gratify the private animosity of contending nobles. The most inhuman cruelties were practised on the innocent inhabitants, whose only crime consisted in their weakness. It must, however, be acknowledged, that these horrid attempts received no countenance, either from Stephen or the earl of Gloucester; they saw with concern the miseries of the people, and exerted all their force to terminate this scene of destruction, and bring the ferocious barons to a sense of their shocking enormities.

A.D. 1141. Several negotiations were begun, but soon rendered abortive; and the horrors of a civil war continued to increase. All hopes of peace were now abandoned, and both parties proposed to decide the important controversy by a decisive action. But the siege of the castle of Lincoln being undertaken by Stephen, precipitated these measures, by bringing on a battle between the two armies much sooner than was expected. That castle was considered as a place of the utmost importance; and Gloucester



Gloucester determined, if possible, to relieve it. Accordingly he marched with the utmost expedition, and his troops having forded the Trent, appeared in the neighbourhood before Stephen had received any information of his approach. A general engagement was now irretrievable, and both armies prepared for a contest that was to decide the fate of the crown of England. The battle was begun by William de Ypres, one of Stephen's generals, and considered as the best general of his age. He fell with the utmost fury on a body of Welsh posted in the left wing, and put them to flight; but pursuing the broken Squadron too far, his division was charged in flank, and entirely broken. The earl of Gloucester, taking advantage of this success, fell with amazing impetuosity on the infantry, which composed the center of the royal army, where Stephen himself fought in person. The contest was dreadful; the field was covered with the slain; but Stephen's infantry, being deserted by the horse, were obliged to retreat. Stephen himself, disdaining to turn his back to the enemy, disputed every inch of ground against an amazing superiority. At last, he was felled to the ground by a stone thrown by an unknown hand, and obliged to surrender himself prisoner to the earl of Gloucester. He was treated with the greatest respect by that accomplished nobleman; but he experienced a humiliating reverse of fortune, on his being delivered into the hands of the empress. That imperious princess treated him with every indignity, committed him a close prisoner to the castle of Bristol, and loaded him with chains like a common malefactor.

The friends of Stephen deserted him on this reverse of fortune; the city of London, and the county of Kent, where his queen Matilda, his son Eustace, and his friend William de Ypres, still retained their authority, were the only places that continued faithful to the imprisoned monarch. Even his brother, the bishop of Winchester, courted the favour of the empress: the attractions of power were stronger than the bonds of fraternal affection. Henry declared for Maud, who, in return, promised him all the honours his ambition could desire, or which a churchman could receive. Armed with the legantine authority, and proud of displaying his power, Henry summoned a synod, and after asserting that the clergy were intrusted by heaven with the right of electing and ordaining kings, he declared that it was the will of the Most High, that the empress Maud should be placed on the throne of England. The only laymen summoned to this council were the deputies of London. Their presence alarmed the legate; for they were so far from agreeing with the unexpected declaration of Henry, that they peremptorily demanded the liberty of their king. The legate only answered, by recapitulating the errors of Stephen's administration. "He connived," said the prelate, "at the licentious behaviour of all men; so that virtue and peace abandoned this country, and tyranny and oppression filled their seats: bishops have been imprisoned contrary to law; abbeys have been put up to sale; and churches and convents plundered of their treasures tho' devoted to the sacred purposes of religion. For these and other offences, heaven itself has visibly interposed, and wrested the sceptre from the hand of my brother; and this assembly have unanimously agreed to present it to the empress Maud, to whom it of right belongs." Astonished at the insolence and wickedness of the legate, the deputies, after solemnly protesting against the proceedings of the synod, returned to London; and Henry pronounced an anathema against all the adherents of the imprisoned monarch. Thus was the sceptre of England disposed of by an assembly of ambitious churchmen, who dared to trample upon the authority of the nobles, and despised the liberties of the people. The power of the mitre was exalted above the power of the crown: and the rights of Englishmen sacrificed at the shrine of ecclesiastical tyranny.

Had Maud still suffered herself to be guided by

the counsels of the earl of Gloucester; she had enjoyed, during her life, the crown of her father: but pride and insolence, the two capital features in her character, soon rendered all his attempts abortive. Beloved by the people for his virtues, and feared for his valour, that accomplished nobleman found means to procure a majority in the magistracy of London in favour of his sister, and she was received into the capital with great demonstrations of joy. The ceremony of the coronation only was now wanting to constitute Maud the sovereign of England: but that impotence of mind which prosperity alone discovers, delayed the solemnity and hurled her from the throne. Haughty and contemptuous by nature, and obstinate from power, she formed the ridiculous opinion, that no human being had a right to examine her actions; and resolving to shew her independence, she determined to refuse every petition. Neither the soft whippers of humanity, assisted by the powerful intercessions of the earl of Gloucester, could prevail over the obstinacy of her soul; she persevered in her resolution, till she lost the affections of her people. The city of London requested her either to mitigate the severity of the Norman laws, or restore those of Edward the confessor. But she was deaf to their petition; even the remonstrances of Gloucester, who placed in a proper light the madness of such proceedings, were urged in vain: she looked upon all advice as an insult on her understanding.

Gloucester saw with grief the inflexibility of his sister, and trembled for the consequence. The citizens were at once incensed and alarmed. They complained loudly of the tyranny of the empress, and the people caught the infection from the capital. The Londoners entered into a conspiracy to seize her person. The earl of Gloucester was apprized of the assassination, and used every method in his power to soothe the citizens, and fix them in the interests of his sister; but his attempts were in vain; they conceived so deep a detestation of her insolent behaviour, that all the endeavours of that popular nobleman could not erase. He was greatly affected at this reverse of sentiments; he perceived the gathering storm that threatened the empress and her whole party with destruction, and prudently withdrew with Maud and her friends to Oxford. They had hardly left the city, when the populace assaulted the palace of the empress, and stripped it of all its rich furniture.

The legate saw this reverse of fortune, and again embraced the party of his brother. The allegiance he had sworn to the empress was forgotten: his oaths were not proof against interest. He, however, resolved to conceal his sentiments, but fortified his castle at Winchester, and furnished it with provisions and military stores. Maud was no stranger to the real sentiments of the legate, but resolved to practise the dissimulation of the churchman. She advanced at the head of her troops, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Winchester. Orders were immediately dispatched to Henry, commanding his attendance at a council the empress had summoned to meet in her camp. The legate saw the snare, and escaped through a postern gate; but the castle fell into the hands of the empress. Henry fled to London, joined Eustace and William de Ypres, and openly declared in favour of Stephen. A respectable body of forces were soon raised, and the legate, attended by his associates, marched to Winchester with such expedition, that the empress and her friends had hardly time to shut themselves up in the castle before it was invested by the enemy.

Henry had furnished the fortrels with such a stock of provisions that the besieged held out seven weeks, and every attempt to take it by assault was rendered abortive by the valour and conduct of the earl of Gloucester. But famine at length effected what force had attempted in vain; the garrison had but one alternative, either to cut themselves a passage through the legate's forces, or surrender at discretion. They chose the former, and made the necessary preparations



parations for the desperate attempt. The care of the person of the empress was committed to the main body of their forces; while Gloucester himself, at the head of two hundred followers, sallied out of the castle, and attacked the besiegers with the utmost fury. Alarmed at the vigour of this party of the besieged, the legate's army left their posts to repulse so formidable a band of desperate assailants. The expected opportunity now offered; and the empress, attended by the principal part of the army, made her escape. She fled to Gloucester, where she was joined by Miles, who had long served her with great fidelity.

But though the empress escaped by the noble efforts of the earl of Gloucester, his valour proved fatal to his liberty. He was taken prisoner, and sent to the castle of Rochester. The empress, sensible that every hope of success depended on the valour and abilities of her brother, consented to exchange Stephen for him.

The legate now summoned a synod of the clergy, and endeavoured to vindicate his conduct with regard to his brother; but even the clergy seemed not affected by his harangue. The legantine power, indeed, with which he was invested, commanded their silence; they feared the anger of the pope more than the anger of heaven. But a lay-deputy from the empress nobly undertook what a dastardly clergy had refused. He entered a protest against the legate's proceedings; accused him of complicated perjury; affirmed, that the landing of the empress in England was owing to his repeated invitations; and the cruel treatment his brother had met with, was in consequence of his pernicious advice. He concluded with charging him, on the faith he had sworn to the empress as his sovereign, not to do any thing in that assembly against her title and dignity. The legate answered only by a profound silence; conscious guilt, or a policy beyond the depth of common comprehension, effectually sealed his lips. He, however, recollected himself sufficiently to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against the counts of Anjou, and all her adherents. The whole assembly were struck with surprize and indignation: they could not hear, without horror, ecclesiastical censures, so directly opposite in their tendency, pronounced, without any other reason than that of satisfying his own pride and malevolence. This was, however, the last time he exerted this authority. Pope Celestine II. on his accession to the papal chair, deprived him of the legantine power, and bestowed it on Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1142. The sword of civil discord was now once more unsheathed, and threatened to spread destruction over this unhappy country. But Gloucester soon perceived the alarming effects of his sister's unseasonable pride and obstinacy. Her party was considerably decreased in numbers, and even many of her powerful friends had forsok her standard. He saw that she could now never hope to ascend the throne by the suffrages of the English, and feared it was too late to recover the popularity she had lost through her own haughtiness. He, however, determined to persevere in the cause he had undertaken, till death, or a decisive victory, put an end to the contest. A council of Maud's principal friends was summoned at the Devises, where it was resolved to solicit a foreign assistance; and Gloucester was dispatched to the continent to engage Geoffrey of Anjou to land in England at the head of his forces.

Stephen exerted all his abilities to profit by this defection of Maud's friends, and the absence of the earl of Gloucester. The empress had no army capable of meeting the enemy in the open field, and was obliged to elude the forces of Stephen by retreating from one castle to another. At last she retired to Oxford, then one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, and determined there to wait the arrival of the succours from her husband. Stephen

immediately made himself master of the city, and laid close siege to the castle.

Gloucester could not prevail upon the earl of Anjou to pass over into England at the head of his forces: all he could obtain was a reinforcement of four hundred men, under the command of Henry, his eldest son. With this small body of troops the earl of Gloucester landed in Dorsetshire, and immediately laid siege to Wareham castle, in order to induce Stephen to abandon Oxford; but that prince was not to be diverted from his purpose. The arrival of Gloucester, and the young prince Henry, greatly lessened his army: the troops under his command deserted in such numbers, that some of the avenues to the castle were left open. Maud determined to seize this favourable opportunity of making her escape: It was now the depth of winter, the ground covered with snow, and the waters of the river entirely frozen. Encouraged by these favourable circumstances, she dressed herself, and all her attendants, in white, in order to prevent their being seen by the centinels; crossed the river on the ice, and walked on foot above six miles to Abingdon, the snow driving all the way full in their faces. The castle of Oxford surrendered the next morning to Stephen, who was sufficiently mortified in finding all the fruits of his labours snatched from him at the very time when he thought himself sure of success. The empress retired the next day to Wallingford, where she was joined by her brother, and the young prince her son. The sight of this object of her affections excited the full force of parental tenderness; and she forgot, for a moment, all her afflictions, and all her fears.

A. D. 1147. From the time of the escape of the empress from Oxford, nothing material happened between the two contending parties; a few castles were taken, and some skirmishes happened between detachments from each army, but nothing decisive. This year was, however, marked with an event of the utmost consequence to the empress. The earl of Gloucester, the principal support of her cause, died of a fever, and was buried at Bristol. In this accomplished nobleman, the empress lost the only person that deserved her entire confidence, perhaps the only one that served her without views of interest. He was prudent, intrepid, generous and sincere; an enemy to tyranny, an enemy to injustice, an enemy to deceit. He was beloved by his friends, beloved by his soldiers, beloved by his country. His death was lamented by the good and the virtuous, and even Stephen himself dropped a tear of respect to his memory.

The death of this gallant nobleman gave a mortal blow to the party of the empress. She saw it would be impossible for her to contend any longer for the crown. Her troops deserted, her friends acted with coolness, and every thing indicated a sad reverse of fortune. She wisely prevented the blow that was aimed at her liberty, by passing over to the continent, and leaving Stephen in the quiet possession of the throne.

A. D. 1150. Geoffrey Plantagenet, the husband of Maud, now perceived his end approaching; and desirous of settling the succession of his dominions on the surest foundation, invested young Henry with the honours and revenues of his dutchy. The king of France, incensed at this resignation without first obtaining his consent as sovereign lord of the fief, invaded Normandy, and laid siege to Arques. He suspected that Henry was too young to give him any great opposition; but he was mistaken: he made so powerful a diversion in France, that Lewis was obliged to raise the siege, and march to the defence of his own dominions. A peace was soon after concluded; and Lewis invested Henry with the dutchy of Normandy. Geoffrey now paid the debt of nature. Henry was left in possession of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; and his power was soon after greatly increased by an unexpected event.

Lewis



Lewis the younger, king of France, was more scrupulous than virtuous. In one of those petty civil wars, which the feudal government in France rendered inevitable, the king's troops had set fire to the church of Vitry, and all the people who had taken sanctuary in it perished in the flames. St. Barnard, who had exerted all his abilities in preaching up a crusade against the infidels; persuaded Lewis; that the only method of expiating the crime committed by his forces, was that of going to Palestine. He listened to the voice of the ecclesiastic; took the cross, and, with his young queen, Eleanor, of Guienne, set out for the Holy Land. The hopes of certain victory drew after him a prodigious number of knights, all clothed in complete armour. It is said that they did not amount to less than seventy thousand men: He crossed the Bosphorus, and was surprized, among the rocks near Laodicea; by the sultan of Iconium, and lost the greater part of his army. He retired to Antioch, where Raymond, prince of that city, was suspected of having fallen in love with Eleanor: it is even said that she forgot all the fatigues of so painful a journey in the arms of a young Turk of exquisite beauty. Lewis, on his return, dissolved his marriage, under a pretence of consanguinity, and returned Eleanor all her large possessions. Henry, soon after, married this young heiress; and obtained the rich provinces of Guienne, Poictou, and Xaintonge, which Lewis had returned. These acquisitions rendered him the most powerful subject in France. But, according to the institutions of chivalry, all gentlemen, and even kings themselves, were desirous of receiving the honour of knighthood; a ceremony which was deemed absolutely necessary to all who were desirous of distinguishing themselves in the military profession: Henry obtained this honour from his great uncle, David, king of Scotland; and making several incursions into England, he signalized himself by his abilities and valour. His conduct gave the most flattering prospect of his future greatness, and raised the hopes of his party, so much depressed by the death of the earl of Gloucester.

Stephen had imprudently involved himself in a quarrel with the pope, at a time when his crown tottered on his brow. The holy father had, indeed, given him sufficient reason for his resentment. He had summoned a council to meet at Rheims; but instead of permitting Stephen, or even the church of England, to elect the five deputies required, the pope nominated them himself. Stephen complained loudly of this breach of national privilege; but Eugenius, who then filled the papal chair, regarded not his remonstrances. Enraged at this insult, the king refused them permission to attend; and the pontiff, in revenge for this interposition, laid the kingdom under an interdict. By this sentence all the offices of religion were suspended; the churches shut up, and the dead were not suffered to be interred in consecrated ground. An universal terror spread through the nation; and it became necessary to make submissions to the pope, in order to procure a revocation of the sentence.

A. D. 1152. The quarrel with his holiness being thus happily finished, Stephen, desirous of fixing the English sceptre in his family, attempted to procure his son Eustace to be crowned with the usual solemnities. Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, whose power was increased by the legantine authority, absolutely refused to assist at the solemnity. Incensed at this peremptory denial, Stephen ordered the archbishop to be confined; but he found means to corrupt his guards, and passed over to the continent. This flight rendered the king's attempt to secure the succession in his family abortive; it being then considered, that the archbishop of Canterbury possessed an unalienable right to crown the kings of England.

A. D. 1153. Henry was now convinced that the English were far from being satisfied with Stephen's administration, and determined to attempt the re-

covery of a crown which had been wrested from his family. He landed on the sixth of January, at the head of a very small body of troops; but their number was soon increased by the greater and most respectable part of the nobility in the kingdom. Stephen saw the gathering storm, and laboured assiduously to break its force. The severity of the season had no effect to lessen his ardour. He marched, at the head of his forces, to meet the duke of Normandy; but the badness of the roads so greatly retarded his progress, that Henry made himself master of several strong castles before Stephen could afford the garrisons the necessary relief. At last the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Wallingford, and made preparations for deciding, by a general action, the great contest for the English crown. But the nobles, unwilling to sheathe their swords in the bowels of their countrymen, interposed their authority: a cessation of arms was concluded; and, soon after, a general peace took place between the contending princes; by which it was stipulated, that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his life, and Henry succeed him as lawful heir by hereditary right.

A. D. 1154. Stephen being, by this reconciliation, freed from all apprehensions of an enemy, employed himself to remove the sufferings of the people, and heal the wounds of his bleeding country. He reformed many abuses; he issued several wise and salutary edicts, and gave many striking instances of his great abilities and love of justice. In a word, he seems to have determined to devote the remainder of his days to the ease and benefit of his subjects; to pursue every method for securing their properties, protecting their persons, and diffusing through the whole kingdom universal harmony and undisturbed repose. But while he was employed in these offices of justice and humanity, death put a period to his life, on the twenty-fifth of October, in the nineteenth year of his reign.

Ambition was the ruling passion of Stephen. To gratify this darling object of his soul, he trampled on the laws of justice, and plunged an innocent people into all the horrors of civil discord. He sought happiness (where it can never be found) in swaying the sceptre of a divided people. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that he was a prince of great fortitude, courage, activity, prudence, and generosity. He harboured not the passion of revenge, and malevolence seems to have been a stranger to his breast. He dispensed justice impartially to his subjects, and cherished the virtue of forgiveness. In a word, he was possessed of so many amiable virtues, that had he ascended the throne by the right of inheritance, and lived in happier times, he would, in all probability, have been transmitted to posterity with applause, and considered as one of the most illustrious princes of the Norman race.

The history of learning during this period is short and defective. The numerous rebellions and civil wars that desolated the kingdom, disturbed the repose of the studious, and prevented the muses from taking up their abode in Britain. The little learning that subsisted was confined to the cloister, and chiefly employed in ecclesiastical controversies, that had no other tendency than that of setting the nation in a flame, and exalting the authority of the mitre above the power of the crown; of rendering ecclesiastics independent of the laws of civil government, and of placing the observance of superstitious ceremonies above the practice of pure morality. A few, indeed, there were, who employed some part of their time in the study of history and the antiquities of their country, and to whose labours we are indebted for our knowledge of the transactions of these uncultivated ages. Like beacons dispersed on the summits of distant mountains, they have thrown a glimmering light over this night of superstitious ignorance, and faintly irradiated the gloom of Gothic barbarity. Their names, therefore, claim a place in the histories of this country, because  
their



their memories deserve to be handed down with applause to posterity.

Florence, a monk of Worcester, often called Florentius Baronius, composed a chronicle of the world, from the creation to the year 1118. He was never celebrated for his genius, but always considered as a careful and indefatigable historian. His style, tho' unpolished, abounds not with those absurd and gross barbarisms, which have crept into the writings of his cotemporaries. He paid the debt of nature in 1119.

Alfred, or Alured, a priest and treasurer of the college of Beverly. He appears to have been a writer of genius and abilities; but his history has suffered greatly by the hands of ignorant transcribers. He died in 1136.

Eadernus, an author of sense and gravity, was cotemporary with Alfred, and intimately connected with the famous Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury. He wrote the history of William I. William II. and Henry I. and, if we make some allowances for his being a professed advocate for the papal authority, his works may be considered as impartial. The time of his death is uncertain.

William of Malmfbury is deservedly placed at the head of all the English historians of his time. His sentiments are bold and manly; his style nervous and elegant, far superior to what might have been expected from the barbarous age in which he lived. His principal work is intituled, *De Gestis Anglorum*, with an appendix called *Historiarum Novellæ*. He was a monk, and librarian of the college of Malmfbury, in Wiltshire; and died in 1142.

Simeon of Durham composed an history of the English Transactions till the year 1129. He was both a monk, and preceptor in the convent of Durham; but the time of his death is uncertain. Leland tells us, that he distinguished himself by his indefatigable care and assiduity in collecting the monuments of English learning that had escaped the ravages of the Danes.

Henry of Huntingdon wrote an history of England in ten books, ending with the death of king Stephen. This work is very defective in method; and abounds with a number of fabulous stories, transcribed from Geoffrey of Monmouth's history. Besides this work, he wrote a continuation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and a chronological table of the kings of England. He was archdeacon of Huntingdon, and the time of his death is uncertain.

But the most eminent monument of the learning of these ages, is the Saxon Chronicle, which begins with the birth of Christ, and ends with the death of Stephen. It is sufficiently evident from the difference of the style, and other infallible marks, that these annals were composed by several authors; and at various periods of time. But their authenticity has never been disputed, especially with regard to the wars between the Anglo-Saxons and Britons; and has been the foundation of all our histories to the Norman conquest. Dr. Gibson, afterwards bishop of London, published at Oxford, in 1692, an accurate edition of this celebrated Chronicle, with an elegant translation.

## B O O K VI.

From the restoration of the Saxon line under Henry II. to the death of King John.

## H E N R Y II.

A.D. 1154. **T**HE death of Stephen restored the English crown to the undoubted heir of Henry I. The king of France, though he was already alarmed at the great power of Henry, opposed not his accession to the throne of his ancestors; and the English, worn out with the miseries of civil discord, joyfully acknowledged a sovereign whom they flattered themselves would establish tranquillity in their exhausted country. Henry was received with great affection by the nobility, and crowned at Westminster on the nineteenth of December, amidst the acclamations of the people.

The English had conceived a very flattering idea of the virtues and abilities of Henry; and the first acts of his government convinced them that their opinion was founded on justice. He exerted himself to remove the complaints of his subjects, and introduce universal harmony among his people. The mercenary soldiers of Stephen were dismissed, by which the kingdom was freed from a burden that had occasioned the most affecting complaints. The bands of robbers, who had so long ravaged the country, were destroyed, and every species of violence repressed; the powerful were restrained from acts of tyranny, and the licentious from disturbing the repose of the innocent. The laws were armed with authority; none dared dispute the power of the magistrate. The fortresses raised by the nobles, who had so often spread desolation over various counties,

were demolished; the coin was regulated; and the turbulent barons reduced to obedience. Henry wanted not assistance in establishing these measures of national utility; the people supported their king; he had nothing to fear from a few turbulent barons, who at first opposed the destruction of their castles. But what rendered Henry still dearer to his subjects, was his passing a charter of liberties, in which all the privileges granted by his grandfather Henry I. were confirmed, with several additional immunities. These, and other acts of popularity, endeared Henry to the English; and a perfect tranquillity reigned in every part of the kingdom.

A.D. 1156. While Henry was employed in promoting the happiness of his people, his brother Geoffrey endeavoured to make himself master of Maine and Anjou; but Henry soon reduced the insurgents; and Geoffrey consented to accept of a pension, and relinquish his title to the countries in question. Indeed, he had no other claim than a promise made him by his brother, before he obtained the crown of England, that he would put him in possession of these dutchies as soon as he was settled on the throne of his ancestors.

A.D. 1157. The Welsh, ever restless and uneasy, had invaded several of the counties bordering on their territories; and Henry marched, at the head of an army, to revenge the insult; but the cowardice of his standard-bearer rendered the attempt abortive, and had almost proved fatal both to Henry and his whole



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*





whole army. The attack of the Welsh was made with all the fury inherent in that valiant people, and so terrified Henry de Essex, who carried the royal standard, that, throwing down the ensign, he fled with the utmost precipitation. Alarmed at missing the royal standard, the English were intimidated; and, persuaded that the king was slain, fell into confusion. Henry perceived the cause, and rode through the ranks bare-headed, to convince them of their mistake. Ashamed of such pusillanimous conduct, the English returned to the charge and drove back the enemy, but not without considerable loss. A peace soon after ensued, and the king disbanded his army.

A. D. 1159. Henry, who was still desirous of encreasing his possessions, laid claim to the county of Thoulouse, in right of his queen, to whom it belonged; but Raymond, count of Thoulouse, refused to deliver up the territories, pleading prescription, and his right of purchase. Both were determined to support their rights, and the sword therefore was to decide the controversy. Henry saw the difficulties that must attend the reduction of Thoulouse, a city remarkable for its strength. He knew that the usual method of raising armies would never answer his purpose, and therefore determined to have recourse to an innovation which he flattered himself would be of equal advantage to the prince and his people. The usual method of raising armies consisted in the king's sending orders to his military tenants to take the field at the head of a certain number of their vassals, in proportion to the value of their fiefs. Henry was disgusted at this species of military service; because it never answered the monarch's intentions. The great slowness with which the military tenants came into the field, the spirit they possessed of independence, and the shortness of the time they were obliged to serve, being only forty days, rendered the armies not only of little use, but even dangerous. Nor was this method less inconvenient to the subject. When a war was to be carried on in remote countries, the expences of going to and returning from the army, and which they were obliged to bear themselves, was very great: their domestic affairs suffered; the tillage of their lands was neglected, and a famine was often the consequence of military service. Henry, therefore, commuted the personal service of his military tenants, for a proportional sum of money. The people were delighted with this exchange; it was far more agreeable to them to advance money than to furnish troops; and to head them in person. And Henry was pleased to find he had united his interest with the happiness of his people. He received the stipulated sums, and hired mercenary forces, over whom he had a more certain authority, and whose time of service was unlimited.

Henry began his military operations against Cahors, the capital of the generality of Quercy, and was soon master of the place; but the city of Thoulouse made a noble defence, and the English monarch exerted all his abilities to take it. Lewis, king of France, was alarmed at Henry's progress. He feared that if the English monarch was suffered to make himself master of the principal places in the heart of France, his ambition might push him on to farther conquests, and even advance to the very gates of Paris. He therefore marched at the head of a small body of forces, and threw himself into Thoulouse, before Henry could completely invest the city. The military operations immediately ceased, Henry declaring that he owed too much respect to his superior lord, that he would not attack a place defended by him in person. He raised the siege, and a treaty of peace was soon after concluded between the monarchs of France and England.

A. D. 1161. But this peace was of no long continuance: ambition soon dissolved the bands of amity. Henry's eldest son had, for some time, been affianced to Margaret, the daughter of Lewis, and it was agreed by the marriage treaty, that the prin-

cess should have city of Gisors with part of Norman Vexin, for her portion; and that these places should remain in the custody of the Knights Templars, till the marriage was celebrated. Desirous of obtaining the possession of those valuable places, Henry prevailed upon the cardinals Pisa and Pavia to grant him a synodical decree, dispensing with the nonage of the parties. The nuptials were immediately celebrated, though the prince was but seven, and the princess only three years of age; and the Templars, considering themselves as free from their engagements, delivered up the castle of Gisors and the other places assigned as Margaret's dower to Henry.

Lewis was highly offended at the stratagem of the English monarch, and a war broke out between them; but pope Alexander III. desirous of preventing the effusion of human blood, offered his mediation, and brought about a reconciliation. Alexander, who the preceding year had been driven from Rome, by the anti-pope Victor IV. had retired into France, Lewis as well as Henry having acknowledged him for the true successor of St. Peter, and the pontiff in return was desirous of bringing about a peace between the two princes, who were equally his friends. The contending monarchs met his holiness at the castle of Torci on the Loire. They immediately dismounted to receive him, and each of them holding one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot by his side, and in this manner conducted him into the castle. Such was the superstitious bigotry of the times! Can we wonder at the pride and insolence of the Roman pontiff, when two of the most powerful monarchs in Europe were guilty of such unpardonable weakness?

The power of Henry was now sufficiently established, and he flattered himself with a long series of peace and tranquillity: but he was deceived; he was rendered unhappy by a person, who owed his whole fortune to his bounty. This was the celebrated Thomas Becket, whose conduct set the nation in a flame, and rendered abortive the scheme which Henry had formed for confining the ecclesiastical jurisdiction within proper bounds; and of repressing the licentiousness of the clergy, who had for some time expressed an open contempt of the laws of their country. Forgetting that religion is the genuine basis of civil order, they had inverted its tendency, and endeavoured to demolish the very structure it was intended to support. They arrogated to themselves rights and immunities totally subversive of the peace of society. Henry was determined to correct these enormities, and, without depriving the church of her real privileges, to establish proper limits to the pretensions of the clergy. Becket was considered as a proper person for executing this noble design, and whose utmost assistance Henry flattered himself he might command.

That famous ecclesiastic was the son of a citizen of London, and had spent his youth in the study of the civil and canon law at Boulogne. He was endowed with very singular talents, and with a spirit not to be daunted even by the frowns of royalty. Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, had recommended him to Henry, who made him his chancellor. In the execution of that high office he was equally distinguished by the extent of his capacity, and the splendor and gaiety of his life. Far from being tinctured with the superstitious bigotry of the times, he abandoned himself to the pleasures of the age. He was an assiduous courtier, and shared with his prince his amusements and his military toils.

A. D. 1162. Persuaded that Becket would readily sacrifice his own interest to promote that of his sovereign, Henry, on the death of Theobald, promoted him to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. The whole behaviour of Becket was changed on his being placed at the head of the English church. He resigned his office of chancellor, and sent the seals to Henry, who was then in Normandy; renounced all concern in secular affairs, submitted to the most rigid mortifications,



mortifications; and became lavish in his generosity to the poor. The gay and splendid minister was changed into a saint.

Becket having thus acquired the veneration of the people, soon convinced Henry that he must not expect any assistance from him in limiting the privileges of the clergy. He attempted to recover all the lands that had been alienated from the see of Canterbury: pretending that none of his predecessors had any right to dispose of the property of the church. Nor was he contented with this attempt to extend his jurisdiction, he asserted that it was the prerogative of the archbishop to fill vacant church livings in the manors of his military tenants, as well as those of the churches of Canterbury. Accordingly, he collated one Laurence to the rectory of Aresford; but the patron, who was a peer of the realm, resolved not to submit to so insolent an intrusion, and immediately ejected Laurence from the benefice. Becket considered this as an unpardonable affront offered to the mitre, and pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the patron.

Henry was at once astonished and alarmed. He wrote to Becket, insisting that the censure should be taken off, which the haughty prelate peremptorily refused. A little reflection, however, convinced him of his error: a law, passed in the reign of William the conqueror, inflicted the penalty of high-treason on any churchman, who should promulgate an ecclesiastical censure on any military tenant of the crown, without the king's consent. The prelate did not chuse to incur the penalty, and therefore annulled the sentence. Henry was now sufficiently convinced that he had been deceived in the opinion he had formed of Becket, and at the same time confirmed in his former resolution of reducing the authority of the ecclesiastics. An event soon after happened, that called upon him, as the father of his people, to carry his design into immediate execution.

A clergyman in Worcestershire having debauched a gentleman's daughter, murdered the father to conceal the offence. Henry ordered that the criminal should be tried in the secular court, and punished according to the laws of the kingdom. Becket insisted on the immunities of the church, and maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted upon him than that of degradation, and his being shut up in a monastery during the remainder of his life. Adding, that to subject an ecclesiastic to the cognizance of the civil magistrate, was a high infringement of the privileges of the church, and which he would always oppose to the utmost of his power. Astonished at the insolence of the prelate, and disdaining to answer a declaration so subversive of the peace of civil society, the king turned his back upon the prelate, and left him with contempt.

Henry now assembled an assembly of all the prelates of England at Westminster, and solemnly demanded, "whether they consented and allowed, that such clergymen as were convicted of felony should be degraded, and immediately upon their degradation be delivered over to a secular officer for corporal punishment." This demand, which was perfectly agreeable to justice, and the ancient laws of England, met with very little opposition from any of the clergy, except the archbishop, who peremptorily refused his assent, alleging, that it was contrary both to the divine law, and the institutions of the church, for a delinquent to undergo a double punishment for one offence. Telling his brethren at the same time that it ill became them, who were forbid, by the sacred writings, to have any concern in sentences of death, to expose any person of their own order to capital punishment. Swayed by the authority, and fearing the power of Becket, the bishops declined coming to any resolution on the subject of the king's demand. Henry was exasperated at their obstinacy, and asked them this precise and decisive question, "Whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws of the kingdom?" The answer was equivocal; a

salvo was added, with regard to their order and immunities of the church; and Henry left the synod with all the marks of indignation and contempt.

Alarmed at the abrupt departure of the king, the bishops represented to Becket, that his unseasonable obstinacy would, in all probability, be fatal to the privileges of the clergy; and therefore advised him, from the regard to the common cause of all the ecclesiastics in this kingdom, to make some concessions to offended majesty: but the archbishop was deaf to their intreaties, declaring, that he was ready to lay down his life in support of the canons of the church. Astonished at his inflexible obstinacy, the bishops, who were not equally blinded by enthusiasm, considered that whatever honour their perseverance might reflect upon them at the court of Rome, yet as English barons, they had every thing to fear from the resentment of an active and warlike prince. Instigated by these motives, they waited upon the king, and gave him an absolute promise to submit themselves to the laws of the kingdom. Becket himself followed their example, and promised, upon the faith of an honest man, to observe the laws of the kingdom without any salvo or qualification.

A. D. 1164. The only difficulty that now remained was, to explain and define those laws, and to ascertain the proper limits of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. For this purpose a general council of the nobility and prelates was assembled at Clarendon. And in this assembly the following articles were framed into the form of laws.

"I. All suits about the presentation and advowson of churches, between either laity or clergy, shall be tried and determined in the king's court.

"II. Churches of the king's fee cannot be given away in perpetuity without his consent.

"III. Clergymen accused of any crime whatever, and summoned by the king's justices, shall appear in the king's court, and plead to such articles as the court shall require, and in the ecclesiastical court, to such as are cognizable therein; provided the king's justices send an officer to inspect the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court; and in case a cleric is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to lose his privilege, and be protected by the court no longer.

"IV. No archbishops, bishops, or priests, may go out of the realm without the king's leave; and if they have leave, they shall give security not to ask or attempt any thing either in their passage, stay, or return, to the prejudice of the king or kingdom.

"V. Excommunicated persons shall not be obliged to make oath, or give security, to continue upon the place where they live, but only to stand to the judgment of the church in order to their absolution.

"VI. Laymen ought not to be accused in the ecclesiastical court, but by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses, and in the presence of the bishop; yet so as the archdeacon lose not his right or any of his dues: and if the offenders are such that nobody will or dare accuse them, the sheriff, at the bishop's request, shall cause twelve legal men of the town or vicinage to make oath before the bishop, that they will declare the truth of the matter, according to the best of their knowledge.

"VII. None, either of the king's tenants in capite, or of his ministerial officers, may be excommunicated, nor any of their lands put under an interdict, unless application be first made to the king, if he be in England, or, in case he be out of the realm, to his justiciary, that he may see justice done in their case; so that what is cognizable in the king's court may be there determined, and what belongs to the ecclesiastical may be remitted thither.

"VIII. If appeals arise in ecclesiastical causes, they are to be made from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop; in failure of justice from the archbishop, recourse must be had to the king, that by his precept, the suit may be determined in the archbishop's court. Nor shall



it be lawful to proceed farther without the king's consent.

"IX. If a suit arise between a clergyman and a layman, which the first pretends to be held by Frank-Almoine, (a tenure of lands or tenements bestowed for perpetual alms) and the latter maintains it to be a lay-fee, the tenure shall be tried before the king's justiciary by the verdict of twelve legal men, summoned according to the custom of the courts, by the order of the king's chief justice; and if the tenement is found to be held in frank-almoine, the suit shall be tried in the ecclesiastical court; but if the verdict brings it in a lay-fee, the suit shall be carried on in the king's court, unless they both hold of the same lord, either spiritual or temporal, in which case it shall be tried in his court; provided, however, that the person seised with the tenement in question be not, on account of such verdict, disseised till the suit is determined.

"X. If any inhabitant of a city, castle, borough, or demesne manor of the king, be cited for any time by the archdeacon or bishop, and will not make satisfaction upon their summons, they may interdict him from divine service; but they ought not to excommunicate him, till the king's principal officer of the place be made acquainted therewith, that he may oblige the person to make satisfaction to the church; and if such officer fail in so doing, he shall be fineable at the king's pleasure; and the bishop may then exert his ecclesiastical authority upon the accused person.

"XI. All archbishops and bishops, and other clergymen possessed of ecclesiastical dignities or benefices, who hold of the king in capite, are to look upon their estates as baronies, and shall appear before the king's justices and officers, to answer the duties of their tenure; and shall observe and perform all the royal customs, rights, and services; and shall hold themselves, as other barons, obliged to be present at judicial proceedings in the king's court, till sentence comes to be given against life or limb.

"XII. When any archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory, of royal foundation or patronage, becomes vacant, the king shall enter thereupon, and receive all the issues and profits thereof as of his own demesne lands; and when he shall think fit that such church be provided for, the king shall send his mandate to the chief chapter or convent, and the election shall be made in the king's chapel, with the king's consent, and by the advice of such dignitaries of the realm as the king shall call together for that purpose: and the person so elected shall there, before his consecration, do homage and fealty to the king, as to his liege lord, for life, limb, and earthly honour, saving his order.

"XIII. If any of the chief nobility of the realm should violently oppose the archbishop or bishop, or archdeacon, in doing justice on themselves, or on their tenants, the king shall take cognizance of the matter, and oblige them to submit to justice. And if any deny the king his rights, and decline standing to the judgment of the court; the archbishop, bishop, and archdeacon, shall employ their authority and censures to oblige them to make the king satisfaction.

"XIV. The goods and chattels of such as have forfeited to the king, shall not be detained in any church or church-yard, to secure them from being seized according to law, because they belong to the king wherever they are found, as well within the precincts of the church as without.

"XV. All actions and suits for debt, due either upon oath, or solemn promise, or otherwise contracted, shall be tried in the king's court.

"XVI. The sons of villeins, or copyholders, are not to be ordained without the consent of the lord of the manor where they were known to be born."

Such are the famous articles, so well known un-

der the title of "The Constitutions of Clarendon." The bishops, overawed by the barons, who were all gained over to the king's party, readily signed the Constitutions; but Becket had now changed his resolution, retracted his promise, and absolutely refused to set his hand to the articles. At last, by the repeated solicitations of the nobility and clergy, he relented, signed the Constitutions, and promised "legally with good faith, and without fraud, to obey them."

Henry transmitted the articles to pope Alexander, in order to have them confirmed by a bull. But the pontiff was so far from complying with the wishes of the king, that he did not hesitate to condemn and annul them, as incompatible with the rights of the church. Becket no sooner perceived that he might hope for support from the see of Rome in his opposition to the constitutions, than he expressed the deepest sorrow for having joined in these concessions: he redoubled his austerities, and refused to exercise any part of his archiepiscopal function, till he should receive absolution from the pontiff.

Henry was now so thoroughly exasperated against Becket, that it was generally feared his ruin was determined. The archbishop himself was alarmed, and applied to Henry for leave to visit the pope, in order to confer with him on some important affair relative to his church, but was refused. The prelate then repaired to Woodstock, where Henry resided, and was refused an audience.

Another council was now summoned at Northampton, where no less than four impeachments were preferred against him. Passion now, rather than justice, dictated the proceedings of Henry. Becket was convicted of contumacy, and condemned to pay a very large fine. The king commanded him to give an account of his administration while chancellor; which the archbishop absolutely refused. It was now apparent that Henry was determined to humble this imperious churchman; but Becket was not to be intimidated. He dressed himself in his pontifical robes, and carrying the cross of Canterbury erect before him, entered the presence chamber. Every person present was struck with astonishment at his insolence and folly. The bishops were ashamed and confounded; and the bishop of Hereford requested that he might bear the cross before him, but he asked in vain. Henry himself remonstrated concerning his conduct, and reminded him, that he had himself subscribed the articles of Clarendon. Becket replied, that the cause of God and the church had rendered his consent to those articles of no force; and that he put himself under the protection of the Roman pontiff, the supreme head of the church, to whom he appealed against the sentences that either had or might be pronounced against him; and strictly inhibited his suffragans not to join in any enterprise contrary to the immunities of the church. The barons, exasperated at his conduct, determined to commit him to prison; but he refused to hear the sentence pronounced, left the assembly immediately, and retired, with his cross erect before him, to the monastery of St. Andrews. He soon after sent three bishops to ask a safe conduct for his departure; but being denied, he retired privately in the night, attended only by two servants, and escaped to the continent. He was received by Lewis king of France, and pope Alexander, who was still at the court of that monarch, with every mark of respect and esteem. By the munificence of the former, he lived with the utmost magnificence in the monastery of Pontigni, and the latter prepared to issue bulls to revenge his disgrace. All the thunder of the Vatican was intended to be launched against the head of the English monarch and his ministers.

Henry was no sooner informed of the escape of Becket, than he immediately dispatched a very respectable embassy to the pope, to solicit the deposition of the primate; offering to double the revenue of Peter's-pence, and render it a perpetual tax. But the



the pope was inflexible; he refused the offer, and the ambassadors immediately returned to their master. On their arrival, Henry summoned an assembly of the nobles, where it was determined to sequester all the possessions of the see of Canterbury, together with all the revenues of the churches, chapels, and rents of the clergy, who adhered to Becket; and all the primate's relations and domestics, both clergy and laity, were banished the kingdom.

A.D. 1165. But Henry was still uneasy. The troubles excited in Germany and Italy by the thunder of the Vatican, alarmed both him and his nobles. He therefore passed over to the continent, in order, if possible, to prevent an interdict being laid on the kingdom, by a personal conference with the pope. An interview was accordingly proposed, and it was agreed that Becket should not be present. The archbishop was alarmed at this exclusion; he feared that the pope, on hearing a fair account of the whole proceedings, would withdraw his protection, and abandon him to the vengeance of an enraged monarch. He therefore suggested to his holiness, "that he might be imposed upon by the fluent and plausible speeches of Henry, unless he himself" was present to interpret their meaning by what he "knew of the inward sentiments of his heart." The weak pontiff listened to this artful suggestion of the prelate; he gave up his own infallibility to depend upon that of Becket, and insisted on the archbishop's being present at the interview. Henry disdained to submit to this proposal, and immediately embarked for England.

A.D. 1166. The king, convinced that the pope would now exert all his power in favour of Becket, took every precaution in his power to render the attempt abortive. He prohibited all his subjects, under severe penalties, from receiving any mandates either from his holiness or the archbishop, and from making any appeals to them. Becket now exerted all his power; he thundered out anathemas against his enemies, and at last denounced the sentence of excommunication against all that adhered to the constitutions of Clarendon; and absolved every one from the oaths which they had taken to observe them. At the same time, by virtue of the legantine authority conferred on him by Alexander, he commanded the English bishops to attend him under the penalty of an anathema, and even proceeded so far as to write threatening letters to the king. But Alexander being engaged in a dangerous war with the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, was afraid of drawing upon him the resentment of so powerful a prince as Henry; he therefore suspended the effects of Becket's denunciations.

A.D. 1167. Henry, however, was unwilling to expose his kingdom to those revolutions which the thunder of the Vatican had produced in other parts of Europe; but unfortunately, the obstinacy of the archbishop was equal to the stateliness of the monarch. Lewis, king of France, interposed his good offices to bring about an accommodation. Becket declared he was ready to put an end to all disputes; and to submit to the king, saving his honour, the possessions of the church, and the rights of others. At last an interview was agreed to, and Becket met the kings of France and England at a village in the neighbourhood of Paris; but the primate was so unreasonable and haughty, that Lewis was persuaded it would be impossible to bring about an agreement. Henry, desirous of a pacification, said to Lewis, "There have been many kings of England, and there have also been many archbishops of Canterbury; let Becket act towards me with the same submission which the greatest of his predecessors have paid to the least of mine, and I shall be satisfied." But Becket refused to acquiesce in so reasonable a proposal. Lewis was, or at least seemed to be, disgusted, and the two kings departed without taking leave of the archbishop; but the correspon-

dence and friendship between the monarch of France and the prelate was soon after renewed.

A.D. 1169. Henry now gave Normandy, Le Maine and Anjou, to his eldest son, Henry; Poictou and Guienne to his son Richard; and Brittany to Geoffrey, who held it as a fief depending upon Normandy, and swore fealty to his eldest brother. Lewis, as lord paramount of these fiefs, confirmed the grants, and the young princes did homage to the French monarch for their respective territories.

A.D. 1170. Having provided for the tranquillity of his foreign dominions, Henry returned to England, and summoned a parliament, or great council of the nation, to meet at Windsor. In this assembly the kingdom was divided into circuits; and certain earls, knights, and clergymen, appointed commissioners, to make a progress through these divisions, in order to take cognizance of all abuses committed by the sheriffs, bailiffs, and other inferior officers. This inquisition produced the most salutary effects; the subject was eased of many exactions, various grievances were redressed, and peace established in every part of the kingdom.

But these acquisitions, however great, however valuable, were not the only objects of Henry's design; he had formed another of still greater importance, which he thought proper to conceal, till the very moment of its execution, lest the turbulent primate should find means to render the whole abortive. He remembered with sorrow the little regard the English had paid to their oaths of eventual fealty in the case of his mother, and was therefore determined not to subject his own children to the same misfortune, by placing the crown on the head of Henry, his eldest son, then in the sixteenth year of his age. He accordingly adjourned the national assembly from Windsor to London. No person, not even the young prince himself, was acquainted with the real intention of Henry. The assembly was, however, remarkably full, in order to receive the report of the commissioners. As soon as the report was read, Henry informed them of the resolution he had formed with regard to the coronation of his son, and was pleased to find it received with universal approbation. The only difficulty consisted in finding a prelate who was properly authorized to perform the ceremony. It was generally understood to be a prerogative peculiar to the archbishop of Canterbury; but on this occasion it was performed by Roger, archbishop of York, who had lately been invested with a legantine authority for Scotland; together with a bull, which granted him the eventual privilege of crowning the king of England, an immunity which some of his predecessors had formerly enjoyed. Accordingly that prelate, assisted by the bishops of London and Durham, placed the crown upon the head of young Henry. And immediately after the ceremony, William king of Scotland, his brother David, and all the earls, barons, and franktenants of England, took the oaths of fealty and allegiance to the new king.

The younger Henry was of a haughty and imperious disposition; he was a stranger to generous passions; gratitude was not among his virtues. His father, desirous of displaying, before this august assembly, every mark of paternal love and distinction for his favourite son, served the first dish at his table with his own hands, saying, with an endearing smile, "You may now boast, my son, of being as honourably served as any monarch upon earth." But the soul of young Henry was too haughty to make a proper return to this engaging condescension in a parent. He turned to the archbishop of York, and whispered, with a contemptuous sneer, "That he thought it no great degradation for the son of a petty count to serve the heir of a great king." Henry heard not the ungenerous reflection of his son; he was yet a stranger to his ingratitude.



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



**HENRY II** *Serving the First Dish to his SON HENRY'S Table.*





The coronation of young Henry, without his assistance, filled the breast of Becket with malevolence and rage; he threatened vengeance against the prelates who had performed the ceremony, but his fury spent itself in vain; the pope suspended the effect of his anathemas, till a proper inquisition could be taken. In the mean time Henry paid a visit to his foreign dominions; where another effort was made for terminating the differences between the king and the ambitious primate. The pope, indeed, was just going to launch the flaming bolt of interdict upon all Henry's dominions; the day was fixed, and the Roman council summoned to attend. The powerful effects of superstitious bigotry, on the minds of the most daring, was now conspicuous. The intrepid soul of Henry could not support the shock; the mighty monarch, at whose nod the nations trembled, crouched like an abject slave beneath the uplifted rod of papal tyranny. A conference was held in a meadow between Charton and Maine, where all differences between the king and the archbishop were finally adjusted. It was agreed, that the king should receive the archbishop, his exiled clergy, adherents, and relations into his favour; that the prelate should be restored to his rights and possessions in the see of Canterbury, and be empowered to hold them in the same manner as before the contest began; that satisfaction should be made to the see of Canterbury for the violation of its rights, in the coronation of the young king.

These terms were certainly as favourable as even Becket himself could wish; and Henry hoped, that the archbishop, in return for these concessions, would lay aside all rancour and malice, and apply himself to the proper duties of his office, the cultivation of peace, and promoting brotherly love and charity throughout the kingdom. He was deceived. Becket no sooner mounted his archiepiscopal chair, than he thundered out the sentence of excommunication against the bishops of London and Durham, several of the king's ministers, officers of the household, justiciaries, and the most considerable persons in the kingdom. Henry was informed of those violent measures at Bayeux, and cried out in the bitterness of grief and astonishment, "What! will none of my servants rid me of this ungrateful and imperious prelate." This exclamation was not uttered in vain. Four barons, or knights of his household, swore to revenge the cause of their master, privately withdrew from court, and passed over into England. Henry was informed of their departure; and fearing his exclamation might induce them to violent measures, dispatched messengers after them, to prevent any fatal accident. But it was too late. The four conspirators followed the archbishop into the church, and murdered him before the altar of St. Benedict.

Such was the tragical end of St. Thomas of Canterbury, a prelate of the most imperious and inflexible spirit. He felt a victim to his own pride and obstinacy in a cause which he fancied just, and in which he was guided by the most destructive prejudices. Unable to bear the least contradiction and fond of directing affairs of every kind, he treated all that opposed him with a virulence of behaviour, and a severity of vengeance, which neither suited the character of a christian bishop, nor a decent member of society. He scrupled not to add the sanction of the most sacred oaths to infamous falsehoods, in order to carry any favourite point. And we may learn from his example the amazing influence, which opinion often obtains over the minds even of superior men, and thence perceive the dangers of those false principles which ignorance and superstition have too often substituted in the place of the genuine and pure maxims of the gospel. Alexander, convinced of the great services of Becket in promoting the exorbitant power assumed by the papacy, caused him to be canonized and revered as a martyr about two years after his death, without the usual process generally observed in cases of a similar nature. Pilgrimages were

made to Canterbury, and devotions made at his tomb.

A. D. 1171. The death of Becket deeply affected the mind of Henry. He dreaded the consequences of the papal thunder, and knew that his enemies would exert all their influence with the pontiff to launch the flaming bolt of interdict on his dominions. He feared the spiritual much more than the temporal sword. He dispatched a splendid embassy to Rome, to clear him of all suspicion of being concerned in the death of Becket, and to avert the thunders of the vatican. Alexander, at first, refused an audience to Henry's ambassadors; but by the proper distribution of large sums among the members of the sacred college, the intention of Henry was fully answered. The pope, however irritated against Henry, contented himself with issuing general denunciations against the principals and accomplices of Becket's murder. The archbishop of Sens, who had always been an implacable enemy to the English monarch, laid an interdict upon all the French provinces subject to Henry; but the pope prevented the consequences that might have resulted from that sentence. Two cardinals were sent with legantine powers into Normandy, in order to examine into the king's conduct with regard to the murder of Becket, and a conference was opened at Avaranches, where Henry and his eldest son assisted, together with all the clergy of Normandy. After long debates the whole affair was settled, and all differences between Henry and the pope were terminated on the following conditions: The king declared, upon oath and the relics of the saints in the church of St. Andrew, that he had neither commanded nor desired the murder of Becket; but that as some words had escaped him, in his agony of grief, which might have given occasion to it, he was desirous of atoning for that offence by stipulating to pay a sum of money sufficient to maintain two hundred knights for one year in the Holyland; and, if the pope required it, to serve himself three years against the infidels. He farther engaged not to insist on any customs derogatory to ecclesiastical privileges, that had been introduced during his own reign; nor to hinder appeals to the pope; but content himself with exacting sufficient security from those who left his dominions, that they should attempt nothing against the rights of his crown and kingdom. Thus Henry, by a master-stroke of policy, extricated himself from the most difficult situation on the easiest terms. For notwithstanding his promise, he had it always in his power to prevent appeals to Rome, by demanding such securities as the parties could not procure. And because the constitutions of Clarendon were nothing more than the ancient customs of the kingdom, they were still in force.

A. D. 1172. Henry having now no enemy to fear, resumed the scheme he had some years since formed for the conquest of Ireland. Adrian IV. who at that time filled the papal chair, desirous of augmenting the powers and revenues of the holy see, encouraged Henry to pursue the plan he had formed; and granted him a bull with ample privileges. The reader will not, perhaps, be displeased to see this curious instrument at large, as it affords a convincing proof, that the popes of Rome, even in these early times, usurped the power of conferring kingdoms and states on whom they pleased.

"ADRIAN servant of the servants of God, to his son in Christ Jesus, Henry king of England, sends greeting and apostolical benediction.

"The desire your highness expressed to advance the glory of your name on earth, and to obtain in heaven the prize of eternal happiness, deserves commendations. As a good catholic prince you are very careful to enlarge the borders of the church, to spread the knowledge of the truth among the barbarous and the ignorant, and to extirpate the weeds of vice in the



the garden of the Lord, for which you apply to us for countenance and direction. We are confident that your enterprize will be crowned with success, because you have undertaken it from the noblest motive; for whatever is taken in hand from a principle of faith and religion, is always sure to succeed. It is certain, as you yourself acknowledge, that Ireland, as well as all other islands that have the happiness of being enlightened by the sun of righteousness, and have embraced the doctrines of Christianity, are undoubtedly St. Peter's right, and belong to the jurisdiction of the Roman see. We, therefore, think, after mature consideration, that to settle in that island colonies of the faithful, will be well-pleasing to God.

"You have informed us, that you intend to make an expedition into Ireland, to subject the island to just laws, and to extirpate vice, which has long prevailed in that country. You promise to pay us, out of every house, a yearly acknowledgment of one penny, and to maintain the rights of the church without the least infringement or diminution. Upon these conditions, we consent and allow, that you make a descent upon that island, to enlarge the bounds of the church, to check the progress of immorality, to reform the manners of the inhabitants, and to promote the growth of virtue and the Christian religion. We exhort you to do whatever you shall judge necessary to advance the honour of God, and the salvation of the people, whom we charge to submit to your jurisdiction, and own you for their sovereign lord; provided always that the rights of the church be inviolably observed, and Peter-pence duly paid. If, therefore, you think proper to carry your design into execution, labour, above all things, to improve the inhabitants in virtue. Use both your own endeavours, and the endeavours of such as you shall judge worthy of being employed in this work, that the church of God be more and more enriched, that religion flourish in the country, and that the things tending to the honour of God, and the salvation of souls, be disposed of in such a manner, as may entitle you to an immortal fame upon earth, and an eternal reward in heaven."

Such was the bull granted by Adrian for the conquest of Ireland, which had excited the ambition of Henry. There is the greatest reason to believe that Ireland was originally peopled from England; but the Irish still remained in the state of savages: they were even ignorant of agriculture; no traces of the arts were found among them; they were destitute of laws, of manners, and of learning. The island was divided into a number of small principalities, each governed by its own prince, but all forming a political confederacy, though they exercised perpetual violences against each other. They were incapable of making any defence against regular forces; but it was no easy matter to unite them into one body or nation, and govern them by wholesome laws. Ferocious by nature, and fond of liberty, they opposed every attempt to civilize them; and, like the ancient Britons, when attacked by a superior force, fled to their forests, mountains and caverns, for safety.

An accident happened about this time, which gave Henry a favourable opportunity of claiming the pretended title he had derived from the bull of Adrian. Dermot, one of the petty kings of Ireland, being driven out of his dominions by a neighbouring chief, whose wife he had carried off, applied to the English monarch for assistance to recover his territories. Henry listened to the Irish chief, and empowered him to levy troops in England. He also gave a general leave to his subjects to assist the prince in person, but declined to embark himself in the enterprize. The romantic notions of valour that then prevailed, excited the ambition of several of the English barons to assist the Irish prince. Among these, Richard, earl of Striguel,

furnamed Strongbow, called by several of our historians Richard earl of Pembroke, was the chief. That nobleman, whose ambition was boundless, enjoyed several large estates in Wales, where his tenants were numerous, and the situation of his territories very convenient for passing over into Ireland. Strongbow undertook to assist the Irish chief, on condition of his giving him his daughter in marriage, and leaving him his dominions. Accordingly these adventurers, at the head of a small body of troops, landed in Ireland, defeated very numerous armies of the wild Irish; and, not content with recovering the territories of Dermot, meditated the reduction of the whole island. Jealous of their success, and desirous of acquiring the honour of being the conqueror of Ireland, Henry passed over in person, at the head of a powerful army; but the Irish were already conquered; there remained nothing for him but to receive the submission of a vanquished people. Henry, without the effusion of a single drop of blood, became master of Ireland in less time than would have been necessary to travel over it. Most of the tributary princes attended his court at Dublin, and swore allegiance to the English monarch. The clergy, who had laboured to render their country subject to England ever since Adrian had issued a bull for that purpose, met in a general assembly at Waterford, where they signed their submission, and delivered the instruments to Henry, who transmitted them to Rome. Alexander, pleased with acquiring so considerable an addition of power and interest to the see of Rome, readily confirmed the title.

Henry had now reached the pinnacle of human grandeur, and flattered himself with enjoying a series of happiness and tranquillity. He was deceived. His children proved a source of the most severe disquietude. Henry, his eldest son, a prince of a very haughty and insolent temper, was weary of bearing the royal title without authority. He had married Margaret, daughter to Lewis king of France; and the ceremony of his coronation had been repeated, in order that his consort might be included in the solemnity. He had also been permitted to pay a visit to his father-in-law, and continued some time at the court of France. Lewis, ever attentive to excite commotions in England, embraced this opportunity of kindling the flames of domestic discord in the family of Henry. He persuaded the prince, that in consequence of the ceremony of the coronation, he was intitled to an immediate possession of a part of the dominions of his father. Imperious by nature, and full of this extravagant idea, young Henry returned to England, and demanded from his father, either the kingdom of England, or the duchy of Normandy. Henry was astonished at this unexpected request, and began to fear that his hopes of happiness were built on a chimerical foundation. He endeavoured to convince his son of the extravagance of his demand; and painted in proper colours the folly of a request which could only tend to weaken the power of his family, and, ultimately, his own authority. But his endeavours were in vain: the prince discovered the highest discontent, blended with insolence, at his father's refusal; retired to France, and put himself under the protection of Lewis, whose desire of lessening the power of Henry had given rise to this domestic discord. But the disobedience of his eldest son was not the only misfortune that disturbed the happiness of Henry. His queen, Eleanor, carrying her jealousy of her husband to extremity, encouraged her two younger sons, Richard and Geoffrey, to follow the example of their brother, fly to the court of France, and insist upon being put into actual possession of the territories assigned them by their father.

A.D. 1173. Lewis was not the sole monarch who dreaded the too great power of Henry. William, king of Scotland, had long beheld it with terror, and trembled for the consequences. He followed



young Henry to France, under pretence of renewing the league that had long continued between the Scottish and French nations; but in reality to concert proper measures for distressing the king of England. Several of the most powerful barons both in England and Normandy, joined in the unnatural alliance for supporting the unreasonable claim of an undutiful son, on the dominions of an indulgent parent. Henry, alarmed at the departure of his son, demanded him from the court of France, but received a very insolent answer.

Nothing less than the amazing abilities of the English monarch could have extricated him out of the innumerable difficulties with which he was now surrounded. The desertion of many of his powerful barons gave him reason to fear, that his own subjects would desert him in the day of battle; and he was therefore determined to have recourse to foreign mercenaries for assistance. He accordingly took twenty thousand Brabanders, all of them veteran troops, into his pay, and by his liberality attached them firmly to his person and fortunes: These Brabanders, sometimes called Routiers, and Colleraux, were a kind of banditti, or free-booters, who lived upon plunder; they infested, at that time, all the states of Europe, defied the censures of the church, and engaged in the service of any prince who could pay them punctually. But though they were mercenaries by profession, yet, when well paid, no troops could behave with greater fidelity: and though accustomed to plunder, yet, in time of action, they were rigid observers of military discipline.

Henry had experienced the power of the papal thunder in the cause of Becket, and hoped it might have the same effect on his rebellious sons. He was sensible, indeed, of the danger attending the interposition of ecclesiastical authority in civil disputes; but the alarming consequences of the unnatural attempts of his own children, induced him to sacrifice political caution to his own safety. He accordingly applied to pope Alexander, who immediately promulgated anathemas against young Henry and all his adherents. But the spiritual thunder, whose effect was irresistible in ecclesiastical causes, lost its power when employed in a dispute merely temporal: the flaming bolts of the vatican fell harmless to the ground.

But Henry was far from placing his whole dependence on the spiritual arm of the Roman pontiff; his own abilities, and the powerful assistance of his foreign forces, rendered him superior to all his enemies. His virtues never shone with so much lustre as in this alarming crisis. The sight of impending dangers animated him with fresh courage. Bled with the most astonishing presence of mind, and wholly a stranger to fear, he viewed, with the most intrepid coolness, the many dangers with which he was surrounded, and planned the most prudent measures to render them all abortive. He was persuaded, and perhaps with reason, that Eleanor his queen was the principal cause of this domestic insurrection, and accordingly caused her to be imprisoned, at the very moment she was endeavouring to make her escape.

The operations of the confederated princes begun by Richard, who repaired into Guienne, and excited the greater part of the inhabitants to take up arms against his father. Geoffrey stirred up a rebellion in Britany, and put himself at the head of the insurgents. Normandy was invaded by the king of France, assisted by the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois. The Scottish monarch led an army into the northern parts of England. And the earl of Leicester, landed in Essex at the head of a large body of Flemish troops, to excite an insurrection among the English. The soul of Henry now towered above misfortunes. He saw his dangers; but was not intimidated. He had taken such precautions in providing for the defence of the frontiers, that the French monarch, after losing the greater part of his army,

was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Ten thousand Brabanders, sent by Henry into Britany, defeated the rebels, and obliged them to return to their duty. The army of Leicester was routed at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, and above ten thousand Flemings slain on the spot. Henry advanced at the head of his army against the insurgents in Guienne, retook the places they had seized, and obliged them to lay down their arms, and submit to his authority.

A. D. 1174. Henry now hastened to the defence of his kingdom, which the Scottish army threatened with desolation. He landed at Southampton, and in order to gain the affections of his people, submitted to an act of humiliation, which all the power of the church could not impose upon him. He knew the powerful effect of superstition over the minds of the vulgar; he knew that the ridiculous stories of Becket's miracles were firmly believed by a weak and bigotted people; and that he himself lay under very severe suspicions of being accessory to his death; and therefore determined to remove every shadow of complaint, by joining in the reigning devotions of the times. He set out immediately for Canterbury, and as soon as he perceived the cathedral, though three miles distant, he alighted from his horse, and walked barefoot to the tomb of the saint; prostrated himself before the shrine of Becket, continued the whole day in prayer, and watched all night the holy relicts. When the morning appeared he assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put scourges into their hands, and presented his bare shoulders to the discipline and lashes of these ecclesiastics. He afterwards made a solemn procession to all the altars in the cathedral; and, retiring to the shrine of the canonized prelate, made an offering of forty pounds per annum to support a number of lamps kept continually burning before his tomb. True devotion is more decent and less ostentatious: Henry was desirous of acquiring the affections of a superstitious people, and a secret penance, however severe, would not have answered his purpose.

The king had hardly left the cathedral, before advice arrived that a decisive victory had been obtained over the Scottish army, and their king taken prisoner. Such remarkable success was immediately attributed to the protection of the saint; and this opinion spreading through the whole kingdom, tended greatly to soften and repress the spirit of rebellion. Many of his restless barons were, however, still in arms, and Henry marched immediately to chastise them, and restore that peace to his kingdom which their unnatural rebellion had destroyed. He first invested the castle of Framlingham, belonging to Hugh Bigod, one of the most powerful of the English malecontents. Bigod was too well acquainted with the disposition of Henry to attempt defending his fortress to extremities; he opened a negotiation, and obtained his pardon on condition of delivering up his castles of Framlingham and Bungay. The bishop of Durham, who had effected an entire independence, delivered up the castle of Norham and Alverton. The officers of the earl of Leicester followed the bishop's example; they gave up the castles of Montferril, Groby and Leicester. Mowbray delivered up the castle of Thirk, and the earl of Ferrers those of Stotville and Dufelde.

Such was the issue of this unnatural rebellion in England. The whole kingdom, in a few days, from the most imminent danger of being lost to the younger Henry, was reduced under his government. Lewis had laid siege to Rouen, and was now joined by the earl of Flanders. This reinforcement enabled the French monarch to push the siege with great vigour; and he flattered himself with being able to make himself master of the place before the arrival of Henry. He was deceived. The garrison made a noble defence, and Henry landed before Lewis could subdue even the outworks. The presence of the English monarch struck the enemy with terror; the  
siege



siege was immediately raised; and the combined forces fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving all their baggage behind them.

A peace now became necessary. Henry's three rebellious sons made their submission, and were received with the indulgence and affection of a parent. All their adherents were pardoned, and large pensions settled upon themselves. William, king of Scotland, gave up the ancient independency of his crown as the price of his liberty: he did homage to Henry as his liege lord; and engaged, that the nobility and prelates of his kingdom should also do him homage. The castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were delivered up to the English as securities; and William returned to his own kingdom.

A.D. 1176. Henry now applied himself to cultivate the arts of peace, and gain the affection of his English subjects. He summoned a general council of the barons and prelates at Northampton. In this assembly the laws of Edward the Confessor were revived, to the entire satisfaction of the people. And in order to carry those laws into execution, he caused the kingdom to be divided into six parts, and assigned to each three itinerant justices. Those divisions differ very little from the circuits still in use. Henry also restored the barons, who had joined his rebellious sons, to their estates. But as he had learned from experience the danger of suffering so many castles to subsist in the very heart of his kingdom, he seized many of them into his own hands, and demolished others. These wise regulations established tranquillity in his kingdom, and afforded him that satisfaction which he had sought in vain from power and grandeur. His people were protected, contented, and happy.

A.D. 1179. While Henry was enjoying the fruits of his labours for the service of his people, Lewis, alarmed at the danger of his son, who was seized with a violent distemper, resolved to make a pilgrimage to Becket's shrine, in order to obtain the intercession of that saint for the recovery of his son. Henry met the French monarch at Dover, and conducted him to Canterbury, where they both paid their devotions at the altar of St. Thomas; and Lewis offered at his tomb a massy cup of pure gold; and bestowed upon the monks a grant of two hundred gallons of wine annually, and freed them from all duties on such goods as they might purchase in his dominions. Lewis died soon after his return, and was succeeded by Philip, an ambitious and politic prince, who took every occasion to depress the power of the English monarch.

A.D. 1180. Henry was destined to experience all the calamities which undutiful children can inflict on an indulgent parent. Young Henry now renewed his pretensions, again unsheathed the sword of rebellion against his father; and was protected by Philip, who favoured his unnatural designs. But while he was preparing to commence hostilities, he was seized with a violent fever at Martel, a castle in the neighbourhood of Limoges. Perceiving himself past all hopes of recovery, he dispatched a messenger to his father, intreating the favour of a visit, that he might die with the satisfaction of having procured the forgiveness of a parent he had so grossly offended. But fearing to trust himself in the power of those about the person of his son, Henry refused to visit him; but sent one of his prelates, together with a ring, as a token of his blessing and pardon. The bishop found him tottering on the brink of eternity; and received his dying request, that his father would forgive his undutiful behaviour; that he would pay his knights and attendants their salaries; and pardon the barons of Guienne, whom he had excited to rebellion. The bishop promised to relate his requests to his father. He faithfully performed his promise; but before any answer could be returned, the prince paid the

debt of nature, on the eleventh of June, in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

Henry was inconsolable for the loss of his son. He fainted thrice, and burst forth into the most excessive lamentations of grief and sorrow. He accused himself of inhumanity in having refused his dying request, in not giving him in person that assurance of forgiveness, which he had only sent by another hand. The death of this prince, however, suspended for a time the rebellion concerted by the three unnatural brothers; and an event that happened soon after, seemed to have put a period to Henry's domestic misfortunes.

A.D. 1185. Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived in England, attended by the grand-masters of the Knights Templars and Hospitalers, on an embassy from Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, to solicit the assistance of Henry against the infidels in the Holy Land. The patriarch presented the English monarch with the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Tower of David, in token of their desire of placing the crown of the Holy City on his head. Henry, however, refused the offer, but promised to assist the Christians with a large supply of money.

A.D. 1187. It was now hoped that the two sons of Henry, Richard and Geoffrey, had laid aside their rebellious intentions; but the English monarch perceived himself mistaken. The former, disgusted at a design formed by his father of settling Guienne as an appanage upon John, his youngest brother, departed the kingdom, and prepared to seize by force the dominions to which he was intitled by his birth. And Geoffrey demanded that Anjou should be annexed to his duchy of Britany. This demand was absolutely refused by Henry, and Geoffrey repaired immediately to the court of France, to solicit assistance against his father. But before Philip had given any answer to his request, Geoffrey was killed in a tournament at Paris. That accident delivered Henry from the enterprizes of the most vicious of his sons. Geoffrey was a prince in whom pride, dissimulation, and perfidy, were equally united. No principle of honour could bind, no precept of religion could restrain that headstrong prince. He was acquainted with every vice, and generally distinguished by the appellation of The Child of Perdition.

Soon after the death of Geoffrey, the melancholy news arrived, that the city of Jerusalem was taken by the valiant and politic Saladine, sultan of Egypt; and that Guy de Lusignan, the last prince that swayed the sceptre of that kingdom, was in the hands of the infidels. This dismal intelligence rekindled at once the ardour and the enthusiasm of the warriors of Europe. Philip and Henry, for a time, suspended their quarrels, and vied with each other in their readiness to succour Palestine. They both took the cross; and both ordered, that such of their subjects as did not chuse to engage in the crusade, should pay the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects to defray the expence of the armament. This impost was called "Saladine's tax." The clergy insisted that they ought to be excepted, notwithstanding they were the chief instigators of these pious enterprizes.

A.D. 1188. But Philip, who was more desirous of enlarging his own dominions than of recovering Palestine, took advantage of a quarrel that happened between Richard, and Raymond, count of Thoulouse, and led his army into Berry, burnt Mount-Richard, and took several towns in Auvergne. Henry upbraided him with this flagrant breach of faith. He had not only sworn to suspend all hostilities till the crusade was over, but also to undertake the protection of Henry's foreign dominions. While Richard continued to assist his father, Philip was every where defeated; and peace again took place between them. But this was of no long continuance. Richard revolted anew against his father, did homage to the king of France for the provinces







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provinces possessed by Henry on the continent, and received the investiture of them:

The pope, alarmed at the war between these two princes, interposed his authority, and excommunicated Richard, as the principal cause of hindering the crusade. But this censure produced not the expected effect. The king of France told the legates, "that the pope had no right to intermeddle in the affairs of his kingdom, especially as nothing more was intended than the chastisement of a vassal who had taken up arms against his lord."

A.D. 1189. Henry now found it impossible to defend his Norman dominions against the joint efforts of Philip and Richard. He found himself abandoned by his friends and subjects, and on the point of being stripped of his dominions, his crown, and perhaps his life, by the unnatural rebellion of an undutiful son. The neutral princes could not behold this inhuman connection without regret. They interposed their authority to stop the flames of rebellion, and sheathe the sword of desolation. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Azay near Tours, by which it was stipulated that Henry should pay twenty thousand marks to Philip; that all his subjects both in England and his transmarine dominions, should swear fealty to Richard; that those barons who had entered into a confederacy with Richard, should receive an indemnity for their offence; that his own nobles should engage to compel him to observe this treaty; and in case of his violating it should join Philip and Richard against him.

Henry signed this humiliating treaty; and to complete his misfortunes, when he demanded a list of the barons who were to receive his pardon, he found at the head of them the name of his son John, who had always been his favourite, and in whom he had placed the most implicit confidence. This shock was too great to be supported by human nature, already stooping under a weight of infirmities, and a series of ill success. He broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the hour of his birth, and laid his irrevocable malediction on his sons. He retired to Chinon, in all the anguish of a forsaken father, where he died of a broken heart on the sixth of July, two days after he had signed the treaty of Azay, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Henry was endowed with many virtues, but they were allayed with many faults. His genius was piercing, and his learning, considering the age in which he lived, uncommon. His judgment was solid, and his memory remarkably tenacious. He was prudent in council, moderate in prosperity, firm

in adversity. He was the most consummate general of his age, and always collected amidst the greatest dangers. He was a generous enemy, a wise legislator, a faithful friend. His religion was that of the pious and sensible christian. The princes of Europe entertained so high an idea of his strict regard for justice, that the kings of Castile and Navarre submitted their differences to his decision; and the sentence he pronounced was revered by both parties. He was temperate, good-natured, and the politest prince of his age. But he was ambitious, violent and haughty. His passion for women awakened the jealousy of his queen, and proved the source of those numerous calamities which disturbed the latter part of his reign, and embittered his domestic happiness. But notwithstanding all his faults and all his misfortunes, he is justly placed in the first class among the kings of England. His virtues were beneficial to his subjects; his vices pernicious only to himself. He was at once the king, the priest, and the father of his people.

He enacted many wholesome laws for securing the peace and promoting the happiness of his subjects; those against murder, robbery, false coining, and the burning of houses, were remarkably severe; because their consequences were highly pernicious; and experience had sufficiently shewn, that pecuniary commutations for crimes were ineffectual to answer the purpose intended. He did not, indeed, abolish the ordeal and single combat, because the people were still ignorant and superstitious; but he admitted either of the parties to challenge a trial by a jury of twelve freeholders. It is asserted, that from the beginning of his reign till his dispute with Becket, no less than an hundred assassinations were committed with impunity by ecclesiastics. It was therefore absolutely necessary to abolish their immunities, in order to preserve the lives of the innocent. The constitutions of Clarendon were calculated to remove this egregious enormity. The clergy were subjected to a trial before a civil magistrate; and the murderers of clergymen, besides the common punishment, were subjected to the forfeiture of their estates, and the confiscation of their goods and chattels. Before these laws were enacted, the clergy were equally exposed to the swords of the laity; penances and submission only formed the punishment inflicted on the assassin of an ecclesiastic. Hence the murderers of Becket, after making a pilgrimage to Rome and performing the penances required, were acquitted of their crime. The constitutions of Clarendon, therefore, were calculated to protect and promote the happiness both of the clergy and laity.

## RICHARD I. surnamed COEUR DE LION.

A.D. 1189. **T**HE death of Henry put the undutiful Richard in possession of that crown he had endeavoured to obtain by an unnatural rebellion. But Richard, though of a furious and headstrong disposition, was no stranger to the soft whispers of humanity. At the first sight of the dead body of the late king, he felt the whole force of the stings of a guilty conscience, and exclaimed that he had been the murderer of his father. He viewed with horror his base and unnatural conduct; and saw in a very different point of light the services of his pretended friends, who had instigated him to draw the sword of rebellion, and lift his hand against the life of the most indulgent parent. He discharged them from his services, and, instead of the recompences they expected, he loaded them with reproaches. He despised the courtiers who had basely deserted the

interest of their master; and gave his confidence to those who had served his father with zeal and fidelity. It would have been happy for himself and happy for his people, had these prudent measures flowed entirely from wisdom or virtue. But it soon appeared, that Richard was governed by the fallies of passion: his conduct was founded on no settled principles; he formed no regular plan for the government of his people. One of his first acts of regal power, was the releasing his mother from her confinement, and bestowing on her the administration of affairs in England during his absence. He remembered not the unnatural part she had acted in arming children against their father, and sacrificing the lives of thousands at the altar of jealousy.

Eleanor, however, exerted all her authority in favour of Richard; she secured for him the oaths of allegiance



allegiance from all the orders of the state; so that on his arrival, nothing remained but to have them renewed and ratified. This was accordingly done on the third of September, when he was solemnly crowned at Westminster by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury.

The ceremony, which was prodigiously magnificent, occasioned a scene of detestable barbarity. The expeditions to the Holy Land, and the cruelties inflicted on the Christians by the Infidels, had filled the minds of the people with a kind of enthusiastic madness. Whatever had even the most remote connection with this spiritual warfare, was sufficient to set the whole nation in a flame. The Jews had long been a despised people, and the sufferings of the Christians at Jerusalem now raised the hatred of the people against them to the highest pitch. Richard knew this, and prudently issued a proclamation, forbidding any of them to appear at Westminster during the ceremony of the coronation. That despised people had long endeavoured, by their assiduous application to traffick, to compensate for the infamy with which they were treated. But their riches, instead of procuring them favour, excited the avarice, as much as their religion did the fury of the people. Desirous of obtaining the protection of the new monarch, the Hebrews collected among themselves a very considerable sum of money, which they were desirous of presenting to Richard on the day of his coronation. Several of the most eminent among them were accordingly selected; and, thinking their business a sufficient exemption from the general prohibition, waited at the gates of Westminster-hall to tender him their present, and their compliments of congratulation. The sight of these Jews, and their disregard of the royal mandate, awakened in the people all the fury of resentment. A tumult was immediately excited, and the poor defenceless Hebrews torn in pieces by the populace. But this sacrifice was far from satisfying the fury of the multitude; they entered the city, and massacred all the Jews that fell into their hands, plundered their houses, and laid them in ashes. The conflagration and carnage continued the whole night, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the chief justiciary to appease the tumult. Several thousands of that unfortunate people fell a sacrifice to the blind enthusiastic fury of a bigotted populace.

Richard was highly incensed against the authors of this inhuman tragedy. He caused several of the principal leaders of the tumult to be put to death, as a warning and terror to others. He also published an edict, strictly forbidding any insult to be offered to the Jews, whom he declared to be under his immediate protection.

Richard had always, during the life of his father, expressed the utmost jealousy of his brother John, whom he considered as a very dangerous rival. But either this passion was now totally annihilated, or absorbed in political considerations; for immediately after his coronation, he lavished his favours on a brother who deserved not his confidence. He granted him the estate of William Pepperel, the castles of Marlborough, Lutterghal, Le Pec, Balfover, Lancaster, Nottingham, Tikhill, and Wallingford, with all the honours and forests annexed to them. Nor were these thought sufficient by the imprudent Richard; he gave him also the earldoms of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, Lancaster, and Gloucester. This generosity was at once profuse and dangerous. But his zeal against the infidels opened another, and more fruitful source of misfortunes.

Richard had, some time since, taken the cross from the hands of the archbishop of Tours, and was now determined to make an expedition to the Holy Land in person. He was, indeed, more a soldier than a devotee; and, to gratify his passion for military glory, and gather laurels in the fields of Palestine, he scrupled not to sacrifice at once the

interest of his crown and the welfare of his people. His whole attention was now engrossed with forming schemes for raising money to defray the necessary expences of the expedition. He had already seized upon his father's treasures; and the bishop of Ely happening to die without a will, Richard confiscated his estate, which was very considerable. He exacted the most rigorous imposts from the people; he exposed the crown lands to sale; and even disposed of the great seal of England to William Longchamp, his first minister. Ralph de Glenville, chief justiciary, expostulated with Richard on these proceedings, at once so derogatory to his own dignity, and oppressive to the subject. The king replied, "That he would sell the city of London itself, if he could find a purchaser." This answer shocked the upright justiciary; he was alarmed for his country, and remonstrated freely with the king on the consequences that must attend such precipitate measures. But Richard was not patient of admonition; he so highly resented the liberty taken by the justiciary, that he deprived him of his post, and committed him to prison; nor would he suffer him to be released, till he purchased his freedom at the price of the fifteen thousand pounds. At the same time, he sold the post of justiciary to the bishop of Durham for a thousand marks. He obtained a bull from pope Clement, empowering him to discharge from the crusade all who were unable to undertake the expedition; and excuse others who were unwilling to undergo the fatigues, on paying a proportional sum of money. The king of Scotland purchased, for ten thousand marks, his right of superiority over that kingdom, together with the important fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick; acquisitions of the greatest consequence ever made by his father. By these iniquitous proceedings he acquired a prodigious sum, amounting, on a moderate computation, to seven millions and a half of our present money.

While Richard was accumulating treasures to defray the expences of the expedition, the clergy were zealously labouring to procure him soldiers. The pulpits resounded with the great merit of serving in the holy war. The confessors enjoined no penances but what tended to promote the grand design of recovering Palestine out of the hands of the infidels, and freeing the Christians in that country from the dreadful burdens laid upon them by the declared enemies of the gospel. The people were fired with enthusiasm; the army soon became numerous; nor was there an officer or common soldier but what furnished himself with common necessities, either from his own stock, or by the assistance of his friends.

The same caprice and unaccountable spirit of despotism that had directed Richard in amassing treasure, directed him also in the choice of persons to conduct the administration of affairs during his absence. He consulted not his council, nor listened to the voice of the people. Longchamp, bishop of Ely, and Pudsey, bishop of Durham, were constituted regents of the kingdom. The former was a Norman of mean extraction, of a dangerous character; and being invested with a legantine commission, he seemed to be armed with authority for the destruction of England. Four of the principal barons of the kingdom were appointed their assistants and counsellors in the administration.

A.D. 1190. Having thus provided for the safety of his kingdom, Richard passed over to the continent, and met Philip of France at Gue de St. Remi. Here the two princes swore mutually to maintain an uninterrupted peace; and defend each other's territories, in case either should be attacked by any other power. It was also agreed between them, that in case either of them died during the crusade, the other was to succeed to the command of his army, and become master of his treasures, in order to carry on the war with success against the infidels.

While Richard was engaged in settling the neces-



sary articles with Philip, Longchamp was employed in raising farther aids for his master; who was hardly departed the kingdom, before the Jews were threatened with a general massacre. Mad with enthusiasm, and exasperated at the cruelties exercised on the Christians in Palestine, the people were persuaded it was a meritorious act to extirpate every person who refused to believe the doctrines of the gospel. Reason and humanity pleaded in vain; the unfortunate Hebrews were destined to destruction. The massacre began at Lynn, where these distressed people were murdered, and their houses burnt to the ground. A similar fate attended those who resided at Stamford, Norwich, St. Edmundsbury, and Lincoln. But the most bloody persecution raged at York, where five hundred men, besides women and children, fell a sacrifice to the barbarous fury of religious zeal. The despised Hebrews, dreading the fate of their brethren, prevailed upon the governor to admit them into the castle, hoping, by that means, to avert the storm of popular fury, which threatened their destruction. They were fatally deceived: the bigotted multitude surrounded the castle, and attacked the works with the utmost violence. The Jews offered to purchase the liberty of retiring at the price of all their riches; but they pleaded in vain! the ear of bigotry was deaf to the voice of compassion. Driven to despair, and finding it impossible to defend the place against such multitudes of enemies, they murdered their wives and children; and after throwing the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, they set fire to the houses, and perished in the flames. Longchamp made a strict but fruitless inquiry after the authors of this horrid tumult. The laws wanted power to curb the licentiousness of a superstitious people.

The two princes, Philip and Richard, now embarked for the Holy Land; the former at Genoa, and the latter at Marseilles. They met at Messina, where contrary winds, and other accidents, detained them several months. Here those feuds and animosities first broke out, which ultimately defeated the principal design of the expedition. It was not, indeed, reasonable to expect, that two kings, in the flower of youth, haughty and violent, ambitious, valiant, competitors in power, and rivals in honour, would long continue to act in concert, and sacrifice their own passions to the interest of the crusade. Could this, indeed, have been effected, the intention had been answered, and the Holy Land intirely recovered from the infidels. But it soon appeared that a mutual harmony was not to be expected; the torch of discord was lighted up by the hand of jealousy, and threatened both armies with destruction. Philip could not behold, without envy, the forces of his vassal so much superior to his own. The power of Richard filled the breast of Philip with malignity.

Tancred, the king, or rather tyrant, of Sicily, trembled for his dominions. He knew that his despotic administration had excited the hatred of his people, and dreaded the consequences of their putting themselves under the protection of either of these powerful princes. He therefore determined to sow the seeds of animosity between them; and prevent, by their discords, any application being made by the Sicilians. Richard had long been affianced to Alice, the sister of Philip; and the princess had been sent, when very young, to the court of England. The consummation of this marriage, which had been delayed on various pretences, had furnished Philip with reasons for quarrelling with Henry II. but now seemed to be forgotten. Tancred revived the contention, by insinuating to Philip, that his honour was concerned in the marriage of his sister, and that there was room sufficient to suspect the sincerity of Richard. Philip, alarmed at the suggestions of Tancred, immediately demanded that Richard should consummate the nuptials; but the English monarch furnished proofs that Alice had been with child by Henry. Philip was amazed; but thought it more

prudent to bury in silence the dishonour of his family; than insist any farther on the performance of his rival's engagement. Richard soon after married the princess Berengara, daughter to Sanchez, king of Navarre, and carried her with him to Palestine. Queen Eleanor conducted the princess to Messina, and gave her son a faithful account of the state of affairs in England. Longchamp, disdaining to have a colleague of equal authority, had thrown the bishop of Durham into prison, and governed the nation by his sole authority; and with all the state and tyranny of a despotic monarch. The king was now convinced of his error; in appointing a person of such mean extraction to direct the affairs of government. He signed a charter, appointing a council, without whose concurrence Longchamp was not to act. This charter Richard sent to England by the archbishop of Rouen and the earl of Striguel. But Longchamp was so confirmed in his power, that it was thought proper to conceal, for some time, the charter of Richard; John, the king's brother, only was informed of this commission.

An event, however, soon happened, which exasperated the nobility, clergy and people, against this imperious churchman. Geoffrey, the king's natural brother, had, some time before Richard's departure for the Holy Land, been elected into the see of York; but some disputes arising between them, Geoffrey had promised his brother not to reside in England during his absence in Palestine. Queen Eleanor, however, having procured a dispensation of his promise, Geoffrey passed over into England to take possession of his see: Longchamp ordered him to be arrested; but the archbishop having received intelligence of his design, fled to the monastery of St. Martin, and took sanctuary in the church. The regent's officers paid no regard to the sanctity of the place; they dragged him from the altar in his sacerdotal robes, and committed him to Dover castle.

This tyrannical proceeding excited the detestation of all ranks of people. The clergy were particularly alarmed. The bishop of Lincoln excommunicated all concerned in this sacrilegious violence, and the sentence was confirmed in a general convocation held at Reading. The bishops even threatened the kingdom with an interdict, if Geoffrey was not immediately released. The regent was now sufficiently alarmed, and Geoffrey was set at liberty. But this was not sufficient: it was determined to put a final period to the despotic administration of Longchamp. A general assembly of the nobles and prelates was accordingly assembled, where the king's charter was read, and the legate summoned to attend. He promised to assist at the conference; but conscious that his actions would not bear inspection, he fled to London, and shut himself up in the Tower. He soon found that it would be impossible to defend the fortrefs any length of time; and therefore submitted to appear before the great council of the nation, where he was deprived of his posts; and finding himself deserted by those who had basked in the sunshine of his greatness, he passed over to the continent, in order to apply to the pope for redress. The great seal of England was given to Walter, archbishop of Rouen, a person of great prudence, modesty and integrity. He always consulted his colleagues in the affairs of government; and, by his prudent management, restored peace and tranquillity to the kingdom.

When Eleanor departed from Sicily, the two princes made preparations for passing into Palestine. The emperor Frederic had left Germany some time before the kings of France and England were ready to embark; and passed into Asia, at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. He obtained two victories over the sultan of Cogni, but bathing himself in the river Cydnus, when in a profuse sweat, he was seized with a violent fever, and died a few days after. This misfortune rendered his conquests of no advantage to the Christians.



His victories must, however, have been dearly purchased; for at the death of the emperor, when the command devolved upon Conrad, his son, the army was diminished to eight thousand fighting men. During two years, these troops, joined with the Christians of Asia, had been employed in the siege of Acre; but the city, receiving continual succours by sea, and the army of Saladin harassing the besiegers by land, very little hopes remained of their becoming masters of the city, or even of being able to support themselves against the attacks of the enemy. Repeated dispatches were therefore sent to Messina, imploring the assistance of Philip and Richard. The former embarked his forces, and sailed immediately to the relief of the Christian army before Acre; but the latter continued some time longer in Sicily, waiting for express from England.

Richard left Messina on the tenth of April, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty large ships, and fifty-three galleys, and directed his course towards Acre. But before he could reach the coast of Syria, a dreadful storm arose, which separated his fleet, and stranded three of his largest ships on the island of Cyprus. Isaac, the emperor, or tyrant of that island, though a professor of the Christian religion, was so far from assisting these distressed soldiers, who were passing into Asia, to defend the persecuted followers of their common Master, that he used them in a very cruel manner, and committed them to prison. Exasperated at this ungenerous treatment, Richard, who had taken shelter in the harbours of Candia, sent a messenger to the tyrant, demanding that his subjects should be set at liberty, and their effects restored. But Isaac, instead of complying with so reasonable a demand, returned an insolent answer. Richard immediately sailed to Cyprus, landed his forces, and totally routed the tyrant's army. Isaac, whom a single stroke of adversity humbled in the dust, laid his crown at the feet of Richard, who sent him, in silver chains, to Tripoli; and Richard was placed, by the general consent of the people, on the throne of Cyprus.

The English monarch, however, staid no longer in the island than was necessary to secure his new conquest. He embarked his forces, and sailed for Palestine. In his passage, he took a very large ship belonging to Saladin, having on board provisions and military stores for the garrison of Acre, together with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men. The loss of this ship was of the most fatal consequence to the Infidels, who were now driven to despair; while the appearance of the English fleet inspired the Christian army with the sincerest joy. The military operations, which had languished for some time, were now revived with double fury; the most amazing acts of valour were every day performed, and the besieged soon reduced to the utmost extremity. Saladin, finding it impossible to succour the city, gave the garrison leave to surrender. The articles of capitulation were accordingly signed, and the city delivered up to the crusaders, together with five hundred Christian captives.

Elated with this success, the two leaders formed the design of marching directly to Jerusalem, in order to wrest that city out of the hands of the Infidels. Every thing was ready for the march of the army, and the hopes of the crusaders were raised to the highest pitch, when a dissention arose between the two chiefs, and frustrated all those pleasing expectations. The prodigious valour of Richard during the siege of Acre, his liberality to the soldiers, and the magnificence he displayed on every occasion, procured the hearts of the crusaders, and filled the breast of Philip with malignant jealousy. He, however, concealed his passion, till a dispute, which now happened between Guy of Lusignan, and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, relative to the crown of Jerusalem, gave him an opportunity of expressing his resentment. Richard espoused the pretensions of the former, and Philip those of the latter. During

this contest, which, in reality, had nothing more than an empty title for its object, several sharp messages passed between them; and Richard complained that Philip obstructed the progress of the confederate army; adding, that he was ready to sacrifice every personal consideration to the interest of the cause they had undertaken to support at such immense expence.

Philip was now determined to abandon the enterprise; but ashamed to avow his real motives, had recourse to artifice and deception. He pretended, that the climate of Palestine did not agree with his constitution, and therefore desired Richard would permit him to return. The most solemn promise having been made between them not to abandon the expedition without their joint consent; Richard, after exacting from him the most dreadful oath, that he would not attempt any thing against his dominions, but, on the contrary, protect and defend them to the utmost of his power, consented to his departure, and even furnished him with two of his best ships for carrying that prince and his retinue to Europe.

Philip left the command of his army to the duke of Burgundy; and after giving him public orders to pay the same obedience to the king of England as to himself, he sailed for his own dominions, which he ought not, perhaps, to have left, but to which he certainly ought not to have returned without bringing with him new acquisitions of glory. Nor was Philip the only person who deserted the enterprise; multitudes followed his example; so that the numerous army of the Christians was very greatly reduced.

Richard now remained the undisputed master of the field of honour, and determined to attempt some enterprise worthy the name of the leader of the Christian armies. He accordingly made a general attack upon Saladin's camp; but met with so noble a resistance, that he was obliged to retreat with considerable loss. This check, however, made no change in Richard's resolutions: that martial spirit, which formed his ruling passion, supported him under every misfortune. He determined to march from Acre to Joppa, and fortify all the places that fell into his hands. Saladin posted himself in the road, at the head of an army of three hundred thousand men, to oppose his passage. The martial soul of Richard glowed at this opportunity of signaling his courage. He was also persuaded, that by defeating the army of Saladin, he should open to himself a free passage to Jerusalem, and, perhaps, make himself master of that famous city in a short interval of time. Both armies prepared for a general engagement, which was to decide the fate of thousands, and, possibly, of Palestine itself.

The right wing of the Christian army was commanded by James d'Avesnes, the left by the duke of Burgundy; while Richard in person led the center, or main body. Saladin had concealed part of his troops on the right behind some hills, which covered them from the sight of the Christians. On this body of reserve he placed his greatest hopes of victory; and therefore, without altering his position, waited the attack of the enemy, who began the action with their right wing. The Saracens supported the shock with great resolution; and, by the superiority of their numbers, put that body into great disorder. Their leader, James d'Avesnes, was slain, in endeavouring to rally his broken troops, and lead them once more against the Infidels. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of the left wing, made a furious attack upon the right of the enemy. The Saracens, for some time, supported themselves with great resolution; but on receiving orders from Saladin to retreat as they fought, the duke was deceived, and followed them a considerable way beyond the body of the army. Saladin perceiving that his left wing stood firm, and that the duke of Burgundy was separated from the rest of the army, ordered the body that lay concealed behind the hills to move forward. These troops



troops descending the eminences in prodigious numbers, surrounded the duke's forces, and made a dreadful slaughter.

The fate of the Christian army now depended on the valour and conduct of Richard. He had been very successful where he had made his attacks; and though he met with a stout resistance, had compelled the troops that opposed him to retreat in disorder. He was still pursuing the broken forces, when he was informed of the disorder of his right wing, and the danger of his left. He immediately gave over the pursuit; and marching to the duke of Burgundy's assistance, fell upon the victorious troops of Saladin with such impetuosity, that he soon wrested from them the palm of victory, which they thought they had obtained. Richard, on this occasion, performed the most astonishing acts of valour; and those who before were filled with envy, were now struck with admiration. He is said to have met the famous Saladin, and to have dismounted that celebrated leader, who must have fallen into the hands of the English monarch, had not the Saracens used more than common efforts to rescue him from his dangerous situation. But however that be, the valour of Richard entirely changed the fortune of the day, and Saladin was obliged to reinforce his right wing with part of his victorious troops on the left. This motion, which caused some disorder in that part of the Saracen army, gave the right wing of the Christians time to recover themselves; and finding the opposition they had before met with to grow weaker and weaker, they quickly rallied; and falling with the utmost fury on the Saracen troops that opposed them, forced them to seek their safety in a precipitate flight.

Richard still maintained the battle on the right with an intrepidity more than human, in spite of the vast superiority of the enemy, who now directed their whole force against the English monarch. He was, however, in danger of being overpowered by numbers, had not his right wing, meeting with no farther opposition, advanced to his assistance. Finding themselves attacked in flank by a fresh body of forces, the Saracens began to give way; nor was it in the power of Saladin, though he exerted his utmost, to rally them. The Christians took advantage of this disorder, and pressed the Saracens with too much vigour, that they betook themselves to flight. Above fifty thousand of the Infidels were left dead on the field of battle. James d'Avesnes was the only person of distinction among the Christians that fell in this memorable engagement.

This defeat struck the Saracens with a panic: they abandoned the maritime cities of Ascalon, Cæsarea, and Joppa, after demolishing the fortifications. Richard marched directly to Joppa, where he staid some time to repair the fortifications; that if he should be obliged to retreat, he might have a secure port to embark his forces for Europe. While he continued at Joppa, he frequently amused himself with hunting in the neighbourhood, attended only by a few of his intimate friends. As he was one day returning from the chase, with only six persons in his train, he alighted from his horse, laid himself down under a tree, and fell asleep. He was, however, soon roused by the approach of a small party of Saracen horse, passing by the place. Richard immediately mounted his horse; and as the Saracens were few in number, pursued them to some distance. The enemy pretended to fly before him, but artfully drew him into an ambuscade, where he was suddenly surrounded by a squadron of horse. He defended himself for a considerable time with great bravery, without the least thought of retreating, notwithstanding the prodigious disparity of numbers. But even the valour of Richard would have been exerted in vain, had not one of his attendants, by a remarkable presence of mind, saved him from the impending danger. Four of his attendants were already slain, when William Despreaux, the only surviving friend of

Richard, cried out, in the Saracen language, "Hold! I am the king of England!" Every eye was now directed to Despreaux; and those who were engaged with Richard immediately left him, that they might have a share in seizing the person they imagined to be the English monarch. This stratagem gave Richard an opportunity of escaping from the enemy. Despreaux did not discover himself till he came before Saladin; when falling at his feet, he ingenuously confessed the deception he had made use of to save his master. Saladin commended his fidelity, and treated him with the utmost respect; but sensible that Richard would never suffer a person who had so signally assisted him to remain in confinement; demanded ten Saracen emirs in exchange for so faithful a servant.

Having finished the fortifications of Joppa, Richard began his march towards Jerusalem, fully determined to wrest that famous city out of the hands of the Infidels. Saladin drew up his army on the plains of Rama, to oppose his passage. A second battle ensued, and Saladin was a second time defeated. Nothing now opposed his march to Jerusalem; but the Knights Templars, who were in the interest of Philip of France, and therefore envious of the glory which Richard must obtain by the conquest of the Holy City, persuaded the English monarch to lay aside his design till the ensuing spring, and take up his winter quarters at Ascalon. Richard, who suspected not the real motive of the knights, followed their advice, marched directly to Ascalon, and repaired the fortifications which Saladin's forces had demolished.

A. D. 1192. The dispute between Guy de Lusignan and Conrade, with regard to the crown of Jerusalem, was now revived; and the duke of Burgundy refused to act any longer in conjunction with the English. The French troops retired into places of safety, and passed their time in luxury and indolence. Still desirous of making himself master of Jerusalem, the great object for which the crusade had been undertaken, Richard put an end to the dispute, by declaring Conrade king of Jerusalem. But at the same time, he indemnified Guy for the loss of a nominal, by presenting him with a real crown. He bestowed upon him the kingdom of Cyprus. Pleased with having obtained the honour he had so long desired, Conrade, who was now at Tyre with his fleets, made preparations for joining the Christian army at Ascalon. But before he could embark, he was stabbed in the streets of that city by two assassins sent for that purpose by a Saracen prince, generally stiled The Old Man of the Mountains. The subjects of that chief esteemed assassination meritorious, when sanctified by his mandate: they courted death, were it even in the extremities of Europe, in the execution of his orders. The prince justified this cruel proceeding, in a letter he wrote to the duke of Austria, some time after; and declared, that the marquis fell by the poniards of his soldiers, in revenge for his having put to death one of his merchants, whose ship was forced into Tyre by a storm.

The death of the marquis proved a fresh obstruction to the progress of the Christian army; but his widow being soon after married to Henry, count of Champagne, that nobleman was, in her right, declared king of Jerusalem; and, at his instance, the French consented to join the army of Richard, who immediately marched towards the capital of Palestine, which he was determined to besiege. But just as he reached the neighbourhood of that city, he fortunately met the caravan passing from Babylon to Jerusalem. The whole consisted of three thousand camels, and four thousand mules, loaded with the rich merchandize of the East, and escorted by ten thousand horse. The Saracens no sooner perceived the Christian army than they began to retreat; but Richard, at the head of five thousand cavalry, attacked them with such fury, that they were put to flight, and the whole caravan fell into the hands of the Christians. Richard, who was equally generous and brave, distributed



the whole booty, which was of prodigious value, among the soldiers.

Soon after this successful incident, the army ascended the neighbouring eminences, from the summits of which they had a fair prospect of the celebrated city of Jerusalem, and the reduction of which was the great object of all their labour and toil. But when Richard thought himself sure of conquest, and of putting a glorious period to the expedition, his hopes were rendered abortive by divisions among the leaders of the confederated army. It was urged, in a council of war, that the scarcity which then reigned in the neighbouring countries, would render it difficult, if not impossible, to procure provisions necessary for their subsistence. These reasons were far from convincing Richard; he was determined to besiege the city, which was now almost destitute of troops, the greater part of the garrison having been drawn out to reinforce the army of Saladin. The duke of Burgundy perceiving it would be impossible to divert Richard from his purpose, and envious of the glory which the English monarch would acquire by the reduction of Jerusalem, separated his forces from the allied army, and marched directly to Tyre. The duke of Austria followed the example of the French general: he abandoned Richard at a time when fortune offered them the palm of victory, and the Saracens, shut up within the walls of Jerusalem, trembled for their liberty.

Richard now saw all his hopes of conquest vanish like the morning cloud. It would have been absolute madness for him to besiege a city famous for its strength, especially as Saladin, at the head of a numerous army, hovered on the mountains, ready to seize the maritime places the moment they were deserted by the Christians. But the desire of reducing Jerusalem was still the darling passion of his soul. He even submitted to solicit the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, and the king of Jerusalem himself undertook the office of ambassador. But every attempt was made in vain. Steady to his purpose of depriving Richard of the glory of taking the capital of Palestine, he refused to join the Christian army, under pretence of his having no authority to expose the troops of his master in such desperate service. The English monarch was therefore obliged to abandon the enterprise, and accordingly marched his army to Acre. But he had hardly reached the neighbourhood of that city, before advice arrived that Saladin had taken Joppa, and was pressing the siege of the castle with so much fury, that the garrison must surrender, unless speedily relieved. Richard, who never abandoned his soldiers in distress, ordered his army to march to the relief of Joppa; while he himself, at the head of a small body of chosen troops, embarked at Acre, and reached Joppa some time before his army. The name of Richard was terrible to the Infidels: he fell immediately on the besiegers with such irresistible fury, that the Saracens, who were very slightly armed for defence, abandoned the enterprise, and retreated to the neighbouring mountains.

But it was impossible for valour, however extraordinary, when assisted only by a handful of followers, to defeat the numerous armies of Saladin, and carry their victories to the gates of Jerusalem. At the same time, the enthusiasm of the crusaders began to yield to time and fatigue: they were now more desirous of visiting their own country than the capital of Palestine; and of forgetting their labours and toil in their native vallies, than reposing on the top of the hill of Sion. Richard was no stranger to their wishes, and therefore determined to seize this favourable opportunity of concluding a three year's truce with Saladin, on the following conditions: That the sea-coast from Tyre to Joppa should remain in the hands of the Christians, without any molestation from the Saracens: That the Christians should have free liberty to go in pilgrimage to the Holy

Sepulchre, and be permitted to trade in any part of the Sultan's extensive dominions.

Saladin, who surpassed all the princes of the crusade in humanity and moderation, in science and knowledge, continued faithful to his engagements. He gave an illustrious proof, at the taking of Jerusalem, that he was always attentive to the soft-whispers of compassion. He granted to the wife of Lusignan a capitulation she could not hope to obtain. He permitted her to retire wherever she pleased, without demanding any ransom for the Greeks who inhabited the city. On his making his entry into Jerusalem, many women came and threw themselves at his feet; some begging he would restore to them their husbands; and others, their children or their fathers, who were then his prisoners; and he granted their requests with a generosity of which that part of the world had yet afforded no example. But that generous prince, who had formed the highest idea of Richard's military virtues, lived not to see the expiration of the truce; he died at Damascus just before that period arrived, lamented even by the Christians. The last action of his life deserves to be handed down with applause to posterity; it would have shone conspicuous even in a constellation of Christian virtues. He ordered his winding-sheet to be carried through every street of Damascus; while a crier, preceding it, proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East." By his last will, he left large charities to be distributed to the poor of every denomination: the Christian, the Jew, and the Mahometan, shared equally his bounty.

Richard, desirous of passing, with the utmost expedition, into England, where his presence was absolutely necessary to regulate the affairs of government, embarked in a single vessel, but was unfortunately shipwrecked near Aquileia. He knew the danger of crossing so large an extent of territory with his numerous attendants, and therefore disguised himself in the habit of a pilgrim, intending to travel through Germany, as the safest way, to his own dominions. But he was unable to conceal himself from the piercing eye of curious inquiry. Some German officers, who had served under duke Leopold of Austria, at the siege of Acre, knew the royal pilgrim, and gave their master the pleasing information. Rejoiced at having it in his power to retaliate the affronts he had received from Richard in the Holy Land, he caused him to be seized in the night, at Gynacia, a village near Vienna, and sent in chains to the emperor Henry VI. A Christian prince did not blush to load with irons, and confine in a loathsome prison, the hero of the crusade.

It has been already mentioned, that Longchamp was obliged to quit the kingdom for his mal-administration. Practised in the paths of vice, and a stranger to every sentiment of justice, he exerted all his abilities to excite the resentment of the Roman pontiff against the English. He represented them as a rebellious generation, ready to trample upon the spiritual authority of St. Peter's successors; and that their proceedings against him were nothing more than a prelude of attempts of a much higher nature, the destruction of the pontifical dignity. Celestine III. who now filled the papal chair, was alarmed for his power. Without making any inquiry into the truth of Longchamp's report, he furnished the prelate with letters to the English bishops, commanding them to excommunicate prince John, and all who were concerned in the deprivation of the late chancellor. But the people of England no longer trembled at the papal thunder; they had learned to distinguish between fanaticism and a reasonable submission to the orders of the church: they firmly defended the constitution of their country, and the flaming bolt of spiritual tyranny was launched in vain.

But this opposition, though virtuous in its nature, was excited in defence of a person who merited not the



the care of the English. John never scrupled to trample upon the laws of equity and religion, when impelled by his own interest. Ambitious of power, and careless of the means by which he attained it, he exerted all his abilities to pave his way to the crown, should any accident happen to his brother during his absence. He was, indeed, sensible that he had no claim either to the sceptre of England, or the foreign dominions of Richard, while Arthur, duke of Britany, son to his elder brother Geoffrey, lived; and therefore had recourse to every artifice for depriving the legal heir of his just rights, and usurping a throne to which he had no pretensions. He invited Longchamp, whom he had formerly banished from the kingdom, to return, hoping, that by joining their interest, they should be able to distress an administration that had so nobly defended the liberties of England. Pleased with the acquisition of so powerful a protector, the bishop landed in England, and dispatched a messenger with the news of his arrival. But the ministry were not to be intimidated; they informed the prelate, that unless he immediately left the kingdom, they would seize his person as a traitor. Longchamp, whom vice had rendered timorous, waited not the consequences; he embarked directly, and returned to the continent.

Soon after his departure, the news of Richard's imprisonment reached England, and caused a general consternation. John considered it as a very fortunate event, and determined to improve it to his own advantage. He passed over into France, and threw himself into the arms of Philip, the sworn enemy of his brother. Queen Eleanor, on the other hand, exerted herself in the cause of Richard; and conjured the council to take every precaution to prevent the fatal consequences that might attend this alarming accident.

A. D. 1193. Philip now hoped to be amply revenged on Richard for the indignities he had suffered. He revived the calumny, that the marquis of Montferrat was assassinated by Richard, though it was well known that he fell by the enthusiastic subjects of the Old Man of the Mountains. But under this frivolous pretence he persuaded his vassals, that the oaths they had taken not to invade the dominions of a prince engaged in the crusade, were no longer binding in regard to the king of England. He also concluded a treaty with John, who now proved himself at once an unnatural brother and a traitor to his country. He stipulated to deliver into the hands of Philip a great part of Normandy; and received, in return, the investiture of all Richard's transmarine dominions. The title of young Arthur, as well as his own oaths, were forgotten by the ambitious Frenchman. In consequence of this treaty, Philip invaded Normandy, at the head of a powerful army, made himself master of several places, and extended his ravages to the gates of Rouen. But the time of the service of his vassals being expired, he concluded a truce with the English, who stipulated to pay him twenty thousand marks.

While the sword of perfidy was thus laying waste the dominions of Richard, that prince himself was suffering, in a German prison, every kind of insult and indignity. A warrior, who, at the head of his army, made even the mighty Saladin tremble, was now treated with contempt by a petty prince of the empire. He was produced before the diet, and accused of several crimes, which had no existence but in the malignant minds of his enemies. He justified himself with an eloquence that confounded his persecutors, and covered them with confusion. He remonstrated against the ungenerous treatment he had met with from those whom he had rescued from the power of the Infidels before Acre; and complained, that after demonstrating his zeal in the cause of Christianity, he had been confined in a prison, and experienced a treatment hardly proper for slaves, in a country that had expressed the utmost

ardour for the crusade, and by princes who professed the tenets of the gospel.

The pope now declared loudly in his favour: he threatened to lay the whole empire under an interdict, if Richard was not released. The princes of the diet were ashamed of the emperor's conduct; and loudly declared, that they could not suffer the Germanic body to be stained with the imputation of violating the laws of nature and nations, by detaining in prison, without any just cause, the person of a great king, who had so nobly ventured his life in the cause of Christianity. The emperor was alarmed, and offered to set Richard at liberty; but demanded one hundred and fifty thousand marks, about three hundred thousand pounds of our present money, for his ransom; of which one hundred thousand were to be paid before he was released from prison, and hostages delivered for the payment of the remainder.

The demand of the emperor was no sooner known in England, than every method was put in practice for raising the enormous sum. Twenty shillings were levied on every knight's fee, and the money already paid into the treasury applied to purchase the liberty of a prince, who had so nobly resisted the power of the Infidels. The churches and monasteries melted down their plate; the nobles, bishops, and abbots, paid a fourth part of their annual revenues, and the parochial clergy a tenth of their tithes. William, king of Scotland, contributed two thousand marks towards the king's ransom. The necessary sum being thus raised, queen Eleanor, and Walter, archbishop of Rouen, passed over to the continent, paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Austria; and Richard was set at liberty, in presence of the archbishops of Mentz and Gologne, and most of the German nobility.

A. D. 1194. Fortunately for Richard, he escaped the perfidy of the emperor. Ambassadors from Philip of France arrived soon after his deliverance, offering prodigious advantages, if the emperor would confine the English monarch one year longer. The base soul of Henry embraced the offer, and dispatched messengers to arrest Richard, and bring him back to the Imperial court. But his treacherous designs were rendered abortive by the agility of Richard, who embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and lost sight of the German shore before the emperor's messengers arrived at Antwerp. Philip was astonished when he heard that Richard was set at liberty; and wrote a letter to John in the following terms: "Take care of yourself; the devil is broke loose."

Richard was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy and affection by his subjects. They beheld with rapture a prince who had suffered such a dreadful captivity, after so nobly defending the cause of the Christians, and causing the name of an Englishman to be revered in nations before unacquainted with the appellation. This endearing behaviour banished from the mind of Richard the idea of all the indignities he had experienced during his imprisonment; all his alarms, his fatigues, and his sufferings, were buried in oblivion. He seemed even desirous of wiping off the ignominy of his captivity by ordering the ceremony of his coronation to be repeated. He soon after declared his intention of making a resumption of all the crown revenues, and annulling all the contracts he had made before his departure for the Holy Land. He alledged, that the purchasers had already indemnified themselves by the profits of the estates; that necessity had compelled him to make these grants; that the money had been spent in an expedition favoured both by the clergy and laity; and that therefore it was unjust the crown should bear the whole burden. These reasons were unnecessary; none disputed the justice of this resumption. All the purchasers gave up the possessions they had obtained from the king, and seemed to vie with one another who should be the first to make the required surrender. A parliament was also



called at Northampton, where Richard demanded justice against his brother John, and his principal abettor, Hugh, bishop of Coventry. They were both cited to appear within forty days, and answer the charge exhibited against them. They refused to obey the summons; on which John was attainted of high treason; and the prelate ordered to be tried by the bishops in his sacerdotal capacity, and in the king's court, as sheriff of the county.

These transactions did not, however, divert the attention of Richard from the resolution he had formed of taking ample vengeance on Philip for his perfidy. A monarch less passionate and haughty than Richard could not have been easily prevailed upon to pardon such detestable conduct. He raised a powerful army, and passed over into Normandy, vowing to execute the most dreadful revenge against the faithless Philip, who, contrary to the most solemn oaths, and in defiance of all laws, both human and divine, had invaded his territories, and endeavoured to prolong the time of his captivity. But the hostilities between two such powerful monarchs, thoroughly exasperated against each other, produced no memorable events. A few castles taken, a few straggling parties surprised, and a rencounter of horse, form the principal actions of this campaign. The only action of any consequence happened at Fretteval, between the French and English cavalry, when the former were totally routed; and Philip lost his chartulary, or register of charters, which he always carried with him, containing the several particulars of the revenues of the prince, a list of his vassals, and the state of the slaves and freemen. This misfortune obliged Philip to make a new register, in which his prerogatives were rather increased than diminished. During this war, prince John, who was destitute both of honour and integrity, deserted the king of France, as he had formerly done his brother. Having invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison of Evreux, where he commanded, he caused them to be massacred, put the whole garrison to the sword, and delivered up the place to the king of England, of whom he craved pardon for his offences. Queen Eleanor interceded, and the king received him into favour. "I forgive him," said Richard, "and hope to forget his injuries as easily as he will my clemency."

About this time the duke of Austria having crushed his leg by a fall from his horse at a tournament, was seized with a fever; and finding his end approaching, was struck with remorse for his cruel behaviour to Richard. An intire restitution was not in his power; but he ordered, by his will, that all the English hostages should be set at liberty, and the remainder of the king's ransom remitted. His son seemed inclined to disobey the orders of his father; but the clergy interposed, and obliged him to perform them.

A.D. 1196. The animosities which subsisted between Philip and Richard occasioned a continual series of hostilities and truces, which were broken almost as soon as concluded. They were, indeed, nothing more than necessary cessations from war, till both princes could recruit their armies. To support these military expeditions, Richard was obliged to load the English with taxes, which excited an universal complaint among the people; and the great talents of Hubert, the chief justiciary, were hardly sufficient to prevent the general discontent from breaking out into open rebellion.

These disturbances were greatly increased by the daily harangues of one William Fitz Osbert, a person of mean birth, and still meaner appearance. He was a lawyer by profession, but pretended to be the advocate of the poor; and in order to render himself still more remarkable, he suffered his beard to grow to an enormous length, from which circumstance he acquired the appellation of Longbeard. He was continually exciting the spirit of resentment in the poor, against the rich, by the most inflammatory

speeches; pretending there was a collusion among the great to ease themselves of the load of public taxes, and throw the whole weight on the shoulders of the labouring people, who were considered in no better light than that of beasts of burden. These insinuations produced the desired effect; the fury of the people was raised to a height bordering upon madness; and a tumult ensued in St. Paul's church, where several persons lost their lives.

This dangerous insurrection alarmed the justiciary, who ordered Longbeard to appear before him; but he was so far from obeying the summons, that he killed the officer who delivered the citation. The more rational part of his followers were struck with horror at this inhuman action: they abandoned the pretended advocate for the rights of the people, and a few of the lowest of the rabble only now followed Longbeard. He saw the desertion of the greater part of his audience, but continued, for some days, to rob and murder his fellow citizens with great barbarity. It was now time for the government to interpose, in order to prevent an open rebellion. A strong party of soldiers were accordingly sent into the city, with strict orders to apprehend the incendiary, dead or alive. The rioters were struck with terror, and retired, with Longbeard at their head, to the church of St. Mary le Bow, where they shut themselves up, hoping that a general insurrection would be excited in their favour. They were deceived; the citizens saw their error, and abandoned the wretch, who had deceived them, to punishment. Longbeard, however, refused to surrender; and being driven from the body of the church, he retreated, at the head of his followers, into the steeple, from whence they discharged a shower of stones, darts, and other missiles, on the heads of the assailants. Unwilling to expose the lives of his soldiers to the attacks of a company of desperadoes, the officer caused a large quantity of wet straw to be carried into the body of the church, and set on fire. The smoke effectually put an end to all opposition; and the insurgents, to avoid suffocation, surrendered at discretion. Longbeard was sentenced to be drawn at a horse's tail through the principal streets of the city, and afterwards to be hung in chains, with nine of his principal accomplices.

A.D. 1197. The war in Normandy was still carried on with unremitted animosity, but produced few remarkable events. In one of these battles, Peter de Dreux, bishop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, and cousin-german to the king of France, was taken prisoner. Richard, who hated that prelate, threw him into prison, and loaded him with irons. The bishop applied to the pope for redress. The pontiff immediately demanded his liberty, calling him his son, and insisting highly on the privileges of the church. The king sent the coat of mail, which the bishop had worn in battle, and which was besmeared with blood, with the words of Jacob's sons to their father, "This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or not." The pontiff replied, "That the coat sent by the king did not belong to a son of the church, but to a son of the camp; and that the prisoner was at Richard's mercy." The prelate, thus abandoned, was obliged to purchase his liberty at the price of ten thousand marks.

A.D. 1199. Philip finding no advantage could be gained over the English monarch by arms, and weary of a war which exhausted his country, applied to pope Innocent III. who then filled the papal chair, to employ his good offices in bringing about a peace with Richard. The pope readily complied with his request; and sent cardinal Peter into France, to act as mediator between the contending parties. A negotiation was accordingly begun, and a considerable progress made in a treaty for a durable peace; when the death of Richard put a final period to the labours of the pontiff.

A peasant plowing a field in the lordship of Vidomar,







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*RICHARD I. Mortally Wounded by an Arrow Shot by  
S. Bertram de Gourdon from the Walls of the Castle of Chalus*



mar, viscount of Limoges, found a treasure, containing, besides money, several valuable pieces of antiquity. The peasant delivered the whole to Vidomar, who sent a part of it to Richard as a present. This did not satisfy the prince; he claimed the whole, as superior lord of the soil; and, at the head of a company of Brabanders, besieged the count in the castle of Chalus. The garrison offered to surrender; but Richard replied, that since he had given him the trouble of coming in person to besiege the place, to recover what was properly his own; he would enter the castle by force, and hang every one of them upon the walls. The same day, Richard, attended only by Margadee, the leader of the Brabanders, approached the castle, to survey the works; when one Bertram de Gourdon discharged an arrow from a cross-bow, which pierced his shoulder. Richard, however, gave orders for the assault, took the castle by storm, and hanged up the whole garrison, except Bertram, whom he reserved for a more cruel death. The wound was not, of itself, dangerous; but the surgeon, by his preposterous treatment, rendered it mortal. Richard perceiving his end approaching, ordered Gourdon to be brought into his presence. "Wretch," said the king, "what have I ever done to you, that you have fought my life?" "What have you done to me," replied the prisoner with a cool and intrepid air, "you killed my father, and my two brothers, with your own hand, and you intended to hang myself. I am now in your power; take your revenge: I shall willingly submit to the severest tortures, provided I can think I have delivered the world from so great a tyrant." Richard felt the justice of the reply, and ordered Gourdon to be set at liberty. But Macardee seized the unhappy archer, caused him to be sea'd alive,

and then hanged: Richard did not long survive the fate of Gourdon: he paid the debt of nature on the sixth of April, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age: He died without issue;

Richard excelled all the princes of his age in heroic valour; nor were his abilities as a general inferior to his courage. These talents form the most shining part of his character; and procured him the appellation of The Lion-hearted, *Coeur de Lion*. Military glory was the darling passion of his soul, and hence his reign became a continual scene of oppression and misfortunes. His character is a compound of remarkable virtues, and remarkable vices. He was open, generous, valiant, and sincere; but he was revengeful, ambitious, haughty, and cruel. He was at once both meanly avaricious, and idly profuse. Few princes ever possessed a greater share of understanding, a more solid judgment, or a more persuasive eloquence; but his headstrong passions too often diverted them to improper objects. His ingratitude and want of filial affection are unpardonable. He was no friend to the superstitious bigotry of his age; the love of glory carried him into the fields of Palestine. He saw and detested the practices of the greater part of his clergy. Being pressed by Fulk, a zealous preacher of the crusades, to abandon his vices, particularly his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which he called the king's three favourite daughters, he returned him the following answer: "Your counsel is just. I give my pride to the Templars, my avarice I bestow upon the monks; and my voluptuousness I resign to my prelates." But, with all his faults, he was beloved by the English, though they severely felt the weight of the taxes necessary to support his military expeditions.

## JOHN, surnamed LACKLAND.

A.D. 1199. **J**OHNS, who obtained the appellation of Lackland because his father left him no inheritance, had made preparations for ascending the throne during the captivity of his brother; though Richard, before his departure for the Holy Land, had appointed Arthur, son to his brother Geoffrey, his successor, and who was confessedly the lawful heir to the crown. Richard, indeed, afterwards changed his mind, and, by his last will, left his sceptre to his brother John. Possibly he imagined, that Arthur, who was only twelve years of age, and wholly a stranger to the English, was incapable of supporting his pretensions against the faction of his brother.

Strengthened by the declaration of Richard, John found no difficulty in prevailing on the English to declare in his favour; but the barons of his transmarine dominions supported the pretensions of Arthur, whom they considered as their lawful sovereign, whose right his predecessor had no power to set aside. Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, declared openly in his favour. But Constantia, the mother of Arthur, fearing the barons would not be able to support the title of her son against the forces of his rival, sent the prince to Paris, and put him under the protection of Philip. Pleased with the opportunity of embarrassing the affairs of the king of England, Philip declared in favour of the young duke of Britany; garrisoned all his towns and castles, and caused him to be educated with his own son. But being involved in a quarrel with the court of Rome, on the subject of his divorce with his queen Infelburga, he found it necessary to agree to an accommodation, and a final period seemed to be put to all disputes.

John was now at liberty to pass over into England; where he met with no opposition; and was crowned at Westminster on the twenty-seventh of May, in presence of a numerous assembly of the principal nobility and clergy.

A.D. 1200. But John's vices were alone sufficient to raise him very powerful enemies. He fell in love with Isabella; daughter and heiress of Aymar, count of Arigoulesme, one of the most celebrated beauties of the age. His queen, the heiress of the Gloucester family, was still alive; and Isabella was betrothed to Hugh, earl of Marche. The nuptials, indeed, on account of her tender age, had never been consummated; but she had, some time since, been delivered into the hands of that nobleman. So many difficulties seemed to form an unsurmountable barrier to John's destructive passion; but he disdained to submit to the laws of his country, though founded on the solid basis of virtue. Under pretence of consanguinity, he procured a divorce from Rome; and persuaded Aymar to carry off his daughter, whom he soon after married. The pope was highly exasperated at these irregular proceedings; but John regarded neither the thunder of the Vatican, nor the resentment of the injured earl.

A.D. 1201. The art of conciliation was not in the catalogue of John's virtues. He took no care to soften the resentment of the earl of Marche; he considered even the most distant advances towards submission as a disgrace to royalty. He pursued the same imprudent conduct in England; by rigorously executing the forest-laws, which were thought to be sufficiently abrogated by the charter of Henry II. The earl of Marche saw the misunderstanding between



John and his English subjects with pleasure; and being joined by his brother the count d'Eu, they excited commotions in Poitou and Normandy. John summoned an assembly of his barons; but they refused to attend him into Normandy, unless he confirmed their privileges. But the association was not yet sufficiently established for them to support their noble resolution. The threatenings and power of royalty engaged the greater part of them to submit, and John passed over into Normandy at the head of an army more than sufficient to reduce the insurgents; but he pursued no prudent methods: he advanced claims that gave universal discontent: he added daily to the public grievances. The barons complained to the king of France, as superior lord; and that prince insisted upon John's doing them justice. He promised to redress all the grievances that were founded on justice; but as the jurisprudence of the times permitted that the causes in the lord's court might be decided by single combat, John carried with him a number of barons whom he retained as champions to fight with his disappointed barons. His vassals, despised, offended, and reduced to despair, once more applied to Philip; he received their appeal, and began to exert his authority, in order to prevent their oppression. John again promised to do them justice, and again broke his engagements. This conduct rendered him at once odious and contemptible. His perfidious and pusillanimous measures lighted up the torch of war and civil discord.

A. D. 1203. Alarmed at the dangerous character of his uncle, young Arthur determined to seek security in an union with Philip and the discontented barons. He joined the French army, which had already begun hostilities. Philip received him with great affection, gave him his daughter in marriage, and promised to support him against the king of England. The progress of the French forces was remarkably rapid, and John was now desirous of putting a period to the military operations. But Philip was thoroughly exasperated, and openly declared that he would not sheathe the sword of war, unless the king of England would submit to resign all his transmarine dominions to his nephew, the lawful and undoubted heir.

But John was not yet reduced to such humiliating conditions; he determined to defend his territories to the last extremity; but still pressed Philip for an accommodation upon more reasonable terms. Young Arthur gave several instances of his courage and intrepidity; but he wanted prudence to conduct military expeditions with success. He knew that queen Eleanor was a sworn enemy to his interest, and was therefore desirous of securing her person. She resided in the castle of Mirabel, the fortifications of which were in a ruinous condition, and the garrison too few to make any long resistance. Arthur determined to embrace the first opportunity of attacking the castle, and being placed by Philip at the head of two hundred knights, he precipitately led his small body of forces against Mirabel. The castle was taken at the first assault, but the queen, with the greater part of the garrison, retired into the tower, and made a gallant defence. The danger of his mother roused John from the couch of indolence; he marched at the head of an army of English and Brelanders, attacked the camp of Arthur, put his army to flight, and took the young prince, together with the earl of Marche, and most of the revolted barons, prisoners. The greater part of the captives were sent over to England, but Arthur was shut up in the castle of Falaise, and afterwards removed to the citadel of Rouen.

John improved not his victory. He retired in triumph into Normandy, and Philip abandoned the siege of Arques on his approach. Success is often the destruction of the timorous and bloody tyrant; it rendered John the execration of mankind. He was a stranger to the gentle feelings of compassion, and possessed not the virtue of magnanimity. He

considered young Arthur as an eternal bar to his ambition; a perpetual evidence of his treasonable usurpation; and imagined that he could never be truly happy till he commenced assassin. Soon after accounts were received that the young prince was no more, and no one doubted but he fell by the treacherous hand of assassination. The crime was certain, but some dubious circumstances attended the execution. D'Argentré, in his *Hist. de Bretagne*, gives the following account of the death of prince Arthur. "John, says that historian, leading his nephew after him like a lamb to the slaughter, brought him from Rouen to Cherbourg, that the infernal deed might be executed with more privacy. There, late in the evening, followed only by a few friends, he mounted his horse, and leaving his attendants, ordered the prince to ride on before him. In this manner they passed along the sea-side, till a place was discovered fit for the bloody purpose: it was a high cliff hanging over the sea. John immediately spurred his horse close to the side of that of Arthur, and laying hold of one of the reins of the bridle, stabbed the young prince several times through the body, while the terrified victim cried in vain for mercy. Having finished the infernal deed, he threw the body over the precipice into the sea." Others say that John assassinated the young prince in the prison at Rouen, and threw his body into the Seine.

But in whatever manner the horrid action was performed, all Europe justly accused John of the murder: and fortunately for the instruction of all kings it may be said, that this first crime was the cause of all his misfortunes. The feudal laws, which in other countries had been productive of so many disorders, were in this instance attended with a signal example of justice. Constantia, mother of young Arthur, presented to the court of peers in France, a petition signed by all the barons in Britany. The king of England was ordered to make his appearance; and the summons was served upon him by the serjeant at arms. This accused prince sent a bishop to demand a safe conduct. "Let him come, said that monarch, he safely may." "But will he, asked the bishop, be safe also in returning?" "Yes, answered Philip, if the judgment of his peers will permit." John refused to obey, and sentence was passed against him. He was declared guilty of felony and parricide; and all his seignories and fiefs in France were declared to be forfeited.

Philip immediately prepared to put the sentence in execution; a more favourable event could not have happened for annexing to the crown of France so many considerable fiefs, which, during several centuries, had been dismembered from it. His vassals were in no condition to oppose his intention: the inhuman action of John silenced all opposition, and carried his victorious arms into Normandy. Nor was the hatred which the inhabitants of that duchy bore to the French of any great consequence: it formed but a feeble obstacle to the rapidity of Philip's conquests. The count of Alençon deserted the king of England, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French monarch, who now separated his army. Exasperated at the desertion of so powerful a vassal, John determined to retake Alençon, and immediately invested the place. Philip saw himself exposed to the disgrace of suffering the capital of his new ally to be wrested from him. Fortunately a tournament was now held at Gatinois, and the fertile genius of Philip furnished him with an expedient for obtaining a powerful assistance. He repaired to the tournament, and pointed out the plains of Alençon, as the proper field for displaying their military talents, and inflicting on a base parricide the punishment due to his crimes. The knights vowed to chastise the assassin, and marched immediately to the relief of the besieged. John fled at their approach; and never more made any attempt to defend his dominions. He even affected to be unconcerned at the success of Philip. "Let him go on," said the



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*The Murder of Prince Arthur by*  
**KING JOHN**





the pusillanimous monarch, "I shall retake in one day what has cost him years to acquire." John inherited the same disposition as all tyrannical and dastardly princes: he suffered himself to be stripped of his dominions, without making any efforts against the enemy.

But though John made no use of the temporal, he was desirous of employing the spiritual sword in his quarrel. Innocent III. whose protection he solicited, was pleased with any opportunity of exerting the authority he had assumed over the princes of Europe. He wrote to Philip, commanding him to put a final period to the war; and conclude a peace with the king of England. But Philip nobly opposed the tyranny of the pontiff, and disclaimed the temporal authority he challenged over kings.

A. D. 1204. Richard de Laci, constable of Chester, and one of the most able generals of the age, was of more service to John than the thunder of the Vatican. He defended Chateau Galliard for a whole year, with the greatest firmness and intrepidity. The fortress was remarkable for its strength, and Philip was obliged to subdue it by famine. The intrepid governor, after having repulsed every attempt, supported, with remarkable patience, all the miseries of famine, was at last subdued by a sudden attack in the night-time, and taken prisoner, with his whole garrison. Philip was charmed with the abilities of Laci, and notwithstanding he had given him so much trouble, treated him with the utmost civility. True magnanimity respects valour even in any enemy.

A. D. 1205. Philip found little opposition in reducing the other towns and fortresses of Normandy. The inhabitants of Rouen, indeed, at first determined to defend the capital; but finding all resistance would be in vain, they agreed to deliver up the place, provided they were not relieved in thirty days. No supply arrived, and the French monarch took possession of the city. The other towns followed the example of the capital; and Philip enjoyed the honour of re-annexing to the crown of France one of the finest provinces of the kingdom, near three centuries after it had been ceded by Charles the Simple to Rollo the Dane.

John returned to England, covered with disgrace. He found at first some relief in the pride of the English, who were provoked at the insolence of the French barons, who had dared to pass sentence upon their king. But his conduct, which was at once tyrannical and pusillanimous, soon convinced them, that the losses he had sustained in France were the natural consequences of his personal cowardice. He was now looked upon with contempt; and his barons began to form conspiracies for reducing within proper limits the exorbitant prerogatives of the crown. Nothing was wanting to complete his misfortunes, but a quarrel with the church, and this he soon effected by his imprudence.

Innocent III. who then filled St. Peter's chair, carried the papal usurpations much higher than any of his predecessors. Not contented with endeavouring to extend the authority of the Roman pontiff over all the potentates of Europe, he was ambitious of reducing the ecclesiastics themselves to the same degree of servitude. He pretended, that the disposal of all benefices justly belonged to the successors of St. Peter; and that they had a right to employ all the revenues of the church whenever the interest of the papal see demanded assistance. The imprudence of the monks of Canterbury soon furnished him with an opportunity of carrying these pretensions into execution.

A. D. 1206. These monks enjoyed the privilege, on the death of a primate, to name a successor; but it was usual, before they filled an office of such importance, to obtain the king's consent; and it was also generally allowed, that the suffragan bishops had voices in the election. There are, however, times, when the most sacred rights are usurped by unthinking men, who, in order to promote their own interest,

make no difficulty of having recourse to the most extraordinary methods. On the death of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, who paid the debt of nature about the close of the preceding year, the junior monks met clandestinely in the night, elected Reginald, their sub-prior, to the vacant dignity; and placed him on the archiepiscopal throne. Knowing that this election was not valid, unless the pope's consent could be obtained, they enjoined him secrecy, and sent him immediately to Rome, to be confirmed by the pontiff. Elated with his elevation, Reginald suffered his vanity to get the better of his prudence; he endeavoured not to conceal the intention of his journey; so that the secret was known in England long before he crossed the Alps. John was highly exasperated; the monks protested against the election; and the suffragan bishops asserted their privilege. The juniors themselves, ashamed of their conduct, and disgusted at the levity of Reginald, were very desirous of annulling the election. The chapter was accordingly assembled, and John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, was chosen primate, without one dissenting voice. Twelve monks were immediately dispatched to Rome, to solicit his confirmation. The opportunity now offered which Innocent had so long desired, and he determined to embrace it: He annulled both elections; and insisted, that the monks sent to his holiness should elect cardinal Langton into the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. The monks represented, that they had no authority from their convent to make such election; and that it would not only be contrary to all the laws of equity; but also to the canons of the church. But Innocent was determined to be obeyed; he listened not to the voice of reason, and the remonstrances of the monks were urged in vain. He even threatened them with the terrors of excommunication; if they refused to obey his orders, and used every menace in his power to terrify them into obedience. One of their number had the courage to persevere in this opposition; the rest were intimidated, and elected cardinal Langton archbishop of Canterbury.

Innocent himself, however bigotted to the power of the Roman see, could not imagine, but this flagrant usurpation must excite the highest resentment in the court of England; and therefore he wrote a very mollifying letter to John; sent him a present of four golden rings, set with precious stones; the value of which he endeavoured to enhance, by explaining the many mysteries they implied. He desired him to observe, with the most serious attention, the form, the matter, and the colour of these rings. "The form," said the pope, "is round, representing eternity, which has neither beginning nor end; and hence you ought to learn your duty of aspiring from earthly to heavenly objects, from things temporal to things eternal. The number Four being a square, denotes steadiness of mind, which neither prosperity nor adversity can subvert; fixed for ever on the solid basis of the four cardinal virtues. The matter, which is gold; the most precious of metals, shadows out wisdom, the most precious of all accomplishments, and justly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all exterior attainments. The blue colour of the emerald represents Faith; the verdure of the sapphire, Hope; the redness of the ruby, Charity; the splendor of the topaz, Good Works."

This explanation, which, in that age, was greatly admired, though it appears extremely ridiculous in our's, produced not the desired effect. John was inflamed with the utmost rage, and threatened the most exemplary vengeance against all that had been concerned in the late collusive election. But when he heard that the monks of Canterbury, dreading the vengeance of the court of Rome, were inclined to support the choice, his passion knew no bounds. He immediately dispatched two resolute knights, whose violent tempers were equal to the ferocity of their manners, to expel the monks from their convent.



vent. They performed their orders with the greatest punctuality; the fathers were obliged to seek their safety in a precipitate flight. They left the knights in full possession of their estates, their houses and effects.

Innocent saw this violence with a secret satisfaction; he was persuaded that by pursuing such violent measures, John would ultimately sink in the contest. He followed not his example; he had recourse to the softer arts of persuasion, till he found the thunder of the vatican produce the desired effect. He wrote a very conciliating letter to John, beseeching him not to oppose the determination of his spiritual father, who was continually labouring for his eternal happiness. He desired him to reflect on the consequences that attended a similar opposition in his father Henry; and begged him not to resist the church of God, nor persecute any longer, that cause for which the holy martyr St. Thomas sacrificed his life, and who was now so justly venerated by the people. But John was firm to his purpose; and had his principles of resistance been founded on the solid basis of virtue, his behaviour would have merited the highest applause. But the vices of John had rendered him contemptible; he could not hope to be supported by his subjects. The pope knew this, and determined to persevere. He commanded the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to expostulate with him, and if he persevered in his disobedience, to threaten the kingdom with an interdict. John was exasperated almost to madness at the insolent behaviour of the pontiff. He swore that if the pope presumed to pronounce the sentence, he would put out the eyes, and cut off the noses of all the Roman clergy he could find in his dominions. In vain were all the persuasions of the bishops to mitigate his fury, he wrote a letter to the pope, telling his holiness, that he looked upon his proceedings as an insult upon royalty; that his own kingdom furnished a sufficient number of clergymen, eminent at once for their learning and piety, without suffering those of a foreign seminary to be intruded upon him; that he was determined to maintain the election of the bishop of Norwich to the utmost extremity; and concluded with telling the pontiff, that if he refused to do him justice in this particular, he would prohibit all commerce between his subjects and the Roman see; nor suffer any appeals to be made to a foreign tribunal.

Innocent, who knew the animosity which already subsisted between John and his people, was not to be diverted from his purpose. He thundered out the dreadful sentence of interdiction against the kingdom. This censure had all the requisites for exciting a popular commotion. The ruin of his people was involved in the punishment of the king. The exterior parts of religion ceased immediately. The altars were stripped of their ornaments; the images, the crosses, the statues of saints, and all the holy relics were laid upon the ground. The churches were shut against the laity; and divine service was suppressed. Even the sacraments were no longer administered but to dying persons; nor the dead suffered to be buried in consecrated ground. The severest penances were commanded, and every pleasure, every entertainment, strictly forbidden.

In an age of superstitious bigotry, when the people were thoroughly persuaded that the pontiff was the true vicegerent of heaven, and that the divine vengeance and indignation were the inevitable consequences of his sentence, it is no wonder that the whole nation should be alarmed; and that every person in the kingdom should exert all his power to avert such dreadful calamities from the kingdom. But John was not to be moved with tears and supplications. He opposed with the most obstinate inflexibility, every attempt to remove the scourge, and restore tranquillity to his dominions. He punished with the utmost rigour, all who submitted to the orders of the pope, whether bishops, monks or secular clergy. Some of the ecclesiastics, indeed, disre-

garded the censure of the Roman pontiff. The Cistercian order continued to perform divine service publicly; the bishops of Winchester and Norwich followed their examples, and several of the most eminent divines openly preached against these proceedings, which they called unjust and unwarrantable. An exertion of prudent vigour therefore might have dissipated the tempest: but John listened not to the voice of reason; he followed the dictates of his headstrong passions, which led him to the brink of a precipice that threatened his destruction.

The kingdom laboured several years under this censure: but John was so far from being reclaimed, that he became more tyrannical than ever: his cruelties increased in the same proportion with the danger of his government. The clergy were the particular objects of his fury. He seized upon their temporalities; he drove them from their monasteries, and inflicted on them every kind of indignity: he endeavoured to retaliate on them the sufferings of himself and his people. But his despotism was not confined to the clergy, the laity also felt the weight of his oppression. He not only enforced the forest laws, which had always excited troubles and distress, he likewise ordered all the mounds of his forests to be levelled, that his deer might range at large, to the inexpressible distress of the husbandmen. But so inconsistent were the measures of this infatuated prince, that even while he had recourse to these violent oppressions, he felt the crown totter on his head, and had recourse to the most extraordinary stretch of power to enforce the obedience of his barons. He compelled them to give him hostages for their good behaviour and fidelity. The greater number complied with this demand; but when the king's messengers came to the castle of William de Barouse, a nobleman of great power in the Marches of Wales, his lady replied, "That she would never trust her son to the care of a prince, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own nephew." Barouse, who knew the cruel temper of John, and that the sarcasm of his wife would never be pardoned, fled, with his family, into Ireland. But the place of their retreat was soon known, and John gave a loose to his cruelty. The lady and her son were shut up in prison, and starved to death. The nobleman himself escaped to the continent.

A. D. 1211. John had long feared the sentence of excommunication; and was very desirous of averting the dreadful shaft. He dispatched the abbot of Beaulieu on an embassy to Rome, to effect, if possible, a reconciliation with the pontiff. Cardinal Langton was immediately ordered to repair to England; but the proposals not being equal to what the pope demanded, he broke off the conference abruptly and returned to the continent. Innocent now prepared to launch the dreadful bolt of excommunication against John, and to absolve his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. But notwithstanding the power of Rome, and the cruelties which John had exercised on his subjects, a few only of the English bishops could be prevailed upon to publish the sentence, which, however, produced the desired effect. The prelate, who dreaded the power and cruelty of the king, stole out of the kingdom, and the barons entered into cabals against him. This ecclesiastical thunderbolt was really terrible, because the pope gave the kingdom of England to Philip of France, a prince who wanted neither power nor inclination to assert his claim. The pontiff did more, he promised him the remission of all his sins, if he succeeded in the reduction of England. He even granted the same indulgences on account of this expedition, as had been given to those who went into Asia to recover the Holy Land from the infidels. The fascinating lustre of the English diadem, wholly changed the opinion of Philip. He did not now tell his holiness, that the pope had no right to give away crowns. His own kingdom had been interdicted some years before, and he himself excommunicated by this very pope, for attempting



attempting to marry another wife. He then asserted the independence of his own crown, and declared these papal censures insolent and abusive. He seized the temporalities of every ecclesiastic in France who had proved himself so bad a subject as to obey the pope: but he thought quite differently, when he saw himself commissioned with the execution of a bull, which was to put England into his possession. He took again to his bed that very prince, whose divorce had been the cause of so many excommunications, and devoted himself intirely to execute the sentence of the see of Rome. He employed a whole year in building one hundred and seventy ships, and in raising and disciplining the finest army ever seen in France. The aversion which the English bore to John might, in regard to Philip, be considered as equivalent to another army. But by the perpetual emulation between the English and French, by the horror the people had conceived against the pope's arbitrary proceedings, and by the assistance of the extensive prerogatives of the crown, John was enabled to raise and keep together, during several weeks, an army of sixty thousand men, at the head of which he advanced towards Dover, to meet the prince who had tried and condemned him in France, and was now coming to dethrone him in England.

A. D. 1213. While all Europe was in the utmost expectation of a battle that was to decide the fate of the English diadem, the pope was forming schemes for turning the whole to his own advantage. Pandolf, the pope's legate, who headed the opposition against John, procured an interview with him at Dover, under pretence of treating with the barons in favour of Philip. He represented to the English monarch all the dangers of his situation. "The French fleet," said the artful Italian, "is ready to sail: your troops will certainly desert you in the day of battle; they will never fight against the arm of Omnipotence. One resource only is left, which is that of submitting yourself absolutely to the protection of the Holy See." John was now completely humbled; he feared the power of Philip, and dreaded the desertion of his barons. The advice of Pandolf only promised him sufficient assistance, and he determined to embrace it. Accordingly he repaired to the prelate, and, in the presence of four of his principal barons, he promised, that he would receive cardinal Langton as primate, that he would make reparation to the clergy, and that he would instantly consign a considerable sum for that purpose.

But this was not sufficient to free John from his present embarrassed situation. Philip only waited the legate's return, to embark his forces, and wrest the sceptre from his hand: he, therefore, thought it necessary to put himself and his kingdom under the protection of the pope. Accordingly he repaired to the house of the Knights Templars at Dover, where he resigned the two kingdoms of England and Ireland to the holy see, acknowledged himself the vassal of the pope, and promised to pay him an annual tribute of a thousand marks. It was also stipulated, that if either he, or any of his successors, should ever infringe upon those engagements, he, or they, should forfeit all right to the two crowns. This disgraceful treaty was followed by the truly humiliating ceremony of homage. The king, unarmed, and on his knees, appeared before Pandolf, seated on a throne. In that degrading posture he swore fealty to the pope.

A sum of money was then put into the legate's hands, as the first payment of this tribute; and John himself presented him with the crown and sceptre. The imperious priest, to shew his triumph over the fallen monarch, had the insolence to trample the money under foot. He, indeed, returned the regalia to the king, but not without declaring, in an audible voice, that he must consider it as a particular favour of the Roman see. Nor would Pandolf take off the interdict and excommunication, till the exiled clergy had received full satisfaction for their losses.

Pandolf having executed his secret commission in England, passed over to the continent; where Philip was waiting for him, every thing being ready for the armament to put to sea. The legate immediately repaired to the prince's court, and informed him, that he was no longer permitted to make a descent upon England, now become a fief of the Roman church; and that John was under the protection of the holy see. Philip, at once surprised and incensed at this declaration, treated the legate as an impostor. He told him, that he had made these preparations at an immense expence, at the pressing instances of the pope; and therefore, that no contrary orders, nor even all the threats of the Vatican, should now deter him from prosecuting his design. He immediately summoned a general council, wherein he painted the pope's insidious proceedings in the most glaring colours, and desired their advice with regard to prosecuting the design against England. They all expressed their abhorrence of the pope's duplicity, and the greater part declared for making the intended descent. The earl of Flanders not only dissented from the general opinion, but declared strongly against it. He boldly told Philip, that his expedition against England was inconsistent with justice, and the laws of nations, as none of his ancestors ever pretended any claim to that kingdom. Exasperated at this remonstrance, Philip ordered the earl to quit his dominions, and immediately turned the armament he had raised for an expedition into England, against Flanders. But William earl of Salisbury, at the head of an English fleet fitted out to guard the channel, fell with such fury on the French transports, that one hundred of them were sunk, and three hundred taken. Philip perceiving that the total destruction of his ships was inevitable, set fire to the rest, as the only method to prevent their falling into the hands of the English.

John was desirous of pursuing this advantage over Philip, but his barons refused to join the standard of an excommunicated prince. He therefore wrote a very pressing letter to Langton, beseeching him to come with all expedition, and give him absolution; assuring him, that he would, to the utmost of his power, love, defend, and maintain the church and clergy against all their adversaries; that he would re-establish the wholesome laws of his predecessors, particularly those of king Edward; and that he would annul all oppressive edicts, and judge every man according to justice and equity. The prelate obeyed; and, on the above conditions, gave him absolution in the cathedral church of Winchester, before the principal nobility and clergy of the kingdom.

A. D. 1214. John being now delivered from this vexatious affair, attempted to carry the war into the dominions of Philip; but he wanted both courage and prudence to lead an army against an enemy. He besieged a castle near Angiers; but the approach of an army, under the command of prince Lewis, excited all his natural timidity. He raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him all his tents, machines, and baggage. A few days after, advice arrived, that Philip had defeated, at Bovines, the emperor Otho, who had entered France at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand Germans. This victory established for ever the reputation of Philip, and put a final period to all John's hopes of conquest. He returned to England, covered with disgrace.

Nor was peace yet established in England. Though the feudal government, since the Norman conquest, had set bounds to the sovereign authority, the prerogatives of the crown had been very greatly extended. The English nobility were now determined to assume the same privileges which those of similar rank enjoyed in the other kingdoms of Europe. The charter passed by Henry I. renewed by Stephen, and confirmed by Henry II. had flattered the people with liberty, without communicating to them any



real advantages: the form appeared lovely; but it was destitute of substance. The articles had never been executed on the part of the crown, and the whole was now nearly forgotten. The barons were roused from the couch of indolence by the debauchery, the meanness, the violence, and the tyranny of John. Both clergy and laity joined in opposing the tyrant of their country. Archbishop Langton became the head of a faction. The promise the king had made at the time he received absolution, furnished the primate with pretences for a revolt. He assembled the barons; he produced a charter of Henry I. which he had fortunately found in the library of a monastery, and exhorted them to join firmly in insisting on a renewal and solemn confirmation of that contract of privileges. Pleased with the opportunity of setting bounds to the royal authority, and of procuring a positive declaration of the rights of Englishmen, the barons took an oath to adhere firmly to each other; planned measures for forcing the king to grant their request, should he be disposed to refuse it; and agreed to meet at London soon after Christmas, to present in a body their common petition.

A. D. 1215. They accordingly assembled at the capital on the day appointed, and demanded of the king a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confessor. The king, alarmed at their number, zeal, and unanimity, promised to give them a positive answer at Easter. In the mean time he laboured, with the utmost assiduity, to gain the clergy over to his interest, by making them the most lavish concessions. He granted them a charter, by which he granted to them the election to all vacant benefices; reserving only the right of a *congé d'élire*, and to subjoin a confirmation of the election; but declaring, that if either of these were delayed, the choice should nevertheless be deemed valid. At the same time, he implored the assistance of the pope, and vowed to lead an army into Palestine, not doubting but he should receive from the church that protection which she had granted to every prince engaged in those pious expeditions. It was the interest of Innocent to protect his vassal, in order to secure his submission. But the English clergy, weary with the despotism of the Roman court, and who regretted the loss of those privileges which the pontiff treated with contempt, openly professed their zeal for the liberty of the people. This encouraged the barons to proceed with alacrity; and though they expected to have the pope, as well as the king, to contend with, they did not despair of success; they determined to procure a charter of liberties, or perish in the glorious attempt.

When the feast of Easter approached, the king desired to have a schedule of the different articles of their pretensions. The barons immediately prepared the writing requested; and advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the court then resided, and sent the schedule by the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke. The king read the demands of the barons, and burst into the most furious passion, asking, "Why they did not also demand his crown?" Swearing, that he would never grant them liberties which must reduce the king to the station of a slave.

The primate immediately communicated this answer to the discontented barons, who immediately elected Robert Fitz-Walter their general, under the title of "The Marshal of the army of God, and of the Holy Church." They staid not for any farther answer from John, but immediately began hostilities. They published a proclamation, inviting the rest of the nobility to join them in this national cause. They advanced towards London, and entered the capital without opposition. Almost all the nobility now joined the standard of the barons; and John was left at Odiham, in Surry, with the poor retinue of only seven knights. He made several

attempts to elude the blow. He offered to refer the whole dispute to the pope, and sign any charter that his holiness should approve. This was refused. He then proposed to empower eight barons to settle the contest, four of them to be chosen by himself, and four by the insurgents. But this offer was also rejected. John now perceived that all opposition would be in vain: he saw himself abandoned by his subjects, and was obliged to consent to the demands of the barons.

Runimede, a place between Windsor and Staines, was appointed for holding a conference between the king and the confederates; where, after a debate of a few days, the king signed, on the nineteenth of June, the celebrated charter of English liberties. This famous deed, which is still considered as the foundation of British freedom, either granted or secured very important privileges; and therefore it was thought necessary to give a faithful translation of it here, where, it is presumed, every Englishman will expect to find it.

#### MAGNA CHARTA; or, The Charter of Liberties, granted by King John to his Subjects, in the Year 1215.

"JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou; to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciaries of the forests, sheriffs, governors, officers, and to all bailiffs, and other his faithful subjects, greeting. Know ye, that we, in the presence of God, and for the health of our soul, and the souls of all our ancestors and heirs, and to the honour of God, and the exaltation of the Holy Church, and amendment of our kingdom, by advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church; Henry, archbishop of Dublin; William, bishop of London; Peter of Winchester; Joceline of Bath and Glastonbury; Hugh of Lincoln; Walter of Worcester; William of Coventry; Benedict of Rochester, bishops; and master Pandolf, the pope's sub-deacon and ancient servant; brother Aymeric, master of the temple in England; and the noble persons William Marshal, earl of Pembroke; William earl of Salisbury; William earl of Warren; William earl of Arundel; Alan de Galloway, constable of Scotland; Warin Fitz-gerald; Peter Fitz-herbert; and Hubert de Burgh, seneschal of Poitou; Hugo de Neville; Mathew Fitz-herbert; Thomas Basset; Alan Basset; Philip de Albiney; Robert de Ropely; John Marshal; John Fitz-Hugh; and others our liege-men, have, in the first place, granted to God, and by this our present charter, confirmed for us and our heirs for ever.

I. "That the church of England shall be free, and enjoy her rights intire, and her liberties inviolable. And we will have them so to be observed, that it may appear from hence, that the freedom of elections, which was reckoned chief and indispensable to the English church, and which we granted and confirmed by our charter, and obtained the confirmation of from pope Innocent III. before the discord between us and our barons, was granted of mere free will; which charter we shall observe, and do will it to be faithfully observed by our heirs for ever.

II. "We have also granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the under written liberties, to have and to hold them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.

III. "If any of our earls, or barons, or others, who hold of us in chief by military service, shall die, and at the time of his death, his heir shall be of full age, and owe a relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief; that is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, by an hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by an hundred shillings at most; and



and whoever oweth less, shall give less, according to the ancient custom of fees."

IV. "But if the heir of any such shall be under age, and shall be in ward," (his lord shall not have the wardship of him, nor his lands before he hath received his homage; and after such heir shall be in ward, and attain to the age of one and twenty years) "when he comes of age, he shall have his inheritance without relief, or without fine." (Yet so that if he be made a knight while he is under age, nevertheless the lands shall remain in custody of the lord, until the aforesaid time.)

V. "The warden of the land of such heir, who shall be under age, shall not take of the land of such heir, other than reasonable issues, reasonable customs, and reasonable services; and that without destruction and waste of the tenants or effects" (upon the estate.) "And if we shall commit the guardianship of those lands to the sheriff, or any other who is answerable to us for the issues of the land; and if he shall make destruction and waste upon the wood-lands, we will compel him to give satisfaction, and the land shall be committed to lawful and discreet tenants of that fee, who shall be answerable for the issues to us, or to him to whom we shall assign them. And if we shall give or sell to any one the wardship of any such lands, and if he makes destruction or waste upon them, he shall lose the wardship itself, which shall be committed to two lawful and discreet tenants of that fee, who shall in like manner, be answerable to us as aforesaid."

VI. "But the warden, so long as he shall have the wardship of the land, shall keep up the houses, parks, warrens, ponds, mills and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land; and shall restore to the heir, when he becomes of age, his whole land, stocked with ploughs and carriages, according as the time of wainage shall require, and the issues of the land can reasonably bear." (And all these things shall be observed in the custodies of vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbies, priories, churches, and dignities which appertain to us, except that these wardships are not to be sold.)

VII. "Heirs shall be married without disparagement, so as that before matrimony shall be contracted, those who are nearest in blood to the heir shall be acquainted with it."

VIII. "A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith, and without difficulty have her marriage and inheritance; nor shall she give any thing for her dower, or her marriage, or her inheritance, which her husband and she held at the time of his death: and she may remain in the mansion-house of her husband forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned." (If it was not assigned before, or unless the house shall be a castle, and if she departs from the castle, there shall forthwith be provided for her a complete house, in which she may decently dwell, till her dower be to her assigned, as hath been said; and she shall, in the mean time, have her reasonable estover, that is, competent maintenance, out of the common revenue. And there shall be assigned to her for her dower, the third part of all her husband's lands which were in his lifetime, except she were endowed with less at the church door.)

IX. "No widow shall be distrained to marry herself, so long as she has a mind to live without a husband. But yet she shall give security that she will not marry without our assent, if she holds of us; or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another."

X. "Neither we, nor our bailiffs, shall seize any land or rent for any debt, so long as there shall be chattels of the debtor's upon the premises, sufficient to pay the debt," (and the debtor be ready to satisfy it.) "Nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained, so long as the principal debtor is sufficient for the payment of the debt."

XI. "And if the principal debtor shall fail in the payment of the debt, not having wherewithal to pay it," (or will not discharge when he is able,) "then the sureties shall answer the debt; and, if they will, they shall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until they shall be satisfied for the debt which they paid for him; unless the principal debtor can shew himself acquitted thereof, against the said sureties."

XII. "If any one have borrowed any thing of the Jews, more or less, and dies before the debt be satisfied, there shall be no interest paid for that debt, so long as the heir is under age, of whomsoever he may hold; and if the debt falls into our hands, we will take only the chattels mentioned in the charter or instrument."

XIII. "And if any one shall die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower, and pay nothing of that debt; and if the deceased left children under age, they shall have necessaries provided for them, according to the tenement, or real estate, of the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid; saving, however, the service of the lords. In like manner let it be with the debts due to other persons than Jews."

XIV. "No scutage, or aid, shall be imposed in our kingdom, unless by the common council of our kingdom, except for ransoming our person, and making our eldest son a knight, and once for marrying our eldest daughter; and for these there shall be paid only a reasonable aid."

XV. "In like manner it shall be concerning the aids of the city of London; and the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties, and free customs, as well by land as by water."

XVI. "Furthermore, we will and grant, that all other cities, and boroughs, and towns," (and barons of cinque ports) "and ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs; and for holding the common council of the kingdom concerning the assessments of their aids, except in the three cases aforesaid."

XVII. "And for the assessing of scutages, we shall cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and great barons of the realm, singly by our letters."

XVIII. "And furthermore, we shall cause to be summoned in general, by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all others who hold of us in chief, at a certain day, that is to say, forty days before their meeting at least, and to a certain place; and in all letters of such summonings, we will declare the cause of the summonings."

XIX. "And summons being thus made, the business shall proceed on the day appointed, according to the advice of such as shall be present; although all that were summoned come not."

XX. "We will not, for the future, grant to any one that he may take aid of his own free tenants, unless to ransom his body, and to make his eldest son a knight, and once to marry his eldest daughter; and for these there shall only be paid a reasonable aid."

XXI. "No man shall be distrained to perform more service for a knight's fee, or other free tenement, than is due from thence."

XXII. "Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be holden in some certain place; trials upon the writs of novel disseisin, and of mort d'ancestor, and of darreine presentment, shall not be taken but in their proper counties, and after this manner. We, or, if we shall be out of the realm, our chief justiciary, shall send two justiciaries through every county four times a year, who, with four knights, chosen out of every shire by the people, shall hold the said assizes in the county, on the day, and at the place appointed."

XXIII. "And if any matters cannot be determined on the day appointed for holding the assizes in each county, so many of the knights and freeholders as have been at the assizes aforesaid, shall be appointed to decide them, as is necessary, according as their is more



more or less business. (Affizes of darreine presentment to churches shall be always taken before the justiciaries of the bench.)

XXIV. "A freeman shall not be amerced for a small fault, but according to the degree of the fault; and for a great crime, in proportion to the heinousness of it, saving to him his contentment; and after the same manner a merchant, saving to him his merchandise.

XXV. "And a villain (of any other than our own) shall be amerced after the same manner, saving to him his wainage, if he falls under our amercement; and none of the aforesaid amercements shall be assayed but by the oath of honest men of the neighbourhood. (Of the county.)

XXVI. "Earls and barons shall not be amerced but by their peers, and according to the degree of the offence.

XXVII. "No ecclesiastical person shall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the proportion of the others aforesaid, and not according to the value of his ecclesiastical benefice.

XXVIII. "Neither a town, nor any tenement, shall be distrained to make bridges over rivers, unless that anciently and of right they are bound to do it. (No river, for the future, shall be embanked, but what was embanked in the time of king Henry, our grandfather.)

XXIX. "No sheriff, castellan, coroner, or other our bailiffs, shall hold pleas of the crown.

XXX. "All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and trethings, shall stand at the old ferm, without any increase, except in our demesne manors.

XXXI. "If any one holding of us a lay-fee, dies, and the sheriff, or our bailiff, shew our letters-patent of summons concerning the debt due to us from the deceased, it shall be lawful for the sheriff, or our bailiff, to attach and register the chattels of the deceased found upon his lay-fee, to the value of the debt, by the view of lawful men, so as nothing be removed until our whole debt be paid; and the rest shall be left to the executors, who are to fulfil the will of the deceased. And if there be nothing due from him to us, all the chattels shall remain to the deceased, saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.

XXXII. "If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest relations and friends, by view of the church, saving to every one his debts, which the deceased owed to him.

XXXIII. "No constable or bailiff of our's shall take corn, or other chattels, of any man, (who is not of the town where the castle is) unless he presently gives him money for it, or hath respite of payment by the good-will of the seller. (But if he be of the same town, he shall pay him within forty days.)

XXXIV. "No constable shall distrain any knight to give money for castle-guard, if he himself will do it in his own person, or by another able man, in case he cannot do it through any reasonable cause.

XXXV. "And if we lead him, or send him into the army, he shall be free from such guard, for the time he shall be in the army, by our command. (For the fee for which he did service in the army.)

XXXVI. "No sheriff or bailiff of our's, or any other, shall take horses or carts of any for carriage, but by the good-will of the said freeman. (Without paying according to the rate anciently appointed; that is to say, for a cart and two horses, ten-pence a day; and for a cart with three horses, fourteen-pence a day.)

XXXVII. "Neither shall we, or our bailiffs, take any man's timber for our castles, or other uses, unless by the consent of the owner of the timber. (No demesne cart of any ecclesiastical person, or knight, or any lady, shall be taken by our officers.)

XXXVIII. "We will retain the lands of those

that are convicted of felony only one year and a day; and then they shall be delivered to the lord of the fee.

XXXIX. "All wares, for the time to come, shall be put down in the rivers of Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the sea-coast.

XL. "The writ, which is called *Præcipe*, for the future, shall not be made out to any one of any tenement, whereby a freeman may lose his court.

XLI. "There shall be one measure of wine, and one of ale, throughout our whole realm, and one measure of corn; that is to say, the London quarter; and one breadth of dyed cloth, and ruffs, and habergeants; that is to say, two ells within the list. As to weights, they shall be as the measures.

XLII. "From henceforward, nothing shall be given or taken for a writ of inquisition of life or limbs; but it shall be granted gratis, and not denied.

XLIII. "If any one holds of us by fee-farm, or socage, or burgage, and holds lands of another by military service, we will not have the wardship of the heir, or land, which is of another man's fee, by reason of what he holds of us by fee-farm, socage, or burgage: nor will we have the wardship of the fee-farm, socage, or burgage, unless the fee-farm is bound to perform military service.

XLIV. "We will not have the wardship of an heir, nor of any land which he holds of another by military service, by reason of any *petit-serjeanty* he holds of us, as by the service of giving us knives, arrows, or the like.

XLV. "No bailiff, for the future, shall put any man to his law, (nor to an oath) upon his single word, without credible witnesses produced to prove it.

XLVI. "No freemen shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseised, (of his freehold, or liberties, or free-customs) or outlawed, or banished, or any ways destroyed; nor will we pass sentence upon him, or commit him to prison, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

XLVII. "We will sell to no man, we will deny no man, nor delay right nor justice.

XLVIII. "All merchants (unless they be publicly prohibited) shall have safe and secure conduct to go out of, and to come into England, and to stay there, and to pass as well by land as by water; for buying and selling by the ancient and allowed customs, without any evil tolls, except in time of war, or when they are of any nation at war with us.

XLIX. "And if there be found any such in our land in the beginning of the war, they shall be attached, without damage to their bodies or goods, until it may be known unto us, or our chief justiciary, how our merchants are treated in the nation at war with us; and, if our's be safe there, the others shall be safe in our dominions.

L. "It shall be lawful, for the time to come, for any one to go out of our kingdom, and return safely and securely by land or by water, saving his allegiance to us, unless in time of war, by some short space for the benefit of the realm, except prisoners and outlaws, according to the law of the land, and people in war with us, and merchants who shall be in such condition as is above mentioned.

LI. "If any man holds of any *escheat*, or of the honour of Wallingford, Nottingham, Bulloign, Lancaster, or of other *escheats* which are in our hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heir shall give no other relief, and perform no other service, to us, than he would to the baron, if the barony were in possession of the baron: we will hold it after the same manner the baron held it. (Nor will we, by reason of such barony or *escheat*, have any *escheat* or wardship of any of our men, unless he that held the barony or *escheat* held of us in chief elsewhere.)

LII. "Those men who dwell without the forest, from henceforth shall not come before our justiciaries of the forest upon common summons, but such as are impleaded, or are pledges for any that were attached for something concerning the forest. (No country-





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*The Armour of the Bishop of Beauvais presented  
to the POPE by order of RICHARD I.*



country-court, for the future, shall be holden but from month to month; and where there used to be a greater interval, let it be so continued. Neither any sheriff, nor his bailiff, shall keep his turn in the hundred oftner than twice in a year, and only in the accustomed place, that is once after Easter, and once after Michaelmas; and the view of frank-pledge shall be held after Michaelmas, without occasion, and so that every one shall have his liberties, which he had, and was wont to have, in the time of king Henry, our grandfather, or such as he obtained afterwards. But the view of frank-pledge shall be so made, that our peace may be kept; and that the thything be full as it was wont to be. And the sheriffs shall not seek occasions, but shall be content with what the sheriff was wont to have for making his view in the time of king Henry our grandfather. For the time to come it shall not be lawful for any man to give his land to a religious house, so as to take it again, and hold it of that house. Nor shall it be lawful for any religious house to receive land, so as to grant it to him again of whom they received it, to hold of him. If any man for the future, shall so give his land to a religious house, and be convicted thereof, his gift shall be void, and the land shall be forfeited to the lord of the fee. Scutage, for the future, shall not be taken as it was used to be taken in the time of king Henry our grandfather; and that the sheriff shall oppress no man, but be content with what he was wont to have. Saving to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, templars, hospitalers, earls, barons, knights, and all others, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, the liberties and free-customs which they had before: these being witnesses, &c.)

LIII. We will not make any justiciaries, constables, sheriffs or bailiffs, but such as are knowing in the law of the realm, and are disposed duly to observe it."

LIV. "All barons, who are founders of abbies, and have charters of the kings of England for the advowson, or are entitled to it by ancient tenure, may have the custody of them, when vacant, as they ought to have."

LV. "All woods that have been taken into the forests" (by king Richard our brother) "in our time shall forthwith be laid out again," (unless they were our demesne woods,) "and the same shall be done with the rivers that have been taken or fenced in by us, during our reign."

LVI. "All evil customs concerning forests, warrens, and foresters, warreners, sheriffs and their officers, rivers and their keepers, shall forthwith be enquired into in each county, by twelve knights sworn of the same shire, chosen by creditable persons in the same county, and upon oath; and within forty days after the said inquest, be utterly abolished, so as never to be restored." (No freeman, for the future, shall give or sell any more of his land, but so that, out of the residue, the service due to the lord of the fee may be sufficiently performed.)

LVII. "We will immediately give up all hostages and writings delivered unto us by our English subjects, as securities for their keeping the peace, and yielding us faithful service."

LVIII. "We will entirely remove from our bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Athyes, so as that, for the future, they shall have no bailwic in England. We will also remove Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyon, from the chancery; Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martin, and his two brothers, Philip Mark and his two brothers, and his nephew Geoffrey, and their whole following."

LIX. "And as soon as peace is restored, we will send out of the kingdom all foreign soldiers, cross-bow men, and stipendiaries, who are come with horses and arms, to the prejudice of our people."

LX. "If any one has been dispossessed, or deprived by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, of his lands, castles, liberties, or rights, we will forthwith restore them to him, and if any dispute

arises upon this head, let the matter be done away by the five and twenty barons, hereafter spoken of, for the preservation of the peace.

LXI. "As for all those things, of which any person has, without the legal judgment of his peers, been dispossessed or deprived, either by king Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we have in our hands; or are possessed by others, and we are bound to warrant and make good, we shall have a respite, till the term usually allowed the croises; excepting those things about which there is a plea depending, or whereof an inquest hath been made by our order, before we undertook the crusade. But when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we do not perform it, we will immediately cause full justice to be administered therein."

LXII. "The same respite we shall have for disafforesting the forests, which Henry our father, or our brother Richard hath afforested; and for the wardship of the lands which are in another's fee, in the same manner as we have hitherto enjoyed those wardships, by reason of a fee held of us by knight's service; and for the abbies founded in any other fee than our own, in which the lord of the fee says he has a right; and when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we should not perform it, we will immediately do full justice to all the complainants in this behalf."

LXIII. "No man shall be taken, or imprisoned, upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other person than her husband."

LXIV. "All unjust and illegal fines made with us, and all amerciaments imposed unjustly, and contrary to the law of the land, shall be entirely forgiven, or else left to the decision of the five and twenty barons hereafter mentioned, for the preservation of the peace, or of the major part of them, together with the foresaid Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, if he can be present, and others whom he shall think fit to take along with him: and, if he cannot be present, the business, notwithstanding, shall go on without him. But so that, if one or more of the foresaid five and twenty barons be plaintiffs in the same cause, they shall be set aside, as to what concerns this particular affair; and others be chosen in their room, out of the said five and twenty, and sworn by the rest to decide that matter."

LXV. "If we have disseised or dispossessed the Welsh of any lands, liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers, they shall immediately be restored to them. And if any dispute arises upon this head, the matter shall be determined in the Marche, by the judgment of their peers; for tenements in England, according to the law of England; for tenements in Wales, according to the law of Wales; for the tenements of the Marche, according to the law of the Marche: the same shall the Welsh do to us and our subjects."

LXVI. "As for all those things, of which any Welshman hath, without the legal judgment of his peers, been disseised or deprived, by king Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we either have in our hands, or others are possessed of, and we are obliged to warrant it, we shall have respite till the time generally allowed the croises; excepting things about which a suit is depending, or whereof an inquest has been made by our order, before we undertook the crusade. But when we return, or if we stay at home without performing our pilgrimage, we will immediately do them full justice, according to the laws of the Welsh, and of the parts before-mentioned."

LXVII. "We will, without delay, dismiss the son of Llewellyn, and all the Welsh hostages, and release them from the engagements they have entered into with us for the preservation of the peace."

LXVIII. "We shall treat with Alexander, king of Scots, concerning the restoring his sister and hostages, and his right and liberties, in the same form and manner as we shall do to the rest of our barons of England; unless by the charters which we have from his



father, William, late king of Scots, it ought to be otherwise; and this shall be left to the determination his peers in our court."

LXIX. "All the aforefaid customs and liberties which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as it belongs to us towards our people of our kingdom, as well clergy as laity, we shall observe, as far as they are concerned, towards their dependents."

LXX. "And whereas, for the honour of God, and the amendment of our kingdom, and for quieting the discord that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all the things aforefaid; willing to render them firm and lasting, we do give and grant our subjects the under-written security; namely, that the barons may chuse five and twenty barons of the kingdom, whom they think convenient, who shall take care, with all their might, to hold and observe; and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties we have granted them, and, by this our present charter, confirmed. So as that, if we, our justiciary, our bailiffs, or any of our officers, shall in any circumstance fail in the performance of them towards any person, or shall break through any of these articles of peace and security, and the offence is notified to four barons, chosen out of the five and twenty fore-mentioned, the said barons shall repair to us, or our justiciary, if we are out of the realm, and laying open the grievance, shall petition to have it redressed without delay; and, if it is not redressed by us, or, if we should chance to be out of the realm, if it is not redressed by our justiciary, within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been notified to us, or to our justiciary, if we should be out of the realm, the four barons aforefaid shall lay the cause before the rest of the five and twenty barons; and the said five and twenty barons, together with the community of the whole kingdom, shall distrain and distress us all the ways possible; namely, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance is redressed according to their pleasure, saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our queen and children; and when it is redressed, they shall obey us as before."

LXXI. "And any person whomsoever in the kingdom, may swear that he will obey the orders of the five and twenty barons aforefaid, in the execution of the premises, and that he will distress us jointly with them, to the utmost of his power; and we give public and free liberty to any one that shall please to swear to them, and never shall hinder any person from taking the same oath."

LXXII. "As for all those of our subjects, who will not, of their own accord, swear to join the five and twenty barons, in distraining and distressing us, we will issue our order to make them take the same oath, as is aforefaid."

LXXIII. "And if any one of the five and twenty barons dies, or goes out of the kingdom, or is hindered any other way, from carrying the things aforefaid into execution, the rest of the said five and twenty barons may chuse another in his room, at their own discretion, who shall be sworn in, in like manner as the rest."

LXIV. "In all things that are committed to the execution of these five and twenty barons, if, when they are all assembled together, they should happen to disagree about any matter, or some of them, when summoned, will not, or cannot come, whatever is agreed upon, or enjoined, by the major part of those who are present, shall be reputed as firm and valid, as if all the five and twenty had given their consent; and the forefaid five and twenty shall swear, that all the premises they shall faithfully observe, and cause with all their power to be observed."

LXXV. "And we will not, by ourselves, or by any other, procure any thing, whereby any of these concessions and liberties be revoked and lessened; and if any such thing be obtained, let it be null and

void; neither shall we ever make use of it, either by ourselves, or any other."

LXXVI. "And all the ill-will, anger, and malice, that hath arisen between us and our subjects, of the clergy and laity, from the first breaking out of the diffension between us, we do fully remit, and forgive. Moreover, all trespasses occasioned by the said diffension, from Easter, in the sixteenth year of our reign, till the restoration of peace and tranquillity, we hereby entirely remit to all, both clergy and laity, and, as far as in us lies, do fully forgive."

LXXVII. "We have moreover granted them our letters patent testimonial of Stephen, lord archbishop of Canterbury, Henry, lord archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops aforefaid, as also of master Pandolf, for the security and concessions aforefaid."

LXXVIII. "Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin, that the church of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom, have and hold all the forefaid liberties, rights and concessions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to themselves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places for ever, as is aforefaid."

LXXIX. "It is also sworn as well on our part, as on the part of the barons, that all the things aforefaid shall faithfully and sincerely be observed."

"Given under our hand, in the presence of the witnesses above-named, and many others, in the meadow called Runnemede, between Windelesore and Staines, the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign."

The above translation is made from an original manuscript now in the British Museum: But the passages comprehended between parenthesis, are taken from the copy given by Matthew Paris. This charter is more noble, more express, and more extensive, than any other instrument of its kind in the world. It decides all disputes, removes all doubts, with regard to the compact between the king and his people: for here that contract is not understood only, but expressed; not loosely implied, but positively stipulated: it was obtained not by representation, but by the collected body of the English nation; and is perhaps the only instance on record, when a king talked and treated thus publickly with his free subjects.

The forest laws had long afforded just source for complaint; and the English barons were determined not to omit so favourable an opportunity of removing, for the future, the causes which gave rise to an infinite number of vexatious suits. Accordingly they insisted upon the king's signing a charter, by which the rights of the people would be ascertained. The following translation of this charter is made from an original manuscript in the British Museum.

The CHARTER of FORESTS, granted by king John to his subjects in the year 1215.

"JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. Know ye that, for the honour of God, and the health of our soul and the souls of all our ancestors and successors, and for the exaltation of holy church, and for the amendment of our kingdom, we have of our free and good will, given and granted, for us and our heirs, these liberties hereafter specified, to be had and observed in our kingdom of England for ever."

I. "Imprimis, All the forests made by our grandfather, king Henry, shall be viewed by honest and lawful men; and if he turned any other woods into forests, to the damage of him whose wood it was, it shall forthwith be laid out again and disforested. And if he turned his own proper wood into forest, they shall remain so, saving the common of pasture and other things in the said forest, to such as were formerly wont to have it.



II. "Is the LII. and LV. of the Great Charter put into one chapter:

III. "The archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants who have woods in forests, shall have their woods as they had them at the time of the first coronation of our grandfather king Henry, so as they shall be discharged for ever of all purprestures, wastes, and assarts made in those woods, after that time to the beginning of the second year of our coronation; and those who, for the time to come, shall make waste, purpresture, or assarts in those woods, without our licence, shall answer for them.

IV. "Our inspectors, or viewers, shall go through the forest, to make inspection, as it was wont to be at the time of the first coronation of our said grandfather, king Henry, and not otherwise.

V. "The inquisition or view for lawing of dogs which are kept within the forest, for the future, shall be when the view is made; that is, every three years, and then shall be done by the view and testimony of lawful men, and not otherwise. And he whose dog at such time shall be found unlawed, shall be fined three shillings, and for the future no bail shall be taken for lawing. But such lawing shall be according to the common assize, namely, the three claws of the dog's fore foot shall be cut off, or the ball of the foot taken out. And from henceforward dogs shall not be lawed, unless in such places where they were wont to be lawed in the time of king Henry, our grandfather.

VI. "No forester, or bedal, for the future, shall make any ale-shots, or collect any sheaves of corn, or hay, or any kind of grain, or lambs, or pigs, nor shall make any gathering whatsoever, but by the view and oath of twelve inspectors; and when they make their view, so many foresters shall be appointed to keep the forests as they shall reasonably think sufficient.

VII. "No swainmote, for the time to come, shall be holden in our kingdom oftener than thrice a year; that is to say, in the beginning of the fifteen days before Michaelmas, when the agisters come to agist the demesne woods; and about the feast of St. Martin, when our agisters are to receive their pannage; and in these two swainmotes the foresters, verdurers, and agisters, shall meet, and no other by compulsion or distress; and the third swainmote shall be holden in the beginning of the fifteen days before the feast of St. John Baptist, concerning the fawning of our dogs, and at this swainmote shall meet the foresters and verdurers, and no other by compulsion.

VIII. "And furthermore, every forty days throughout the year, the verdurers and foresters shall meet to view the attachments of the forests, as well of vert as of venison, by presentment of the foresters themselves; and they who committed the offences shall be forced to appear before them: but the aforesaid swainmotes shall be holden but in such counties as they are wont to be holden.

IX. "Every freeman shall agist his wood in the forest at his pleasure, and shall receive his pannage.

X. "We grant also, that every freeman may drive his hogs through our demesne woods, freely and without impediment, and may agist them in his own woods, or elsewhere, as he will: and if the hogs of any freeman shall remain one night in our forests, he shall not be troubled so as to lose any thing for it.

XI. "No man, for the time to come, shall lose life or limb for taking our venison; but if any one be seized and convicted of taking venison, he shall be grievously fined, if he hath wherewithal to pay; and if he hath not, he shall lie in our prison a year and a day; and if, after that time, he can find sureties, he shall be released; if not, he shall abjure our realm of England.

XII. "It shall be lawful for every archbishop, bishop, earl, or baron, coming to us by our command, and passing through our forest, to take one or

two deer, by view of the forester, if present; if not, he shall cause a horn to be sounded, lest he should seem to do this privately: also, in their return, it shall be lawful for them to do the same thing.

XIII. "Every freeman, for the future, may erect a mill in his own wood, or upon his own land which he hath in the forest; or make a warren, or pond, a marle-pit or ditch, or turn it into arable, without the covert in the arable land, so as it be not to the detriment of any neighbour.

XIV. "Every freeman may have in his woods ayries of hawks, sparrowhawks, falcons, eagles, and herons; and they shall have likewise the honey which shall be found in their woods.

XV. "No forester, for the future, who is not a forester in fee, paying rent for his office, shall take cheminage; that is to say, for a cart two-pence during half a year, and for the other half year two-pence; and for a horse that carries burdens, for half a year a halfpenny, and for the other half year a halfpenny; and then only of those who come as buyers, out of their bailiwick, to buy underwood, timber, bark, or charcoal, to carry it to sell in other places where they will; and for the time to come, there shall be no cheminage taken for any other cart or carriage-horse, unless in those places where anciently it was wont and ought to be taken: but they who carry wood, bark, or coal, upon their backs to sell, though they get their livelihood by it, shall for the future pay no cheminage for passage through the woods of other men: no cheminage shall be given to our foresters, but only in our own woods.

XVI. "All persons outlawed for offences committed in our forests, from the time of king Henry, our grandfather, until our first coronation, may reverse their outlawries without impediment; but shall find pledges, that, for the future, they will not forfeit to us in our forest.

XVII. "No castellan or other person shall hold pleas of the forest, whether concerning vert or venison; but every forester in fee shall attach pleas of the forest, as well concerning vert as venison, and shall present the pleas, or offences, to the verdurers of the several counties; and when they shall be enrolled and sealed under the seals of the verdurers, they shall be presented to the chief forester, when he shall come into those parts to hold pleas of the forest, and shall be determined before him.

XVIII. "And all the customs and liberties aforesaid, which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as belongs to us towards all our vassals of our kingdom, as well laics as clerks, shall observe as much as belongs to them towards their vassals."

But the barons well knew that it was not enough to procure these charters: they were too well acquainted with the sanguinary character of John, not to know that every precaution in their power would be necessary for their support against his anger, and to oblige him to observe the articles of these two instruments of liberty. Twenty-five of their own number were therefore elected, under the title of Conservators of the liberties of the kingdom; and invested with a power almost absolute: Every man in the nation was obliged, under a very severe penalty, to take the oath of obedience to them. Even a power of admonishing the king, with regard to any violation that might be made in the great charter, was delegated to them; and in case he refused to redress the grievance, they were empowered to take up arms against him, in concert with the prelates and nobility, who formed the national council.

John made no objection to this ignominious submission. He submitted, with great tranquillity, to the most humiliating indignities. He even sent writs to his sheriffs, ordering them to oblige every person to swear obedience to the conservators. But notwithstanding all this seeming desire of acting in conformity



formity to the articles of the great charter, John never intended to observe that treaty any longer than the necessity of the times obliged him. He only bowed beneath the storm that roared around him; and as soon as the threatening blast was over, determined to resume the power he had lost. He was principally encouraged in this design by the foreign mercenaries he kept about his person. They insinuated, that it was shameful for a king to make any concessions to his subjects; and that no compact, extorted by the force of rebellion, could be binding. These insinuations coincided exactly with the king's opinion, and determined him to make one attempt to shake off the yoke of compulsion, so galling to his mind. He became sullen and melancholy, separated himself from the company of his courtiers, and at last retired privately by night, attended only by seven of his friends, into the Isle of Wight, where he meditated the most fatal vengeance against his enemies. He solicited the pope to absolve him from all the engagements he had entered into with his barons; and sent several emissaries into France, Germany, and Flanders, to engage a number of Brabanders in his service.

The pope exerted all his power in favour of his vassal. He issued a bull, by which the great charter was condemned and annulled, as derogatory to the holy see. Both the king and the barons were prohibited from paying any regard to its articles: the oaths which had been administered were annulled, and the sentence of excommunication denounced against every one that persevered in maintaining the authority of the charter of liberties. But the thunder of the Vatican, in temporal affairs, had now lost great part of its force; and Innocent III. had the mortification to see even Langton, whom he himself had placed on the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury, refuse to promulgate his censures. Exasperated to the highest degree at this opposition in a prelate he expected would have exerted his utmost power to promote the interest of the holy see, the pope suspended Langton from the exercise of his functions. But this act of papal vengeance did not produce the desired effect; the clergy, with the primate at their head, as well as the nobility and people, discovered a noble ardour for their liberty and independence.

John's emissaries had been very successful on the continent; and engaged a powerful army, wholly composed of soldiers of fortune, in the service of their master. They were all veteran troops, and ready to venture their lives in any cause to gain an independent fortune; and John had promised them the estates of his turbulent barons. As soon as advice arrived of the embarkation of these forces, John ventured to take off the mask; he recalled all the liberties he had granted to his subjects; declared the great charter null and void, and the barons, who had extorted that instrument from him, rebels and traitors. His foreign forces landed at Dover; and John, putting himself at their head, seemed determined to satiate his cruelty. He marched to Northampton, reducing the whole country through which he passed to a smoking desert. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses, and parks of the barons. Every thing was levelled in the dust; and cruelties, such as would shock even savages themselves, were practised on the innocent inhabitants.

A.D. 1216. Many of the northern barons, unable to meet the foreign mercenaries in the open field, fled for protection to Alexander, king of Scotland. John followed them into that kingdom, burnt Haddington, Dunbar, and several other towns; but receiving advice that Alexander had raised a numerous army, and was advancing to give him battle, the pusillanimous monarch thought proper to retreat, well knowing that a defeat must be fatal. He had made himself master of most of the castles in Eng-

land, and now determined to besiege London, the only place of consequence that held out in support of independence.

The barons, now driven to despair, had recourse to a desperate method for relief. They applied to the French for assistance. Saher, earl of Winchester, and Robert Fitz-Walter, were sent to the court of Philip; and offered the sceptre of England to his son Lewis, if he would assist them with a body of forces against their enraged monarch. They asserted, and, indeed, with reason, that John had deposed himself, by submitting an independent crown to the pope.

The ambitious soul of Philip could not resist so noble an offer, but he determined to act with caution. The pope's legate exerted all his influence to render the negotiation abortive. He threatened Philip with the thunder of the Vatican, if he attacked the patrimony of St. Peter. But the dread of the papal censures was not sufficient to deter the French monarch from procuring that crown for his son, which he himself had some time since accepted from the hands of the pontiff. He, however, exacted twenty-five hostages from the barons, as a security for their fidelity; and, on their being delivered, he sent over his son at the head of a formidable army.

The arrival of Lewis put a final period to John's success. The greater part of his foreign troops, who were chiefly natives of France, now deserted him, declaring that they could not fight against the heir of their lawful sovereign. John was encamped near Dover when Lewis landed in the isle of Thanet; but instead of endeavouring to attack the enemy, before the French forces could be joined by the barons, he retreated to Winchester. Conscious guilt and jealous distrust benumbed all the faculties of his soul, and disarmed him at the very instant he stood in need of more than common resolution.

The unmanly fears of John acted more powerfully in favour of Lewis than a numerous army; so that he marched to the capital without meeting with any opposition. He entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people; and the barons and citizens immediately swore fealty to him; while the prince, in return, solemnly promised to restore all their estates, and confirm the ancient privileges of the kingdom.

Though Lewis was master of the capital, and at the head of a numerous army, innumerable difficulties still remained to be surmounted, before he could make himself master of England. Most of the maritime places were in the interest of John, who had favoured the sea-ports with many valuable privileges, and made many excellent regulations with regard to the marine. This was an alarming circumstance to Lewis, who considered his being master of some convenient harbour as a matter of the last importance. Destitute of that advantage, his receiving reinforcements from the continent would be rendered very precarious; nor would even his own retreat, in case of a reverse of fortune, be secure. He therefore attempted to make himself master of Dover; but his enterprize was rendered abortive; the castle defied his power. He therefore carried his arms into the inland parts of Kent and Sussex, which he reduced with great facility. But William de Coldingham, at the head of a thousand archers, retiring into the wilds and fastnesses of that country, supported himself against all the power of the French army.

John was not idle. He fortified and furnished with provisions several sea-ports; flattering himself that the bolt of papal thunder, which was now ready to be launched against Philip and his son, would defeat all their schemes, and restore him to the quiet possession of the English crown. He was mistaken. Innocent, indeed, fulminated the sentence of excommunication against both, but the effect fell far short of John's sanguinary expectations. The French bishops declared the excommunication of Philip void,



void, and Lewis paid little regard to the papal censure.

He was more desirous of procuring a proper support than of guarding against the effects of Innocent's sentence. He therefore once more led his army to Dover, and invested that important fortress. But Lewis found the attempt more difficult than he imagined. Hubert de Burgh, the governor, was a brave and vigilant officer, and being at the head of a resolute garrison, made such furious sallies upon the French army, that Lewis was obliged to remove his camp to a considerable distance, and turn the siege into a blockade.

This miscarriage alarmed Lewis, especially as the barons appeared less active in his service: but he was too haughty to conciliate their esteem by caresses, and wanted prudence to foresee the consequences of his neglect. He did not even endeavour to conceal his disgust; he excluded them from his councils and confidence; and instead of restoring the nobility to their honours and estates, he bestowed all his favours upon his own countrymen. The barons now saw their error, in calling in a foreign force to their assistance; the people complained of the oppressions exercised by their new masters; and every thing wore the appearance of fresh disturbances. About the same time it was rumoured, that the viscount of Melun, one of Lewis's courtiers, fell dangerously ill, and perceiving himself tottering on the brink of eternity, he sent for some of his friends among the English barons, to warn them of their danger. He told them that Lewis had formed the detestable design of exterminating them with all their families, and bestowing their estates and titles on his foreign favourites. This report, whether true or false, acted powerfully on the English barons, and was of infinite prejudice to Lewis. The earl of Salisbury, and several others of the principal nobility determined, if possible, to elude the force of the storm which threatened their destruction. They sent private information to John of their intention of joining his army, and obtained a promise of a free pardon.

Animated with the hopes of being joined by his nobility, John exerted himself in collecting an army, and determined to bring on a decisive battle with the invader of his country. But in marching over the washes from Lynn into Lincolnshire, at an improper time of tide, the sea rushed in upon him with such violence and rapidity, that he lost the greater part of his forces, together with all his treasure, baggage and regalia, he himself escaping with difficulty. He reached Swinehead-abbey, but the great fatigues he had undergone, and the constant hurry and perturbation of his spirits, added to the affliction he felt at his late irreparable misfortune, threw him into a violent fever. He was carried in a litter to Newark castle, where he paid the debt of nature on the eighteenth of October, in the fifty-first year of his age and the eighteenth of his reign.

The character of this prince, when painted by the pencil of truth, will perhaps appear more odious, than when drawn even by the pen of envy. He was deeply practised in almost every vice, and a stranger to almost every virtue. The murder of his nephew, the infringement of public property, and the violation of private honour and domestic peace, have consigned his memory to eternal ignominy. Insolent in prosperity, and rash in adversity, pusillanimous in war, and tyrannical in peace, this prince was never beloved by his people; he could hardly boast of having made a friend. But his reign, however wicked, gave occasion to those excellent charters which form the basis of the English constitution. His tyranny first prompted the barons to assert, and his sloth and indolence enabled them to obtain those inestimable rights and privileges which are at once the glory and security of Englishmen.

Literature made very little progress during this period. No discoveries were made in the sciences; the arts had no patrons among the great. The little

learning that subsisted was confined to the cloister, which was at once the habitation of the studious, and the repository of their writings. Nor were even the monks remarkable for their learning. A few of them indeed wrote with some degree of eloquence, but none equalled William of Malmesbury, who has been already mentioned in a former period. The following are the most eminent for their writings, and perhaps the only persons of learning whose names deserve to be handed down to posterity.

Earlred, Æthelred, or Aldred, surnamed Rievallensis, was abbot of Rievaulx, or Rievelsbury, in Lincolnshire; and greatly esteemed by the most respectable persons of his time. He wrote the life of Edward the Confessor, the history of the battle of the standard, and the genealogy of the kings of England. He died in 1166.

William, a monk of Newburgh, generally called Gulielmus Neubrigenfis, was no elegant writer, if the times in which he lived be considered. In his history, which ends with the year 1197, he fully proved that Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, which had till then been looked upon with a kind of barbarous reverence, is no better than an idle romance. The time of his death is uncertain.

John, prior of Hexham, wrote a continuation of the history of Simeon of Durham, and brought it down to the year 1154. He appears to have been a much better historian than Simeon himself, and to have wrote from a clearer evidence. He flourished in the reign of Richard I. but the time of his death is not known.

Roger Hoveden, was chaplain to Henry II. He wrote a book of Annals which commenced in 732, and was carried down as low as the reign of king John. These annals are written in a very pleasing style, and abound with valuable materials for the civil as well as the ecclesiastical history of those times. We have no account of the time of his death; but it is believed to have happened soon after the conclusion of his annals.

Ralph de Diceto, dean of St. Pauls, flourished in the reign of king John. He wrote a chronicle of the British kings from Bute to Cadwallader, and from Hengist to Harold. He was also the author of the Chronological Abbreviations. They relate chiefly to ecclesiastical affairs, and end at the conquest. Besides these he wrote a book entitled *Imagines Historiarum*, or *Images of History*. This work consists chiefly of short historical anecdotes, with a wild uninteresting digression upon the wars that happened between parents and children in all ages, occasioned by the difference between Henry II. and his sons. He died about the year 1205.

John Brompton, abbot of Sorewall, in Yorkshire, wrote a chronicle of the English transactions from the year 588 to 1198. This work is valuable only for containing a large collection of Anglo-Saxon history, faithfully extracted, and agreeing perfectly with our most authentic records. There is, indeed, a mixture of romance and improbability in many of the facts he relates; but this should be attributed rather to the false taste of the age than of the writer. He died in the year 1210.

John Wallingford, supposed to have been abbot of St. Albans, wrote a short chronicle of the progress of the Saxons and Danes in England. This work is still preserved in the British Museum, but wretchedly mutilated and defaced.

Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, flourished in the reign of king John, and is said to have been a very learned antiquarian. He wrote a large history of the Britons, Saxons, and Normans, from their origin to the reign of king John; together with an account of the divisions of Old Britain, its monasteries and episcopal seats. The greater part of this work is lost; but the parts that still remain, which include the reigns of Stephen, Henry II. and Richard I. sufficiently prove the whole to have been a very valuable performance.



These are the principal writers that flourished in the reigns of Henry II. Stephen, Richard I. and John; a period very remarkable, and great part of it devoted to war and tumult. The torch of discord was lighted up at the death of Henry II. and continued to disseminate its baleful influence till the death of king John. It is no wonder, therefore, that the sciences were little cultivated during that period. When the peace of a kingdom is destroyed, it is in vain to expect the produce of tranquil retirement.

The commerce of England was also at a low ebb during this period. It is well known, that the Flemings and Italians were in possession of the two most important branches. Flanders was the grand market of Europe for all woollen manufactures, and Italy for silk; and it is highly probable, that with the habits, manners, customs, and language of the Normans, we likewise imported their manufactures; for the English were too much engaged in civil wars, and so often called off from attending to the arts of peace, by their lords, to whom they owed military service, that nothing but wars and tumults, civil discord, and unnatural rebellions, engaged their attention. Coaches were, however, first introduced during the reign of Henry II. but not the art of constructing them; and the Jews first practised that grand article of commerce, so well known by the appellation of bills of exchange. Necessity seems

to have been the mother of that noble invention. The Jews being, at this period, driven from one state to another, as avarice or enthusiasm directed, found out this method of secreting their riches, and of transporting them with ease from one country to another, as soon as they found the impositions of any prince, under whom they lived, too heavy for them to support; and it was the vice of the times to oppress these miserable wanderers, and to seize at once their persons and effects on the most frivolous pretences.

The Normans, flushed with victory, fought only how to pass away their time in mirth and rustic festivity; and employed almost all their intervals of leisure in hunting, feasting, and women. Nor is their excessive licentiousness in this respect at all surprising, for the very laws tended to promote incontinence. Every violation of chastity had its fixed price, which was not beyond the reach of a substantial yeoman. The lewd lives of the clergy, who cohabited publicly with concubines, tended still farther to debase the age. Sometimes the archbishops, at other times the sovereigns, endeavoured to reform the clergy, but without effect. It was impossible to correct the enormities of ecclesiastics, while superstition blinded the eyes of the people, and induced them to believe, that what constituted a crime in a layman, was a virtue in a priest.

## B O O K VII.

From the accession of Henry III. to the death of Edward II.

### HENRY III. furnamed of WINDSOR.

A.D. 1216. **O**N the death of king John, the crown fell, by lineal succession, to his eldest son Henry, then only nine years of age; and, consequently, unable to hold the reins of government at a time when the utmost steadiness, intrepidity, and precaution, were absolutely necessary. Lewis, from this circumstance, prognosticated the success of his enterprize. But he was mistaken: what he considered as a misfortune to the royal party, proved the most favourable accident that could possibly have happened. The fidelity, prudence, and courage of Pembroke, earl-marshal of England, nobly stemmed the current of misfortune, and delivered the kingdom from becoming a province to France. He was invested with the military command in consequence of his post, and seemed born to support the languishing constitution of his country. He seized the helm of government, and held it with such virtues and abilities, that he weathered the tempest, and at last restored tranquillity to the state. He well knew that no success could be expected till a mutual confidence between the king and his barons was restored: this was, therefore, his first care; and this was greatly facilitated by the tyrannical behaviour of Lewis, who had sufficiently exasperated the barons, and they now wanted only a pretence to desert his service.

This was too favourable an opportunity to be lost, and Pembroke accordingly summoned a council of the barons at Gloucester. The meeting was very numerous; and the marshal, as soon as the members were seated, entered the assembly, leading young

Henry by the hand. The barons were pleased at the sight of the prince: Pembroke perceived it, and cried out, "Behold your king!" A pause succeeded; and the earl thus addressed the assembly:

"My dear friends and countrymen, though we justly opposed the father of this young prince, on account of his wicked and mistaken conduct; yet this child is guiltless of his father's errors; and as the punishment of offences ought only to be inflicted on their authors, it would be unjust for us to make the son bear the iniquity of his father. It is our duty and interest to forget our animosities, and in compassion to his tender years, unite to support him on the throne of his ancestors. Let us exert our utmost efforts to drive Lewis and all his followers out of this oppressed country. By this noble, this generous action, we shall save our kingdom from becoming the reproach of its neighbours, and break the yoke of a debasing and foreign slavery."

This address carried conviction to the hearts of the barons. They had for some time bewailed the miseries of their country, and readily joined in support of their liberty and independence. An universal acclamation of joy broke out in the assembly; the members cried out with one voice, "Let Henry be made king!"

The ceremony of the coronation was accordingly performed, in presence of the pope's legate, and Henry swore fealty to the pontiff, and renewed that homage, to which his father had already subjected the kingdom. The barons were persuaded that this precaution was then necessary; the assistance of the pope



(Engraved for) Sydney's History of England.



tion by which John had restrained himself from buying aids and scutages, without the consent of the great council of the nation, was also omitted in this instrument. The barons perceived that no aids, unless they were evidently reasonable, could be levied upon men who had arms in their hands, and who were able to repel any acts of violence. Nor did he content himself with granting anew the privileges that had been enjoyed in the preceding reign; he caused writs, in the king's name, to be issued to the sheriffs of the different counties, commanding them to lay open all forests, agreeable to the intension of the charter granted for that purpose by king John; and some time after, he sent the chief justiciary of the forests on a circuit through the kingdom, to see that the orders were fully executed, and the bounds of the forests distinctly marked. At the same time, orders were given to demolish all the new castles that had been erected since the beginning of the disputes between the late king and his barons.

A.D. 1219. But while the Protector was thus exerting all his abilities to render the nation happy, death put a final period to his labours and his life. The nation suffered an irreparable loss in the death of this great man, whose valour, integrity, and prudence, had broke the yoke of foreign slavery, and restored the liberties of Englishmen. He was succeeded by William de Roches, bishop of Winchester; and Hubert de Burgh, the gallant defender of Dover castle, was created chief justiciary of the kingdom. The counsels of the latter were conformable to his character, that of a great, a prudent, and a virtuous man. They were for some time followed; and had he possessed the authority of Pembroke, the nation would not have so greatly regretted the loss of that eminent patriot. But his power was not sufficient to repress the licentiousness of the barons, who were too strong to be restrained by laws under a minority; and whose rapacity induced them to usurp the demerits of the crown, as well as the possessions of their weaker neighbours. Hence revolts were multiplied; and the government was perpetually employed in reducing insurrections, or executing criminals.

A.D. 1222. A wrestling match between the citizens of London and Westminster occasioned a violent riot. It seems that the Londoners came off victorious; which so exasperated the steward of Westminster, that he determined to revenge the affront; but in order to conceal his intention, proposed a second trial. The Londoners accepted the offer, and came to the field to decide the contest; but instead of a fair trial, they were attacked by the steward and his followers, armed with clubs and other offensive weapons, and obliged to retreat into the city. Exasperated at this treatment, the Londoners, headed by one Constantine Fitz Arnulph, a bold, factious citizen, repaired to Westminster, where they committed many dreadful outrages, and demolished several houses belonging to the abbot and steward. Hubert, in order to put a stop to such riotous proceedings, ventured to punish the leaders, without bringing them to a trial. This step, which was a direct infringement of the great charter, excited the clamours of the populace, who, with justice, conceived themselves injured, and they demanded a new confirmation of the great charter. A general council was called, and this demand of the people taken into consideration. During the debates, one of the council of the regency asserted, that no regard ought to be paid to the great charter, because it was extorted by violence. But Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, severely reprimanded the speaker for his indiscretion, as his assertion had a direct tendency to raise a rebellion in the nation; affirming, at the same time, that the demand of the people was founded on justice; and that the government could not, without the most palpable injustice, dispense with any article in the charter. His opinion was adopted; and the parliament having granted a subsidy, the king issued orders for a new charter of confirmation. At length the

bishops, by the terror of ecclesiastical censures, obliged the barons to deliver up the fortresses belonging to the crown, of which they had forcibly taken possession.

A.D. 1226. The domestic peace of the kingdom was hardly settled, before the ministry thought it expedient to summon a parliament, in order to deliberate on an extraordinary demand made by the court of Rome. The pope had sent over a legate, under pretence of removing a reproach that had long been thrown upon the court of the Vatican. The pontiff observed, that the holy see having long been accused of selling her favours for money, it was the duty of all good Christians to assist in removing the cause of such a scandalous imputation, which flowed intirely from the extreme indigence of the Roman church. He therefore demanded, that two prebends in every cathedral, and two cells in every convent in England, should be granted to the church of Rome, by an authentic deed, confirmed by an act of the great council of the nation. Such assistance, it was added, would enable the popes to dispense indulgences with generosity and moderation.

This demand was treated with contempt by the English parliament; no answer was returned to Rome. But the archbishop of Canterbury, who was more immediately interested, wrote to the pope, informing him, "That when the Roman see had procured the same assistance from other nations, England would follow their example; but would never establish the precedent."

The character of Henry now began to unfold itself, and shewed too many symptoms of an administration feeble and tempestuous. He was naturally of a mild and timid disposition, and possessed neither vigour of mind nor political discernment. His resentments were violent and transitory; his attachments sudden and desultory: the one excited no apprehensions; the other was not consolidated into friendship. At the same time, his irresolution was blended with the principles of avarice, tyranny, and oppression. Little expectations of happiness could therefore be formed from his government. The dreadful sword of civil discord seemed ready to be drawn, and spread desolation over this devoted country.

A.D. 1227. The administration of Henry was, therefore, never popular; and his actions soon deprived him of the affections of his subjects. On his obtaining the age of majority, he summoned a parliament at Oxford, and declared his intention of taking into his own hands the reins of government; adding, that as the great charter, and that of the forests, had been obtained by an act of rebellion, and confirmed in his minority, he could not consider himself as legally bound by any acts or promises during his infancy. The members were astonished at this declaration; and the assembly broke up in a manner that sufficiently indicated, that the storm of resentment would soon exert its baleful power.

Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, returning from France, where he had for some time headed an army in Guienne, found one of his manors possessed by a German officer, who claimed it as a gift from king John. Richard insisted, that his pretended right should be determined by his peers, and immediately dispossessed the German. But instead of having recourse to the laws of England, he posted to court, and complained to the king of the injustice done him by the earl of Cornwall. Henry, without giving himself any trouble to examine into the truth of his allegations, ordered him a writ under the royal sign manual, commanding a restitution of the estate. Exasperated at such treatment, the earl refused obedience, and repaired to court to defend his property. The king, highly offended at Richard's obstinacy, told him, that he should either restore the manor in question within a limited time, or depart the kingdom. So palpable an exertion of arbitrary power in his brother roused



the passions of Richard, who boldly replied, that he would appeal to the laws of his country, repeating, that the judgment of his peers only should oblige him either to part with his property, or to quit the kingdom.

Henry, whose anger as well as friendship was momentary, soon forgot the offence, and fearing the power of Richard, who was greatly beloved by the barons, he submitted to petition a reconciliation, and offered to settle upon him the dower of the late queen, and augment his appenage with the lands of Boulogne. The terms were accepted, and both the cause and the offence buried in oblivion.

A. D. 1232. The pusillanimous and tyrannical conduct of Henry had so highly exasperated the barons, that they refused to grant him the subsidies required. The court of Rome had taken advantage of the king's weakness, and pursued the most unjust and unpopular measures. Many of the principal benefices in England were possessed by Italian priests, and one of the king's chaplains is said to have held seven-hundred livings. The prelates and lay patrons were inhibited from presenting natives, till all the foreign clergy were sufficiently provided for. It is no wonder, that so shameful a practice raised a general clamour in the kingdom. It was considered as a national insult, and several associations were formed for delivering the realm from such shameful oppressions. The principal leader of these confederates was Robert de Twenge, a knight in the north of England. He had long beheld the tyrannical proceedings of the pope with detestation, but on being deprived by his holiness of the patronage of a church, he determined to take ample revenge on the foreign priests. He assumed the name of William Witham, and encouraged his followers to strip the houses of the Italian clergy, and dispose of their effects. They continued this practice for some time without opposition, and the foreign ecclesiastics, not daring to appear, took refuge in the convents. Informed of these violent proceedings, the pope wrote in a very lofty stile to Henry, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to chastise the insolence of his subjects, and restore the Italian clergy to their benefices. The pusillanimous soul of Henry was alarmed at these menaces of the holy father; he dreaded the effects of a papal censure. He ordered a strict inquisition to be made in the several parts of the kingdom, where those riots had prevailed; and had the mortification to find, that they had been supported and encouraged by men of all ranks; Hubert de Burgh, the chief justiciary, did not escape suspicion. At last Robert de Twenge, who scorned to disown an action, which he thought justifiable, or to let any innocent person suffer on his account, appeared in the royal presence, attended by five knights, and boldly declared himself the leader of the confederates, who had stripped the houses of the foreign priests; alledging, that the injuries he had received were the sole motives for his proceedings. Pleased with the ingenuous confession, and intrepid behaviour of this resolute knight, who disdained to suffer tamely an injury, though inflicted by the holy father himself, the king gave him a free pardon, and procured a restitution of his right to the patronage in question.

But though Hubert was cleared from all suspicion by the voluntary confession of Twenge, yet the inconstancy of Henry furnished his enemies with an opportunity of procuring his ruin. Excited by the remonstrances of the bishop of Winchester, who hated Hubert, because he had been active in opposing his destructive councils, this weak prince, insensible to all his services, persecuted him with so much fury, that he was obliged to take sanctuary in a church; whence he afterwards escaped out of the kingdom. He was accused, among other crimes, of having had recourse to magic in order to gain an ascendancy over Henry, and of having stolen from the royal treasury an enchanted ring, which had the virtue of rendering the wearer invulnerable. These ac-

cusations, however ridiculous and absurd they may appear at present, were entirely conformable to the strange prejudices which then prevailed in every part of Europe.

A. D. 1233. The disgrace of Hubert, put Peter de Roches, bishop of Winchester, a Poitevin by birth, in possession of the supreme authority, which he employed to the worst of purposes. His temper was proud and tyrannical, and the prepossession he entertained in favour of his own countrymen alarmed the English. The court was filled with these strangers, and he conferred on them every office and every command in the disposal of the crown. These proceedings soon produced a general spirit of discontent, which Henry considered only as a confirmation of that rebellious spirit which Winchester had represented to be the characteristic of the English nobility. They were denied all access to the king; and treated by the minister with contempt. But these preposterous methods served only to increase the flame: all the arts of the court were insufficient to erase from the minds of the English, the remembrance of the great charter of liberties.

Their patience was at last exhausted, by the insults and injuries they received from these insolent strangers. They formed themselves into a body, and deputed the earl marshal to lay their grievances before Henry. He accordingly demanded an audience, and, with the noble spirit of an Englishman, laid the complaints of the nation before the king: he besought him not to continue lavishing his favours upon foreigners, to the utter neglect of his natural subjects. Adding, that if he continued to treat their remonstrance with neglect, both himself and the other nobility, would think it their duty to withdraw themselves from his councils, where they had no power to support the welfare of their country.

The bishop of Winchester, who was present at this audience, without giving the king time to reply, answered the earl with unparalleled effrontery; "That it was the highest degree of insolence in the earl, or any other subject, to pretend to dictate to his majesty, on whom he ought to confer his favours: that both the king and his father had been so ill treated by the English, that the only expedient of procuring his own safety was that of trusting to foreigners; and that if their number in the kingdom was not already sufficient to reduce his rebellious subjects to their duty, large reinforcements should be procured."

The earl was astonished; he retired without returning an answer, and joined in the confederacy for checking the despotic power, which the king, by the violent counsels of his worthless minister, seemed desirous to assume. Henry was alarmed, and the bishop, to gain time, advised him to call a parliament at London. The barons refused to attend, and even threatened to deprive Henry of his crown, if the Poitevins were not banished the kingdom. Another parliament was called, and the barons presented themselves dressed in armour, and attended by their followers. Henry now saw his danger, and was desirous of a reconciliation; but the artful prelate found means to remove his fears by sowing dissensions among them, and gaining the earls of Cornwall and Chester over to the royal party. The estates of several of the confederates were confiscated, without any trial by their peers; and, by a very impolitic liberality, bestowed upon the Poitevins, before so odious to the English. But the time was approaching, when these wicked ministers, who had insulted the nation, and threatened the people with the most dreadful slavery, should feel the weight of English resentment; and be stripped of the authority they had so basely applied.

A. D. 1234. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, followed by his suffragans, repaired to the palace and demanded an audience, which could not be refused. At this interview the prelate described, in the most pathetic manner, the dreadful effects of those ruinous measures, which he had pursued by the



instigation of his ministers. He formally accused Peter, bishop of Winchester, as the author of these pernicious counsels, which had diffused a spirit of discontent through the whole nation; and after making a long detail of the grievances of the people, insisted that the king should remove from his councils, a minister so odious to all his subjects; adding, that if so reasonable a request was refused, he would excommunicate both him, and all who opposed so necessary a reformation.

This spirited remonstrance, and the threatening at the close of it, produced the desired effect. Henry perceived his error. The bishop of Winchester was stripped of all his employments, and the insolent Poitevins banished the kingdom. The religion of those times, notwithstanding the superstition with which it was debased, was sometimes of the utmost service of the state; it affected offending ministers, basking in the sun-shine of royalty, beyond the reach of temporal remonstrances, and made them feel the weight of national resentment.

A. D. 1236. Happy had it been for the king and happy for his people, had Henry learned wisdom from former miscarriages; but there are men, whom vice or indolence has rendered incorrigible. Henry seems to have been of this number. The remonstrance of the archbishop had, in all appearance, convinced him of his error in cherishing foreigners in preference to his English subjects. But this conviction was temporary; Henry soon forgot both his danger and his interest. He married Eleanor the daughter of the count of Provence; and threw himself again into the arms of foreigners. William de Savoy, bishop of Valence, and uncle to the new queen, became his principal favourite. He took every occasion of giving him a remarkable preference over the greatest, and most faithful of his own subjects, and committed to his sole direction all the affairs of the state.

The English nobility were immediately alarmed. They dreaded a revival of the late times of ministerial insolence and oppression, and determined to exert all their power to put a stop to the career of this foreign minion. They began with presenting dutiful addresses to the king, at the same time remonstrating with a becoming spirit, against those measures, which they apprehended to be destructive of the public interest, and that union which should always subsist between an English king and his subjects. But they succeeded not in their attempts. Valence supported his power, and foreign influence grew every day more prevalent at court. The minister, who was offended with the English barons for their late spirited remonstrances, spared no pains to render them suspected by the king, and to remove the most active among them from his person and government. The seals were demanded from the bishop of Chichester, who had filled the high office of chancellor with the most unblemished integrity; but the prelate, on receiving the king's message, nobly replied, "That having received the seals by the order of the parliament, he would resign them by order of that assembly only."

A. D. 1237. Henry was, however, so infatuated, that this answer of the chancellor had no effect on his conduct. He adhered to his foreign ministers, and listened not to the complaints of his people. But the wants of his needy courtiers, soon exhausted his revenues, and he was obliged to call a parliament to procure a supply. The session was very full, some important business being expected to be laid before them. But they were told, "That the chief reason for their being called together, was to desire them to grant an aid, which should be collected and disposed of, for the necessary uses of the state, by such persons as they themselves should think proper to commission for that purpose."

Henry had so often broke his promises, that the parliament were no longer to be deceived; and returned for answer, "That they had often granted the king aids, without receiving any marks of his af-

fection: that since his accession to the throne, his dominions were considerably lessened, though he had frequently exacted from his subjects very large sums, which had been wholly lavished away upon foreign favourites, to the impoverishment of the state, and the disgrace of his character." To this vigorous reply, Henry pleaded the expences of his own and his sister's marriage, which had entirely exhausted his treasury; but if they would grant him a thirtieth part of their moveables, he promised upon his honour, never to injure or oppress any baron of the realm. In order to facilitate their compliance, he disavowed the pope's bull, which his ministry had lately obtained for the resumption of grants; declared he would inviolably observe the articles of the Great Charter; and ordered a sentence of excommunication to be solemnly denounced against all persons, himself not excepted, who should dare to violate that sacred constitution.

Mollified by these assurances, and pleased with the admission of several English noblemen into his council, the parliament complied with his demand. But ordered the money arising from this tax to be deposited in certain abbeys, churches and castles, as a fund sacred to the necessities of the state; and the following express condition annexed to the grant for levying it, "That the king should no longer hearken to the suggestions of foreigners, who had already oppressed and impoverished the nation, but be governed for the future by his own natural born subjects."

But Henry was not to be reclaimed. He had no sooner obtained the supply he had requested, than he returned to his former measures, shewed as much fondness for foreigners as ever, and to secure himself a party sufficient to oppose the power of his barons, he, with a meanness never to be forgiven, made application to the pope, for a legate to be sent into England, under whose protection he thought he might securely violate his recent engagements, which necessity had compelled him to enter into with his people. The English were alarmed, and the archbishop of Canterbury warmly expostulated with him on his conduct for suffering a legate to come into the kingdom without any apparent necessity, and without the knowledge of the parliament and clergy. But Henry regarded not the remonstrances of the prelate, the censures of the church were no longer terrible; he knew the authority of the pope to be superior to that of the archbishop. He seized the money deposited in the churches and convents by the parliament for the use of the state, and squandered it with the utmost profusion upon strangers and favourites. His brother, the earl of Cornwall, saw this destructive conduct with regret, and putting himself at the head of the nobility, demanded an audience, where he openly upbraided Henry with this shameful breach of faith and honour.

But though Henry relied entirely on the power of the pope for support against the resentment of his barons and clergy, the inconsistency of his conduct was so amazing, that he sent a body of troops to the assistance of the emperor Frederic II. then at open war with the court of Rome. Gregory IX. who then filled the papal chair, was highly offended at what he termed the insolence of his vassal, and ordered the legate to make the most severe remonstrances. The pusillanimous monarch was alarmed, and to avert the censure of the vatican, he suffered the sentence of excommunication against Frederic to be published in all the churches of England; though that prince had lately married the princess Isabella, Henry's sister.

A. D. 1242. Henry had now wholly lost the love of his subjects. His strange conduct had rendered him an object of contempt. The barons were justly incensed against the rapacious foreigners, who wasted the royal treasure, governed the kingdom, and treated the laws of England with contempt. The parliament therefore refused to grant their exhausted monarch any supplies, and the king had recourse to the most



most illegal methods and dangerous expedients for supplying his necessities. He exacted loans; he demanded benevolences; he usurped a power of dispensing with the laws, because the pope scrupled not to dispense with the canons of the church, whenever the interests of the holy see required it. The people complained loudly; the barons formed associations for their defence; and the judges were alarmed at the illegal proceedings of the king. "Alas!" exclaimed one of them upon the bench, "in what a corrupt age do we live! The civil court is vitiated in imitation of the ecclesiastical; and the river is poisoned from that fountain."

Henry was desirous of assisting the count de la Marche, who had married his mother Isabella, against Lewis IX. of France. The count had given Henry the strongest assurances of success; promising, that all the old tenants of his family in France would immediately join his standards, together with the king of Arragon, and the count of Thoulouse. Charmed with the prospect of recovering his old dominions on the continent, and wresting from Lewis the territories which Philip had taken from his father, Henry summoned a parliament, in order to procure the supplies necessary for carrying his arms into France. But he had soon the mortification to find his request denied; the parliament absolutely refused to grant him any assistance for carrying on the war. Henry, however, found means of raising the necessary sums at exorbitant interest, and passed over to the continent at the head of a considerable body of troops. But this prince was equally destitute of military and civil talents. His army was defeated at Tillebourg; he abandoned the port of Poictou which belonged to him, and returned to England covered with disgrace.

A. D. 1244. For some time past the whole kingdom had resounded with complaints against the enterprizes of the pope of Rome: but his holiness was not to be intimidated; he determined to proceed, and even to increase his destructive exactions. Accordingly he sent over one Martin as his nuncio, to demand a thousand marks from the clergy, to assist him in the war he was carrying on against the emperor. This nuncio was invested with more ample powers than any of his predecessors, and his oppression and insolence exceeded every thing that had yet been experienced from that proud and venal court. The nation was alarmed; and the barons resolved to lay before the general council, then assembled at Lyons, the intolerable oppressions of the holy see.

The methods made use of by Martin to extort money from the clergy exasperated the nation; and it was concluded on, in an assembly of the barons, to drive him out of the kingdom by force, if persuasions could not prevail upon him to depart peaceably. They assembled in arms, under pretence of holding a tournament; and chose Fulk Fitz Warren as their messenger, to carry their resolutions to the nuncio. They could not have made a more proper choice. He had himself severely suffered by papal exactions, and thoroughly hated every partisan of Rome.

Fitz Warren set out immediately to execute his commission, with determined resolution to terrify the nuncio, and induce him to abandon the kingdom. On being introduced into Martin's presence, he told him, with a stern and resolute air, that he must instantly prepare for his departure from England. The nuncio, little accustomed to such disrespectful addresses, asked him by whose authority he dared to speak to him in so insolent a manner? "By the authority of a body of English knights now in arms," answered Fulk, "who ordered me to tell you, that if either you yourself, or any of your followers, remain in England more than three days, every one of you shall be cut to pieces. Act as you please; but remember it is an English knight that delivers you this message." Martin

was sufficiently intimidated. He was too well acquainted with the character of the English to condemn a menace so peremptorily delivered. He immediately complained to Henry, and desired his protection. But the king, who had for some time beheld the exactions of the pope with concern, told him, that his robberies and oppressions had raised such a spirit of resentment in every part of the kingdom, that he was hardly able to protect himself against his own subjects, who were thoroughly incensed against him for having countenanced his rapacious proceedings. Martin was now convinced of his dangerous situation, and determined to abandon a kingdom where his life was in the utmost danger. He accordingly demanded a passport, and embarked directly for the continent.

A. D. 1245. The English ambassadors, on their arrival at Lyons, laid their complaints before the council, where the pope himself presided in person. They represented, that the benefices enjoyed by the Italian clergy in England amounted to sixty thousand marks a year, a sum that exceeded the annual revenue of the crown. They accused the pope of frequently cancelling his own acts by clauses of non obstante inserted in his bulls; a clause absolutely destructive of all the rights of patrons, and of all the liberties of the English church. They expatiated on the perpetual extortions of the nuncios and legates, and various other oppressions to which the British clergy had been so long exposed. The pope was confounded, and gave an elusive answer. He feared the power of the council, and was willing to soothe the English agents. He promised them redress; and caused two bulls for that purpose to be published. And the resignation of the superiority of England by king John to the holy see having been mentioned, the earl of Norfolk insisted, that neither that prince, nor any other, had the least right, without the consent of his barons, to subject the kingdom to a foreign servitude. This noble opposition convinced the court of Rome, that it was in vain to urge a pretension which was untenable from the distance of the English, and the independent spirit of that people.

A. D. 1246. But the promises of the pontiff lasted no longer than his fears. The council of Lyons was no sooner broke up, than he renewed all his exactions. The English were exasperated; and a parliament was summoned at London for redressing this public grievance. A state of the hardships suffered by the nation from papal tyranny was drawn up; and, after being signed by the king, bishops and temporal lords, sent to the court of Rome, and satisfaction demanded from the pontiff. This instrument produced not the desired effect. The ambassadors were treated with contempt, and even threatened to proceed to the same extremities against Henry, as he had lately done against the emperor. The king immediately prohibited any farther payments to the pope. But Henry wanted firmness to support a measure so agreeable to his subjects; he relapsed into his former indolence, and suffered the pope to proceed in his extortions.

A. D. 1253. Innocent IV. was one of the most implacable pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair. The hatred he had conceived against the emperor Frederic did not die with that monarch; it devolved on his grandson, Conrad, the lawful heir of the crown of Sicily, but whose succession was set aside by the perfidious arts of his uncle Mainfroy. Innocent soon perceived that his own force was far from being sufficient to dispossess the latter from the Italian dominions of Frederic; and therefore sent a nuncio into England, to offer the Sicilian crown to Richard, earl of Cornwall. That nobleman, though extremely fond of power, had prudence sufficient to perceive, that the sole design of the court of Rome was nothing more than the acquisition of a large sum of money, and prudently declined the offer. But Henry had not the sagacity of his brother; he accepted it for his



his second son, Edmund, and gave the pope unlimited credit for expending the sums necessary for the reduction of Sicily. Edmund was accordingly treated with the honours of royalty; and no means of extortion or oppression were omitted by the pope, in conjunction with Henry, to obtain money from the English, under pretence of establishing prince Edmund in his new kingdom.

A.D. 1255. The papal army began the war with some success; but Manfred, determined to risk his crown on the event of one decisive action, advanced against the Roman forces. A battle ensued; the army of Innocent was totally defeated, and he himself threatened with being besieged in his capital. His haughty soul could not bear this reverse of fortune; the violence of his passion threw him into a fever, which, in a short time, put a period to his life. He was succeeded in the papal chair by Alexander IV. who pursued the same measures with his predecessor, and undertook to place Edmund on the throne of Sicily.

A.D. 1256. Henry, who, in order to grasp this phantom of sovereignty for his son, had subjected himself to all the demands of the pontiff, soon found himself more embarrassed than ever. The parliament refused to grant the necessary supplies for carrying this ridiculous project into execution; and the whole weight fell upon the clergy. This was not, however, effected, without a noble struggle from the ecclesiastics. For when Rustan, the pope's nuncio, assembled the prelates, and proposed their signing obligatory notes proportioned to the benefices of each individual, the bishop of London declared, he would sooner lose his head than submit to so shameful an act of tyranny. He was seconded by the bishop of Worcester; and the whole assembly unanimously declared, that the clergy of England would not submit to be enslaved by the pope. The nuncio complained of this refusal to Henry, who threatened the bishop of London with his resentment; but the prelate, far from being intimidated, replied, with a noble intrepidity, "That he knew the king and the pope were his superiors; but if they deprived him of his mitre, he would supply its place with a helmet." This generous stand in support of the liberties of the English church, exasperated the haughty Rustan; who finding it would be impossible to prevail on them in a body, determined to wreak his vengeance on each in particular. He accordingly commenced prosecutions against individuals for pretended faults, and obliged them to make an atonement, by paying very considerable sums. The prelates appealed to the pope; and Alexander, dreading the consequences of driving the English clergy to despair, ordered his nuncio to desist from his prosecutions.

During these disputes between the nuncio and the clergy, Henry was determined to make another attempt to procure a subsidy from his barons. A parliament was called for that purpose; and the archbishop of Messina was sent with letters from the pope, pressing the nobility, in the most earnest manner, to comply with the request of their sovereign. But all attempts were in vain: the parliament, after mature deliberation, unanimously refused to grant the subsidy.

Rustan, finding all their hopes of procuring a supply from the parliament abortive, declared, in an assembly of the prelates, that the demands of the pope upon Henry amounted to above one hundred and fifty thousand marks; and that if the clergy still refused to comply with his request, he would immediately make a demand of the whole debt, and lay the kingdom under an interdict till it was paid. Could the bishops have depended on Henry for support, they would, doubtless, have treated this menace with the contempt it deserved; but they knew his weakness, and the shameful concessions he had already made: they knew that an interdict on the kingdom would expose both the church and state to

the most imminent danger. These considerations induced them to submit. In the mean time, the conquest of Sicily advanced so very slowly, that Henry, finding it would be impossible to raise the sums necessary to satisfy the avarice of the holy father, renounced all pretensions to the crown of Sicily.

A.D. 1257. Though Richard, earl of Cornwall, had wisely refused the offers of the pope with regard to the crown of Sicily, he was far from being proof against ambition. He had amassed immense riches by frugality, and was considered as the most wealthy prince in Europe. The German electors, desiring to share in the treasures of this powerful Englishman, offered to elect him king of the Romans. Charmed with this addition of dignity and power, he passed over into Germany, attended by a great number of the English nobility, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. He flattered himself with being able to obtain the imperial crown; but he found himself deceived. The German electors abandoned his interest the moment he had dissipated his wealth.

A.D. 1258. A parliament being summoned to meet at London, Harlat, the new nuncio, produced a bull from the pope, enjoining the bishops to pay the tenths granted to the king by his holiness, under pain of excommunication. The king seconded the demand of the nuncio, and pressed the barons to assist him with a supply. Had he really intended to provoke the members, he could hardly have mentioned any thing more likely to produce that effect. The intolerable acts of papal tyranny and oppression, and such complicated scenes of royal fraud and deceit, as the nation had for some time unhappily experienced, could not fail of rousing the indignation of a people not wholly lost to all sense of freedom and independence. Far from granting his request, they reproached him with his acts of rapine and injustice, and with his hatred of the English nation, from whom, they said, he ought to blush to require any aid or subsidies, while he preferred strangers to them, and made them groan under the most dreadful oppressions. Four of their brethren were deputed by the bishops to make warm remonstrances with regard to his conduct in general, and the uncanonical elections which had been made to vacant dignities in particular. Henry acknowledged that their complaints were well founded; adding, that as each of them had attained his benefice in that irregular manner, it was proper that their dignities should be vacated by resignation, in order to have them disposed of according to the methods prescribed by the canons of the church. But the remonstrances of the barons were not to be answered. They insisted on a ratification of the great charter, though they themselves daily violated it, in the articles relative to their own vassals. It was in vain for the king to oppose the whole power of the kingdom. His brother Richard, whose power was very extensive, was absent in Germany, and the barons defied all the censures of the Vatican. Henry therefore submitted to necessity, and the great charter was ratified with the most religious ostentation. Henry swore to observe inviolably all its articles, as a man, as a christian, as a knight, and as a king.

But Henry did not long observe the oaths he had taken; the same indolence, the same insatiation for foreigners again returned, and the articles of the great charter were forgot; they were violated whenever the interest of the court, or the ambition of his minions required it.

A.D. 1259. Enraged at this strange behaviour in the king, whom neither oaths nor promises could bind, the barons determined to have recourse to the same expedient that was used with regard to his father. They formed an association; and a parliament being called at Oxford, they came to the assembly, attended by their military tenants, well appointed, and properly armed. Simon de Montford, earl of Leicester, was at the head of this association. That nobleman, who was at once both haughty and ambitious,



tious, had been greatly caressed by Henry, who had given him his sister in marriage, and made him governor of Guienne. But the inconstancy of the monarch, and the unbounded ambition of the earl, soon produced an open breach between them; and Leicester, who imputed his disgrace to the insinuations of the foreign minions, determined to take an ample revenge. He was a perfect master of intrigue; and his violent remonstrances against the government, his apparent zeal for the liberties of the nation, and the privileges of the church, obtained him at once the affections of the people, and the friendship of the prelates and barons.

Henry was terrified at this military appearance; and, on his entering the assembly, asked, with some emotion, whether he was their prisoner? The earl marshal replied, that he was not their prisoner, but that it was the determined resolution of the whole assembly to banish his foreign favourites from the kingdom, and redress the grievances of the nation. Adding, that if he would agree to these reasonable demands, and give authority for that purpose to persons of character and capacity, they would grant the supplies necessary for giving weight and dignity to the state. Henry perceived it would be in vain to oppose the power of his barons, and therefore made no objections to the proposal: he promised to submit to any regulations they should think fit to enact. Having thus obtained the king's consent, they constituted a council of twenty-four barons, whom they invested with an unlimited authority for reforming the state; and Simon Montfort was elected president. Henry himself took a solemn oath to maintain the ordinances they should issue for that salutary purpose. The plan of government had been digested in a previous meeting of the principal barons; so that a set of regulations soon appeared; and these, conformable to the practice of all usurpers, were favourable to the people. They were in substance as follows:

1. That the king should confirm the great charter, which he had so often sworn to observe, and so often violated.

2. The important office of chief justiciary should be bestowed upon a person of talents and integrity, who should administer justice to the poor and the rich without favour or partiality.

3. That the chancellor, treasurer, judges, and other public ministers, should be annually chosen by the council of twenty-four.

4. That the custody of the king's castles should be committed to the care of that council, who should entrust them to such persons as were well affected to the state.

5. That any person, of what degree or order soever, who should oppose, directly or indirectly, what should be decreed by the council of twenty-four, should be punishable with death.

6. That three sessions of parliament should be regularly held every year, to enact such laws as should from time to time be found necessary for the good of the people.

These articles, which, from the place where they were drawn up, were called the Statutes, or Provisions of Oxford, were approved by the parliament, and confirmed by the assent of the king, who swore to observe, and cause them to be observed, to the utmost of his power.

But Leicester never intended to submit his actions to the examination of the parliament; he aspired to the government, and the king soon perceived that he was no more than a cypher in the administration. He expected that the parliament would grant him a large subsidy, pursuant to their promise, when he signed the Oxford Constitutions: he was deceived; the consideration of the supplies was postponed; and his two uterine brothers, the sons of the count de la Marche, and the queen Isabella, were stripped of their wealth, and banished the kingdom, as the

principal authors of the public calamities. Nor was the council satisfied with banishing these foreigners; even the officers of the household were removed, and their places filled with persons in the interest of the council. At the same time, they obliged every individual in the kingdom to take an oath to obey them; even young Edward, Henry's eldest son, was not excepted.

Determined to support their power against all opposition; and fearful that the great credit of the king of the Romans might check their progress, they dispatched the bishop of Worcester to the continent, to inform him that he would not be suffered to land in England, unless he would promise to take an oath to observe the Statutes of Oxford. At the same time, they required to know on what account he was coming to England; and how long he proposed to continue in that kingdom.

Incensed at their infolence, and exasperated at the degrading treatment of his brother, he swore he would never take the oath they wanted to impose upon him; and that he would visit England when, and as often as he pleased, without submitting to give them any reasons for his actions. He was, however, soon after informed, that the barons had taken such precautions, by marching troops to the sea-coasts, and fitting out a powerful fleet, that it would be impossible for him to land in England without their consent. Richard therefore thought it more prudent to submit to the necessity of the times, than engage in a fruitless opposition. He agreed to take the oath required, and the barons suffered him to return to England without opposition.

Among several innovations introduced by the council, the most important was the establishment of a committee, consisting of twelve persons, who, during the recess of parliament, were invested with its authority, and were to attend the person of the king in all his motions. Thus the whole constitution of England was overturned, and the kingdom governed by a committee of nobles.

But it was not reasonable to imagine that a government of this kind could be permanent. It was soon perceived, that the good of the people engaged not the attention of the council: the state was oppressed by a confederacy of the nobles. The people were no longer deceived; they complained loudly of their tyranny; and the knights of the shires not only joined in the complaint, but implored the assistance of prince Edward to undertake the defence of the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the people. The prince accordingly sent a message to the barons, insisting on their finishing, without delay, the reformation they had undertaken; otherwise he should think himself obliged to exert all his power to procure redress for an injured people. This spirited remonstrance alarmed the barons, and a new code of laws was published: but it soon appeared that the whole was nothing more than the common laws of England, with some trifling alterations.

So glaring an imposition exasperated the people; and the animosities which now broke out between the barons themselves, gave them hopes that their tyranny would soon have an end. The earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the two most powerful barons in the whole confederacy, became professed enemies to each other. These divisions greatly weakened the strength of the barons; and Leicester retired into France, under pretence of abandoning entirely the administration; but he had very different views. He hoped, by his retreat, to increase the power of his party, by gaining the French monarch over to his interest.

Fortunately for England, the throne of France was filled by a monarch who delighted not in the distress of other nations. He was desirous of healing, not of increasing, the wounds which the English constitution had lately received. Lewis IX: generally called St. Lewis, was endowed with all the piety of an anchorite, as well as the virtues of a king:



His liberality was not in the least inconsistent with the wisest œconomy. He knew how to reconcile a profound policy with an exact justice. He was prudent and firm in council, intrepid but cool in war, and as compassionate as if he had always been unhappy. From a prince of this character England had nothing to fear; he desired not to usurp the territories of his neighbours, and was so far from taking advantage of the troubles of England, that he laboured to establish peace and harmony among the contending parties, whose divisions threatened the kingdom with destruction. He even entertained a doubt with regard to the justice of the sentence passed against John in the court of peers in France; and had formed a design of restoring to Henry all the provinces that had been wrested from his father. The tranquillity of his own country at last diverted him from this resolution; but he made a treaty with Henry which abundantly proved, that a love of justice, rather than power, was the ruling passion of his soul. By this treaty, he yielded to him the Limousin, Perigord, Querci, and Agenois; and only required in return, that Henry should make a final cession of Normandy and the other provinces.

A. D. 1261. The council of the barons had now been three years absolute masters of the kingdom, under pretence of reforming the state. Henry, careless and indolent as he was, could not but feel and resent the mortifications he daily received. The quarrel between Leicester and Gloucester gave him hopes that his misfortunes were drawing to a close; and perceiving that the dispositions of the people had taken a turn in his favour, he determined to make one struggle for recovering his authority. In order to this, he applied to the pope to absolve him from the oath he had taken with regard to the Oxford provisions. The pontiff, who was highly exasperated at the barons for having stopped the revenues of foreign beneficed priests, readily granted the desired dispensation.

This difficulty being surmounted, Henry determined to declare publicly the resolutions he had formed; and having assembled a parliament at London, he told them, "That as they had not on their parts performed their promise with regard to paying his debts, and augmenting his revenues, when he signed the provisions of Oxford, he did not think himself obliged to keep the oath he had taken on that occasion; that he was determined no longer to remain in the hands of a faction who had treated him more like a slave than their king, but would immediately free himself from such inglorious fetters, and assert the dignity of his own prerogative." The assembly was astonished at this unexpected declaration; and the king, without giving them time to reply, retired immediately to the tower; seized all the money in the mint; published a proclamation for removing the sheriffs and other officers appointed by the council of twenty-four; and acted with such vigour as seemed to be the effect of a fixed resolution to support his own independence. He informed his subjects that he had resumed the reins of government, and that he would inviolably observe the two charters, notwithstanding any false reports to the contrary; nominated a chancellor, chief justiciary, and officers of his household, in the room of those who had been appointed by the council. He found means to repel the attempts of the barons, and obliged them to promise obedience for the future. But the gaining any advantage, or even the total defeat of an army, was of very little consequence in these times of national debility and division. New forces suddenly sprung up, and suddenly dispersed; to-day one leader remained master of the field, and to-morrow was obliged to take refuge in some place of safety. Henry was again defeated, and again obliged to confirm the statutes of Oxford.

Prince Edward, who had hitherto scrupled to break the oath he had taken to submit to the council, perceiving that the barons, with Leicester at their head,

were determined to render their tyranny perpetual, undertook the defence of his country. He was soon at the head of a powerful army, and joined by several of the barons, who thought they could not, as true Englishmen, continue any longer with Leicester and his party. The two armies were in sight of each other, and a decisive battle was every moment expected, when several of the most prudent persons interposed their good offices to prevent the effusion of human blood. But it soon appeared that the claims of the contending parties were not to be adjusted, and it was agreed to refer the decision to St. Lewis, in whose wisdom and equity both parties placed an equal confidence. The reference was confirmed by the oaths of the king, the prince and the barons. Lewis accepted the office of arbitrator, and having heard, with the utmost attention, the whole cause fairly debated, together with the allegations of both parties in an assembly of the states at Amiens, delivered the following award.

A. D. 1264. "That the statutes of Oxford, with all the proceedings that followed in consequence of those acts, should be annulled: That the king should enjoy all the rights and prerogatives, which were invested in the crown, before those statutes were enacted: That all the castles which the king had ceded to the barons as a security for the performance of his promise, should be restored; and that he should enjoy the privilege of appointing his great officers of state and government, equally from foreigners or natives." But, at the same time, he declared that his award was not meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties of the English, nor from the charters which had been granted them.

The barons were highly exasperated at a sentence so contrary to what they expected; and it is never difficult for men thus circumstanced, to find pretences for eluding justice. They asserted, that the saving clause was utterly contradictory to the other part of the sentence. Because the latter ratified Magna Charta, and the former condemned the statutes of Oxford, which were calculated to support that charter. The negotiation was therefore entirely broke off, and each party prepared to decide the contest by the sword.

The royal army headed by the king in person, the king of the Romans, and prince Edward, encamped at Lewes in Suffex. Leicester, being reinforced by a body of fifteen thousand Londoners, marched immediately to Lewes, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement. The battle was begun by prince Edward, who charged the van of the rebel army with such impetuosity, that the troops gave way, and a dreadful carnage ensued. He then fell upon the Londoners, routed them with great slaughter, and pursued them near four miles with the utmost fury. This temerity lost the battle. Had he, instead of pursuing a body of unexperienced troops, fallen, in conjunction with the rest of the royal army, upon the remaining forces of the enemy, a complete victory must have been obtained. But the absence of the prince, afforded Leicester an opportunity of changing the fortune of the day. He attacked the second body of the king's forces, cut the greatest part of them in pieces, and took the king of the Romans prisoner. The third body, commanded by Henry in person, made so noble a stand, that it was not broke till the evening; but the king's horse being killed under him, and he himself slightly wounded, he retired to the priory of Lewes, with part of his followers, while others took refuge in the castle.

The prince returning from the pursuit of the Londoners, was surprized to see the field of battle covered with dead bodies; and several of his principal followers were so intimidated at the fatal event, that they fled with seven hundred of their best troops to Pevensey, and passed over to France. The prince himself, who was a stranger to fear, thought only of retrieving the misfortune. He immediately attacked the barons; but night prevented a general engagement;



ment. Uncertain of the consequence, and solicitous for the fate of his father, the prince went round both the town and castle, but without effect. At last he found him at the priory, which was now attacked by the rebels. The royal party made a noble defence, and Montfort's forces were obliged to abandon the enterprize.

Young Edward now exerted all his abilities to rally and collect his scattered forces; and having still the advantage of some excellent officers about his person, he determined to try the fortune of another battle. Leicester had lost near half his army. The Londoners had been so totally broken, that they made no attempt to rejoin his army. He was therefore desirous of avoiding a fresh engagement with a body of resolute troops, more experienced than his own. He knew that a defeat must be fatal, and that he could expect no mercy if he fell into the hands of the enraged monarch. Under pretence, therefore, of preventing the farther effusion of human blood, he sent mediators next morning to the prince, to propose a cessation of arms, in order to terminate this destructive war by an equitable peace; offering to submit his demands to such arbitrators as the king should approve; but, at the same time, insisted, that prince Edward, and young Henry, son to the king of the Romans, should be delivered as hostages for the king's performance of the conditions. This demand was absolutely rejected by the king as insolent and unreasonable; it concealed, under the mask of a desire of peace, a treacherous design of making himself absolute master of the kingdom. Leicester, fearful of another engagement, had recourse to menaces; he threatened to strike off the head of the king of the Romans, together with those of all the prisoners of note in his hands, if the prince made any attack upon his army.

The character of Montfort was too well known, to doubt of his carrying his threat into execution. The prince feared the consequence; and before he could determine, the earl had rallied his forces. There was now a necessity for coming to an accommodation, which was dictated by Leicester, on the following conditions:

"That prince Edward, and Henry, son to the king of the Romans, should surrender themselves prisoners, as pledges in the place of the two kings: that all other prisoners on both sides should be released; and that, in order to settle fully the terms of agreement, application should be made to the king of France, that he should name six Frenchmen, three prelates, and three barons. These six to chuse two others of their own countrymen; and these two to chuse one Englishman, who, in conjunction with themselves, were to be invested by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the settlement of the kingdom."

Such was the convention generally called the *Mise of Lewes*; and which was signed by the king, the prince, and all the chiefs of both parties. The king immediately sent orders for the prisoners taken by his forces to be set at liberty. But Leicester never intended to perform his part of the agreement: for after sending the prince and young Henry to Dover-castle, he refused to set his prisoners at liberty; both the king and his brother were retained in custody. He sent no ambassadors to Lewis; the pretended arbitration was forgotten. He disposed of offices, without even consulting the king; and had recourse to every method in his power to raise money for strengthening his party, and directed all the measures of government according to his own pleasure.

He now proceeded to settle a form of government he had projected, by which he became in reality the sole master of the kingdom. He summoned a parliament of his own partisans, in order to rivet the chains of slavery he had imposed upon the nation. In that assembly it was enacted, that every act of royal power should be exercised by nine persons, who were to be chosen and removed by the authority

of three others; namely, Leicester himself, the earl of Gloucester; and the bishop of Chichester. By this establishment, Leicester obtained, in reality, the sceptre of England: for as the bishop of Chichester was entirely at his devotion; he directed all the resolutions taken by the council of three; and they could discard every member of the supreme council at pleasure.

But this ill-cemented plan of government could not long continue; the least incident was sufficient to shake its very foundation. The queen, who had been some time in France, raised a considerable army; and Lewis himself, who beheld with detestation the perjuries of Leicester, favoured her enterprize. The ambitious earl was alarmed; and troops were sent to guard the coast; but little could be expected from men who were exasperated at his behaviour, and Leicester owed his security more to unfavourable winds, which rendered the attempt abortive, than to any defence that could have been made against the French, had they landed in England.

The pope, who still favoured Henry, and was highly exasperated at the behaviour of the barons, dispatched cardinal Guido, as legate, to excommunicate the earls of Leicester, Gloucester, and Norfolk, by name, and all others in general who joined in the oppression and captivity of their sovereign. But Leicester took an effectual method to prevent the consequences of the papal censures: he threatened the legate with immediate death the moment he landed in the kingdom. Guido was so greatly intimidated, that the sentence was never pronounced. This opposition to the holy see increased the popularity of Leicester. The English had so severely felt the tyrannical oppressions of the Roman pontiffs, that they wished to be relieved from a yoke which was become so heavy to be borne:

A. D. 1265. But Leicester soon perceived that his ambitious projects roused the attention of the barons. Gloucester himself was alarmed; and remonstrated sharply with him on his behaviour. The nobles, still in the interest of Henry, retired into the marches of Wales, and received protection from the earl of Gloucester. The people complained loudly of the shameful breach of the convention made at Lewes; and demanded that prince Edward, and the other prisoners, should be set at liberty, conformable to the articles of that treaty. Leicester perceived that it would be impossible to divert the gathering storm, without having recourse to some artifice to deceive the English. He ordered a parliament to meet at London, but fixed that assembly on a more republican basis than any that had ever been summoned since the foundation of the English monarchy. Besides many barons and ecclesiastics who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered the sheriffs to return two knights from every shire, and the same number of deputies from every borough. The meeting of this parliament, which happened on the twentieth of January, is generally esteemed the epoch of the House of Commons in England. It is certain that this is the first time any mention is made by our ancient historians of any representatives being sent by the boroughs to parliament. Indeed they had always, in former ages, been esteemed of too low a rank to be allowed a place in the great council of the nation.

In this numerous assembly the active and intrepid prince Edward, who had languished in prison ever since the fatal battle of Lewes, was declared free and at full liberty, after stipulating to deliver up all the castles possessed by the barons in the interest of the royal party; and neither to depart the kingdom during three years, nor introduce any foreign troops. But Leicester never intended to set the prince at liberty; he was strictly guarded by the emissaries of that nobleman, and continued only a prisoner at large. The barons now saw that there were no hopes of restoring tranquillity to the nation: the tyranny of Leicester was more dreaded than that of Henry.

The



The earl of Gloucester perceived his own danger; for every thing that opposed the despotism of Montfort was sacrificed at the altar of his ambition. He therefore retired for safety to his estates on the borders of Wales; and Leicester followed him to Hereford at the head of an army, carrying with him both the king and the prince. Gloucester found means to open a negotiation with young Edward, and a plan was formed for the prince's escape. A horse of extraordinary swiftness was procured by Gloucester, and conveyed to Edward by means of a trusty servant, and Edward Mortimer, at the head of a small party, waited in a wood not far from Leicester's camp, in order to receive the prince, and convey him to a place of safety. Every thing being thus prepared, the prince, pretending to take the air with some of Leicester's retinue, made matches between their horses, and rode several of them himself. When by this stratagem he had sufficiently tired and blown their horses, he mounted the steed sent him by Gloucester, and calling to his attendants, bade them adieu, and effected his escape. They pursued him till he was received by Mortimer at the head of his party.

The escape of the prince filled the people with joy; they flocked to his standard from all parts of the country, so that Edward soon found himself at the head of a powerful army. He immediately took the field, and in order to prevent Leicester from retreating back to the capital, he broke down all the bridges upon the Severn. Leicester saw his danger, and dispatched an express to his son to hasten from London with an army to his relief. But Edward was too vigilant, and too well informed of young Montfort's motions, to suffer him to join his father. As soon as he heard that he was advanced to Kenilworth, Edward marched to meet him, surprised him in his camp, and totally dissipated his army. The absence of the prince furnished Leicester with an opportunity of crossing the Severne in boats; and being entirely ignorant of his son's misfortune, advanced to Evesham, expecting every hour to be joined by the forces from London.

Edward had divided his army into three bodies, one of which advanced along the road to Kenilworth, carrying before them the banners which had been taken from young Montfort's army; while he himself, at the head of the second division, made a circuit, in order to attack Leicester's army in another quarter. This stratagem for some time deceived Montfort; he took the first division for his friends; but perceiving his mistake, and observing the excellent disposition of Edward's troops, he exclaimed, "They have learned from me their military order! The Lord have mercy upon our souls, for I see our bodies are the prince's." The greater part of the army of Leicester made but a feeble resistance; the Welsh, who formed the van, unable to support the furious attack of Edward, fled with the utmost precipitation, while Gloucester at the head of another division, charged the main body with equal fury. Leicester, however, maintained the battle with amazing intrepidity, till his horse being killed under him, he demanded quarter, which was refused, and he fell among the slain, together with his son Henry. His troops, deprived of their two principal leaders, threw down their arms, and begged for quarter.

Thus fell the famous Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, an intrepid general, and a consummate statesman. He was bold, resolute, enterprising, insinuating, artful and persuasive. But hurried away by his ambition, he made himself odious by endeavouring to render himself despotic. He constantly covered his dangerous enterprises under the appearance of piety; and the people, who are easily deceived, regarded him as a saint. And though excommunicated by the Roman pontiff, the people were so prejudiced in his favour, that many miracles were said to be wrought upon his tomb.

The victory of Evesham was complete; the king of the Romans, his son and all the barons of the

royal party were immediately set at liberty; and Edward easily subdued the remains of the rebel party; and the far greater part of the castles garrisoned by the rebels delayed not to make their submission, and open their gates to the king. Adam Gourdon, a courageous baron, maintained himself for some time in the forest of Hampshire, and committed depredations in the neighbourhood. Edward led a body of forces against him, and attacked the camp of the rebels with the utmost fury. The two valiant leaders met, and a single combat ensued between them. The victory was long doubtful; but at last ended in favour of Edward. Gourdon was wounded, thrown from his horse and taken prisoner. But Edward knew how to estimate valour, even in an enemy. He procured his pardon, granted him his friendship, and Gourdon served him faithfully till his death.

Greater moderation was perhaps never shewn upon a similar occasion. No sacrifices of national liberty was made on this occasion, the great charter continued inviolate. No blood shed upon the scaffold; those who had borne arms against the king were punished only by pecuniary compositions, and even these were exacted with great moderation. The city of London had merited the most rigorous chastisement, but this was greatly mitigated; its privileges were indeed taken away, but they were restored after a short interval of time.

A. D. 1268. The peace of the kingdom being now restored, the king summoned a parliament, where the pope's legate assisted, who informed the assembly that the pontiff had resolved to publish a crusade in every state that professed the Christian religion; exhorting the English to support an enterprise calculated to promote the glory of the church. The English had not yet learned wisdom from past misfortunes; enthusiasm prevailed and the recovery of the Holy Land was considered as more meritorious than the strictest exercise of all the christian virtues. Prince Edward, his brother Edmund, and their cousin Henry received the cross from the hands of the legate; and their example was followed by the earls of Gloucester, Warrenne, and Pembroke, one hundred and twenty knights, and great numbers of inferior orders.

A. D. 1270. Lewis of France, who had also engaged in the crusade, and made the most pressing solicitations to Edward to hasten his departure, sailed some time before the English forces were ready, and landed near the ruins of Carthage, in order to reduce the city of Tunis. Edward reached his camp, but had the misfortune to find that great prince already dead from the intemperance of the climate, and the great fatigues he had undergone. The devotion of Lewis was destructive to France; and is a proof that the excess of a good quality may be criminal. He was succeeded in the throne by Philip, surnamed the Hardy, a prince of considerable merit, but much inferior to that of his father. The death of Lewis was not, however, sufficient to intimidate Edward. He continued his course to Palestine, where he signalized himself by the most astonishing acts of valour. He revived the glory of the English name in those parts, and struck the Saracens with such terror, that they had recourse to the infamous method of assassination. The villain employed to execute this inhuman design, was admitted several times into the prince's presence, under pretence of negotiating a treaty between Edward and the governor of Joppa. One day, finding the prince alone sitting on a couch undressed, he approached him, and offering him some letters, took the opportunity of drawing a concealed dagger, and endeavoured to sheathe it in the prince's breast; but Edward fortunately warded off the blow. He received indeed a considerable wound in the arm, but that misfortune did not prevent him from seizing the villain, and having wrested the dagger from his hand he plunged it into his heart. The wound was however dangerous, being made with a poisoned instrument,



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



**EDWARD I.** *while Prince of Wales, killing the ASSASSIN who wounded him with a poison'd Dagger, in the Holy Land.*













*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



ment, and the prince's life was in the most imminent danger; but by the great skill and care of an English surgeon, a cure was effected in little more than a fortnight.

A. D. 1272. While Edward was gathering laurels in the fields of Palestine, England again experienced the oppressions of the barons and the disorders of anarchy. The populace of London returned to their usual licentiousness; and the old king, unable to support the weight of government, called aloud for his gallant son to return, and assist him in swaying that sceptre which was ready to drop from his enfeebled hand. His cares and his fears were greatly increased by the death of his brother, the king of the Romans, who paid the debt of nature at Berkhamstead on the second of April. Henry survived this misfortune only seven months: he died at St. Edmondsbury on the sixteenth of November, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his reign, holding the sceptre longer than any other prince in the English annals.

The capital feature in the character of this prince is his incapacity for government. Though not naturally tyrannical, his extreme weakness often produced all the evils of despotism. Hence his negligences and breach of promises; for he scrupled not to sacrifice the lasting advantages arising from the trust and confidence of his people to present conveniences. He imitated, instead of reducing, the dangerous power of his barons; and permitted the arbitrary will of his ministers to be the rule of his actions. But if he had few public virtues, he had also few personal vices; he was neither addicted to debauchery, nor prone to cruelty. He was a great friend to religion, and his devotion is highly commended. Being once engaged in a dispute with Lewis of France, concerning the preference between sermons and masses, he very pertinently replied, in answer to what was urged in favour of the former, "I had rather have one hour's conversation with a friend, than hear twenty elaborate discourses pronounced in his praise."

Henry left two sons, Edward, who succeeded him in the throne; and Edmund, earl of Lancaster: and two daughters; Margaret, queen of Scotland; and Beatrix, dutchess of Britany.

A very remarkable dispute happened during this reign, between the prelates and the barons, with regard to bastardy. According to the common laws

of England, all who were born before the marriage of their parents were declared bastards; but the canon law considered them as legitimate. Hence the bishops and judges never agreed; and the civil courts, whenever they applied to the spiritual to enquire into the legitimacy of the person in question, proposed only this simple fact, whether he was born before or after marriage. The prelates complained of this practice to the parliament assembled at Merton in 1236; and requested, that the civil law might be rendered conformable to the ecclesiastical; but the barons returned this memorable answer, "We will not change the laws of England."

Every species of oppression was made use of, during this reign, to supply the profuse liberality of the king to foreign favourites. The example of the court authorised rapine and plunder; so that every quarter of the kingdom was full of robbers. In the year 1249, two merchants of Brabant complained to the king that they had been robbed of all their goods by certain banditti whom they knew, because they saw them every day in his court. On being questioned with regard to their behaviour, they urged in their defence, that they received no wages from the king, and were obliged to rob for a maintenance.

The court of Rome perceiving, that the power of the holy see began to decline in England, pope Gregory IX. had recourse to an expedient highly worthy of that ignorant age, for supporting the tottering authority of the pontifical chair. He published a work called the Decretals, containing a pretended collection of the decrees of popes in the first centuries, but in reality a heap of the grossest forgeries. In this dark and ignorant age, they passed, indeed, for some time, as undoubted facts, and were very favourable to that venal court; but something more was wanting to engage the attention of a rude people. This was effected by establishing the mendicant orders, particularly the Dominicans and Franciscans. These, by maintaining a perpetual rivalry with each other, in promoting their lucrative trade of superstition, exerted all their abilities to gain the necessary ascendancy over the minds of men, and inspire them with a firm belief of the infallibility and spiritual power of their founder and protector. To such wretched expedients was the Roman see reduced, to support the mighty structure of superstition, which had been reared by the hand of enthusiastic ignorance.

## E D W A R D I. surnamed L O N G S H A N K S.

A. D. 1272. **T**HOUGH Edward was abroad at the time of his father's death, yet no attempts to wrest the sceptre from his hand were made in England. The highest opinion was entertained of his merit, and all ranks and orders of men in the kingdom wished earnestly to see him on the throne of his ancestors. The council of state proclaimed him king immediately on the decease of his father; all the estates of the kingdom swore fealty to him; and even the earl of Gloucester himself was among the first to give proofs of his submission.

Edward, some time before the death of his father, was convinced that it would be impossible, with his handful of men, to oppose, with any hopes of success, the numerous armies of the Saracens: he therefore listened to the offers of peace tendered him by the sultan of Babylon, and concluded a truce for ten years, ten months, and ten days. After signing this treaty, he embarked the remains of his little army, and passed over to Sicily, where he received the news of the death of his father, and also of that of his eldest son. Edward appeared more sensibly affected

with the former than the latter; and the king of Sicily expressing a surprise at so singular a circumstance, the prince told him, "That the death of a son was a loss he might hope to repair; but the death of a father was a loss irreparable."

A. D. 1273. After paying the tribute of grief and duty to the memory of his father, Edward set out for England, and passing through Chalons, he was invited by the prince of that province to a tournament he was preparing to celebrate. Edward was too ambitious of glory to omit so favourable an opportunity of signalizing his courage and address in arms; but the glory he acquired excited envy. Foiled in every attempt, the French knights were exasperated, and made a serious attack upon the English. Fortune, however, still favoured Edward; the French were repulsed, but not without a considerable effusion of blood. Some historians have called this encounter the petty battle of Chalons.

Edward having received advice that the peace of England was firmly established, determined to settle some affairs on the continent before he visited his native



tive country. He accordingly repaired to the court of France, in order to do homage to Philip the Hardy, for his territories in France, and was received with every possible mark of politeness and regard. He afterwards repaired to Guienne, and put an end to the troubles that had for some time disturbed the peace of that province. He, however, continued some time longer in France at the earnest request of pope Gregory IX. who having summoned a general council to meet at Lyons, was apprehensive that Edward's return to England would prevent many of the bishops of that kingdom from attending.

A. D. 1274. Having settled all affairs on the continent he passed over into England, where he was received with the most joyful acclamations by his subjects, and solemnly crowned at Westminster on the nineteenth of August, by Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of Alexander III. king of Scotland, the duke of Britany, and all the English peers. We are told by some of our English historians, that Edward, to heighten the magnificence of the ceremony, gave orders for letting loose five hundred beautiful Turkish horses he had brought with him from the continent, and which were to be the property of those that could catch them.

But ceremonies, however magnificent, could not long divert the attention of Edward from the affairs of government; and his subjects were soon convinced that the happiness and glory of a state, are the consequences of the assiduity, wisdom and capacity of the sovereign. He made the great charter the rule of his conduct; and obliged the barons to observe it with regard to their vassals. The licentiousness of the nobles had long been the source of various calamities, both with respect to the crown and people. He therefore took care to curtail their power, and, without invading their real privileges, rendered them obedient to the laws of their country.

A. D. 1275. The nation had long been oppressed by numerous bands of robbers, who set the power of the magistrate at defiance. To remove these disorders, a severe execution of justice was necessary; and Edward applied himself to effect it with the utmost assiduity. He appointed judges who were able to enforce the execution of the laws; and entrusted them with an authority sufficient to intimidate these troops of banditti. But the ordinary ministers of justice not being sufficient to carry the laws into execution in the western counties, he appointed commissioners who were to make regular circuits through different parts of the kingdom, in order to take cognizance of crimes, and punish offenders. These itinerant dispensers of justice executed their commission with the utmost severity; they did not sometimes make the proper distinction between innocence and guilt; the smallest accusation was sufficient for a trial, and too often for very heavy punishments. By this method of suppressing delinquents, every quarter of the kingdom was filled with terror. Edward perceived the commissioners exceeded the bounds he had set to their power, and therefore continued their office no longer than was absolutely necessary to suppress the various kinds of malefactors, murderers, robbers, incendiaries, ravishers and plunderers, that disturbed the public tranquillity. This being effected, he prudently annulled their commission.

A. D. 1276. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had been closely connected with the Montfort family, now refused to repair to the court of Edward and pay him homage. This exasperated the haughty spirit of the English monarch, and he determined to reduce his refractory vassal. Llewellyn well knew the power and great abilities of Edward, and endeavoured to strengthen himself by a strict alliance with the remains of the Montfort family. He accordingly demanded Eleanor, daughter to the late earl of Leicester in marriage. The young lady was then at the court of France, where she had taken refuge on the death of her father. The request of Llewellyn was,

however, readily complied with, and Eleanor embarked for Wales, under the care of her brother Aumerli; but the vessel being taken at sea, the betrothed princess was sent to the court of Edward, where she was detained as a prisoner of state; but her brother was committed to Corf-castle. Deputies soon after arrived from Llewellyn, offering to ransom the princess, whom he asserted to be detained against the law of nations. But Edward refused to set Eleanor at liberty, unless Llewellyn would engage to repair all the devastations committed on the borders of England, and restore all the castles he had taken during the late wars. Llewellyn refused the conditions, and hostilities immediately commenced between them; but the operations of the first campaign were of little consequence, neither Edward nor Llewellyn heading their troops in person.

A. D. 1277. As soon as the spring was sufficiently advanced, Edward led his army into Wales; and Llewellyn, perceiving it would be madness to meet the English in the open field, retreated to his woods and inaccessible mountains, in order to harass the English troops; but Edward was not to be surprized. He cut a capacious road for his forces through a tract of woods extending from the marches on the borders of Cheshire to Caernarvonshire, by which means his forces penetrated with ease into the heart of the country. Llewellyn retreated to Snowdon, the usual place of refuge when attacked by the English. But their fastnesses were now of very little consequence. Edward seized all the passes, and prevented any provisions from being carried to Llewellyn's army. Famine soon reduced the Welsh prince to sue for peace, and a treaty was concluded at Aberconway, on the following conditions; "That Llewellyn should pay fifty thousand pounds sterling, as a satisfaction for damages; that he should quit forever a tract of land containing the whole country between Chester and the river Conway; and that he should repair to the court of Edward and perform his homage." Edward, however, thought proper to remit the payment of the fifty thousand pounds, and brought Llewellyn with him to London, where he did homage and swore fealty in the presence of a great number of the prelates and nobility of England. The ceremony being over, Edward delivered Eleanor to him, and caused their nuptials to be celebrated with great magnificence.

A. D. 1278. A parliament being summoned at Gloucester, several excellent statutes were made for securing the rights and liberties of the subject, and providing for the better administration of justice. But among the many excellent regulations made by Edward for the advantage and happiness of his people, he took one step that again threatened the nation with all the miseries of a civil war. He issued commissions to enquire into all the encroachments made on the royal demesnes; and all persons were summoned to produce the titles by which they held their estates. The barons were sufficiently alarmed, and vigorously opposed the order, as cruel and oppressive. Among others, John, earl of Warenne and Surry, was cited before the king's commissioners for that purpose. He obeyed the summons, but on being called upon to produce his titles, drew a family sword he had brought with him for that purpose, and addressed the court in the following manner: "It was with this sword, that my ancestors, who came in with William the bastard, acquired their possessions; and by the same I will defend them: it was not for himself only that William conquered: it was not for him alone that my ancestors fought." This noble and spirited declaration, which was consonant to the sense of all the old English nobility, put an end to the enquiry. Edward soon saw his error, and immediately revoked the commission.

Among other grievances, the nation had for some time suffered exceedingly from the adulteration of the coin, which had raised the price of the necessaries



of life to such an excessive height, that the foreign commerce of the kingdom was almost ruined. The Jews were suspected of being the authors of that destructive practice, and little proof was necessary to convict them of the offence. The prejudices entertained against that despised people were now so violent, that the laws of humanity were thought not to extend to them. No less than two hundred and eighty of them were hanged in one day at London, besides those that suffered in different parts of England. Multitudes of them were ruined by the confiscation of their houses and property; and though Edward ordered one half of the money which was raised in this cruel manner to be set apart for those who should embrace christianity, very few of them accepted the offer: they could not think of embracing a religion, which they unjustly considered as the source of the barbarities exercised by its professors.

A.D. 1281. Though Llewellyn had strictly observed the conditions of the treaty, yet the officers of Edward had committed so many acts of violence upon the Welsh, that they implored the protection of their prince against their insolent neighbours. Llewellyn made strong remonstrances to Edward, but without effect: the grievances still continued. Exasperated at such unjust treatment, the Welsh determined rather to encounter a force which they had already experienced to be so much superior to their own, than bear any longer the oppressions of the haughty victors. David, brother to Llewellyn, had long served the crown of England with the utmost fidelity; but exasperated at the unjust oppressions of his countrymen, he joined his brother, and offered to head the army, and venture his life to retrieve the liberties and independence of that ancient people. The generous proposal was joyfully accepted; the whole nation flew to arms, and joined the standard of David, who led them immediately against their oppressors. Several castles soon fell into their hands, and they severely retaliated on the English, the miseries they had so long suffered from their unprovoked cruelty.

Alarmed at the progress, and piqued at the success of the insurgents over his English subjects, Edward determined to crush for ever a people who had only taken up arms in defence of their liberties, and to procure that redress, they had so often solicited in vain. The archbishop of Canterbury, desirous of preventing the effusion of human blood, exerted all his interest to bring about an accommodation, and made several equitable proposals by the request of Llewellyn and his brother, for sheathing the sword of destruction, and preventing the horrid devastation that must ensue, if the bloody standard of war should be carried into the country of that distressed and injured people. But his labours were in vain. Edward was determined to put a final period to the government of Wales, and exterminate all the remains of its ancient independence.

A.D. 1282. This resolution being taken, Edward led his army into the enemy's country, without meeting any opposition, Llewellyn and his brother having retired to their fastnesses in Snowden, waiting for an opportunity of falling on the English when embarrassed among the woods, with which that part of the country was over-run.

Edward, who had learned experience from his former expedition, invested the enemy by securing all the avenues through which it was possible for them to escape, and threw a bridge of boats over the river Menay, opposite to Bangor. Before this work was entirely completed, three hundred men at arms, under the command of lord Latimer and Lucas de Thany, a Gascon, passed the river to amuse the enemy, while the main body of the army crossed the bridge. The Welsh, who were well acquainted with the nature of the river, and knew that the water would soon swell and cut off their retreat, did not for some time molest the English in their passage; but

when about fifteen hundred of them were landed, they rushed down from their mountains with the most horrid cries, and fell upon the English with such fury and resolution, that they were immediately routed with the most dreadful slaughter, not a man escaping to carry the news of their misfortune, except lord Latimer, whose horse swam with him across the river.

This dreadful defeat so dispirited the English, that for some time their operations were suspended: they found it impossible to advance, and were ashamed to retire. The Welsh, on the other hand, flushed with their late success, and encouraged by the inactivity of the enemy, began to think themselves invincible; and their bards having persuaded them that the period was arrived for the accomplishment of the prophecy of the great Merlin, who had foretold, that one of the race of Llewellyn would ride through the streets of London with a crown on his head. This ridiculous notion, well adapted to the ignorance and superstition of the times, proved the destruction of Welsh army. It was resolved to commit the care of Snowden to David, while Llewellyn himself led the main body of the forces against the enemy.

This fatal resolution being taken, the prince advanced into Radnorshire, in order to join the remains of Montfort's party; but his little army was met at Pont Orewyn, a bridge which secures the passage over the Wye, by a detachment of the English, and totally defeated; and he himself, who had advanced some distance before his troops, killed by the hand of one Adam de Frampton, who carried his head to Edward, then encamped at Conway. Thus fell the famous Llewellyn, a prince descended from one of the most ancient royal families in Europe, and with him the small remains of Welsh liberty expired, after having been preserved in that little corner of the island above eighteen hundred years, against all the efforts of the English monarchy, though destitute both of foreign alliances, and a naval power.

The death of Llewellyn struck the Welsh with terror; they made no farther efforts to support the falling state of their country: the greater part of them submitted to the English. David himself retired to the woods and fastnesses of the mountains, where he continued for some time in the greatest distress; but was at last seized by his own countrymen in one of his retreats, and sent in chains to Edward. The captivity of David put a final period to all opposition: the Welsh nobility delivered up their castles, and the whole country submitted to the conqueror.

A.D. 1283. A parliament was summoned at Shrewsbury, to determine the fate of the unfortunate captive. The trial was, however, soon determined, and David, instead of being respected as the defender of the liberties of his country, was condemned to be hanged as a robber and a traitor. Such was still the ferocity of the greatest princes of this barbarous age! The bards, or Welsh poets, were also devoted to destruction. Edward well knew that nothing had a more powerful influence to keep alive the ideas of military valour and of ancient glory, than the traditional poetry of the people, when assisted by the power of music, and jollity of festivals. He therefore gathered together all the Welsh bards, and by a policy equally cruel and unjust, ordered them all to be put to death; so greatly did Edward dread the impression they might make on a people, jealous to excess of their ancient liberty. The following anecdote, which is very properly adapted to the taste of monkish writers, is related by several of our historians. "Edward, say they, assembling the Welsh, promised to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, born in their own country, and one who could speak no other language. The favour was accepted with the greatest acclamations of joy, and promise of obedience; and he immediately bestowed the investiture of the principality on his son Edward, then



then an infant, and born at Caernarvon." Since that period, the principality of Wales has given title to the eldest sons of the kings of England.

A.D. 1286. The tranquillity of the whole kingdom was now so firmly settled, that Edward passed over to the continent, in order to mediate a peace between Alphonso, king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately succeeded his father, Philip the Hardy, in the crown of France. He continued there near three years; and during the greater part of the time, was employed in this intricate negotiation, which was at last happily terminated by the labours of the English monarch, whose power was dreaded, and whose virtues were revered in every part of Europe.

A.D. 1290. But during his absence, great disorders had happened in the kingdom. The streams of justice were poisoned at their fountains by the corruption of the judges. Edward was determined to examine very strictly into their conduct; and accordingly summoned a parliament for that purpose, to meet at London; and before that assembly the judges were tried. Two only were found innocent: the proofs against the rest were so clear, that they made no defence, and were all deposed, and severely fined. The two judges who were found, on the strictest examination, to have administered justice with integrity, were John de Martingham, and Elias de Bokingham, both clergymen. In this parliament an act passed for banishing the Jews; and near fifteen thousand of that despised people, after being stripped of their property, except such sums as were necessary to pay their passage to the continent, were sent out of the kingdom. But many of them were not suffered to escape even with so small a pittance of their fortune: numbers were murdered by the seamen in their passage; and others, after being plundered of their little all, were left destitute on an inhospitable shore. Such are the dreadful effects of enthusiastic vengeance, when under no restraint from the laws of humanity. Nor did even this stretch of the common rights of nature and nations remove the complaint that gave rise to so cruel and imprudent a measure. It was thought that usury would be banished with the Jews; but this was a fatal mistake. The prohibitions against lending money, and the necessity in a trading nation for that practice to subsist, only increased the evil. The English themselves now became the usurers; but as both the canon and municipal laws permitted no Christian to receive interest, all transactions of this kind were clandestine, and consequently, the interest was greatly augmented, because none would lend money but on receiving a gratuity proportionable to the risk and infamy to which he was exposed for lending it.

While Edward was thus employed in what he thought a religious duty, he lost his beloved queen Eleanor, the fond partner in all his dangers and distresses in Palestine. She died at Hodefsby, in Lincolnshire, on the twenty-ninth of November, leaving the king overwhelmed with the most poignant grief. Her remains were carried to Westminster, and interred in the abbey with great funeral pomp: and at every place where her body rested, and where dirges were sung for the repose of her soul, Edward caused stone crosses, on which her arms were engraven, to be erected to her memory. Some of these monuments still remain, but greatly defaced.

It had always been lamented by the greatest statesmen, that England and Scotland were not united; and some attempts had been made to produce so desirable an event. Alexander III. king of Scotland, had been unfortunately killed by a fall from his horse in the year 1286, leaving no male issue. Margaret, daughter to Eric king of Norway, and grand-daughter to Alexander, was the only lineal descendant from the royal family of Scotland. This princess, then an infant, and known by the name of The Maid of Norway, was recognized successor by the states of Scotland. Edward, who was great-uncle

to the Norwegian princefs, now flattered himself that an opportunity offered for uniting the two kingdoms; and accordingly proposed a marriage between his son, the prince of Wales, and the Maid of Norway. The friendship which had for some time prevailed between the two nations, greatly facilitated this project, so favourable to the grandeur and happiness of both kingdoms. The estates of Scotland were pleased with the offers of Edward, and the marriage was agreed to on the following conditions:

1. That the Scots shall enjoy all their privileges and immunities, both ecclesiastical and civil; saving the rights of the king of England, or any other person on the marches or elsewhere.

2. That if Edward and Margaret should die without issue of the body of Margaret, the kingdom shall revert, intire, free, absolute, and independent, to the next immediate heir.

3. That in case of the death of prince Edward without issue of the body of Margaret, her majesty's person shall be remitted in like manner free, and independent, to Scotland.

4. That no person, either of the clergy or laity, shall be compelled to go out of the kingdom, to ask leave either to elect, or present those they have elected; nor to do their homage, fealty and services; nor to prosecute law-suits; nor, in a word, to perform any thing usually done in Scotland.

5. That the kingdom of Scotland shall have its chancellor, officers of state, courts of judicature, &c. as before; and that a new seal shall be made and kept by the chancellor; but with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the queen of Scotland engraved upon it.

6. That all the papers, records, privileges, and other documents of the royal dignity of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, shall be lodged in some secure place within the kingdom, at the pleasure of the nobility, whose seals should be appended to them, and there kept till either the queen shall return to her own kingdom, or shall have heirs to succeed her.

7. That all parliaments, when called to treat of matters concerning the state or inhabitants of Scotland, shall be held within the limits of the kingdom.

8. That no duties, taxes, levies of men, &c. shall be exacted in Scotland, but such as, being usual in former times, shall consist with the common interest and good of the nation.

9. That the king of England shall oblige himself and his heirs, in a bond of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, payable to the church of Rome, and to be applied to support the crusades in the Holy Land, to make restitution of the kingdom in the cases aforesaid; and that he shall consent that the pope refrain him and his heirs, by excommunicating them, and interdicting their kingdom to both the above restrictions, and payment of the said sum of money, if he or they do not stand to the premises.

10. That Edward, at his own expence, shall procure the pope to confirm these articles, within a year after the consummation of the marriage; and also, that within the same time the bull of his holiness shall be delivered to the estates of the kingdom of Scotland.

These articles being ratified, the bishop of Durham was appointed queen's lieutenant in Scotland; and two of the Scottish commissioners, the earl of Warrenne, and the dean of York, embarked for Norway, to settle every thing relative to the marriage; but in their return with the young princefs, they were unfortunately overtaken by a dreadful storm, and driven into one of the Orkneys, where she died. Thus were all the hopes formed on this coalition suddenly destroyed, and Scotland involved in all the calamities that attend a disputed succession.

The principal competitors for the Scottish crown were Robert Bruce and John Baliol, both descended in the female line from the brother of that William who had been taken prisoner by Henry II. Bruce



was the son of one of the younger daughters of the earl of Huntingdon, William's brother; and Baliol was the son of Devergilda, the only daughter of the eldest. The former was, therefore, one degree nearer the common stock; but the latter had a preferable title according to the law of primogeniture. The Scots, who were at this time a gross and ignorant people, were little qualified to discuss the claims of these competitors. The parliament was divided; and if they had determined the dispute by a plurality of voices, the competitors were so powerful, that there were little hopes of their submitting to their decision; the animosities of the parties would, in all probability, have been heightened, and the nation plunged into all the horrors of a civil war. It was therefore resolved to refer the contest to the king of England, who had already shewn himself so able and impartial an arbitrator in several contentions between different princes of Europe, and who was sufficiently powerful to compel the unsuccessful claimant to submit to his sentence.

A. D. 1291. Edward readily accepted the office; but they little thought he would abuse their confidence, in order to impose on their independence. He determined to establish a right of superiority over Scotland, a project he had some time since formed, though he had hitherto wished to obtain it rather by compact than claim; by the arts of policy and address, rather than by force of arms. He wished not to plant his standard of power in fields manured with the blood of their inhabitants. He fought, with the utmost diligence, for proofs in ancient histories; but the only circumstance he insisted on, which had the least appearance of plausibility, was the homage paid by William to Henry II. tho' Richard I. had renounced this homage. Furnished, however, with a number of uncertain testimonies, he advanced to Norham, a town on the northern banks of the Tweed, at the head of a powerful army, to give weight to the unexpected claim he intended to make. On his arrival, he invited the parliament of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to his camp; where the chief justiciary told the assembly, "That the king had taken the greatest pains to collect proofs from all the ancient records and chronicles, to determine this important truth, namely, That the kings of Scotland had been dependent on the English monarchs from time immemorial, and had accordingly done them homage, except when they had taken advantage of the intestine commotions of the nation, or the reign of a weak prince, to withdraw their allegiance. The king was, therefore, intitled to decide this dispute, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in the quality of liege lord of the kingdom."

The assembly were astonished at so unexpected a declaration; but it was in vain to make any resistance. They, however, begged to have some time allowed them to give in their answer, as many of the prelates and nobility of Scotland were absent, whose advice was necessary in a point of so much importance. Edward consented to indulge them with three weeks for that purpose; and issued safe conducts for all the nobility of Scotland to repair to Norham on the day appointed for giving in their answer. No objection being made by the barons to Edward's claim, the king addressed himself to the several competitors, requiring their acknowledgement of his superiority. Bruce was the first to acknowledge it; while Baliol, afraid of giving offence to the Scottish nation, consented with more reluctance. Having gained this important acknowledgement, Edward demanded that the principal castles in that kingdom should be put into his hands; adding, that it would be in vain for him to pronounce any sentence, without having it in his power to enforce it. The demand was complied with; and Edward having named commissioners to inquire into the claims of the competitors, and promised to pronounce sentence the

ensuing year, returned to England. The most celebrated lawyers of Europe were now consulted on this question; and the idea of a representation was so well understood, that their answers were unanimous in favour of Baliol.

A. D. 1293. After long debates, and several adjournments, Edward pronounced sentence in favour of Baliol; and he was immediately put in possession of the kingdom. All the English garrisons were withdrawn, and Baliol did homage, and swore fealty to Edward. He was also received as king of Scotland by all the nobility, and crowned at Scone with the usual formalities.

Some of the most bloody wars in Europe have arose from very trifling causes; but, perhaps, none from one of less importance than that which now threatened two powerful kingdoms with desolation. Two seamen, one belonging to a Norman, and the other to an English ship, having some dispute at a spring near Bayonne, with regard to the preference of filling their casks with water, the Norman attempted to stab the Englishman with a dagger he drew from his side. The latter perceived his design, grappled with him, threw his adversary on the ground, and the Norman was killed by falling on his own dagger. Exasperated at the death of their countryman, the Normans determined to take the severest revenge; and meeting with an English vessel, they hanged several of the crew at the yard-arm, together with some dogs; bidding the mariners inform their countrymen, that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. The English were not formed to bear so deliberate an insult: they made severe reprisals: the seas were covered with hostile fleets, while the kings of France and England seemed indifferent spectators of the dreadful outrages committed by their subjects. Fleets were fitted out for carrying on this new species of war, which now became truly alarming; and increased to such a degree, that in one of those naval engagements, the French lost near fifteen thousand men. Philip the Fair now demanded satisfaction from Edward; and being dissatisfied with his answer, cited him to appear before the peers of France, as duke of Guienne. Edward sent his brother Edmund into France, in order to accommodate the quarrel; and prevent, if possible, the ravages of a bloody war.

While these negotiations were carrying on at the court of France, an event happened which left the Scots no room to doubt of the absolute state of vassalage into which they were fallen. A burgher of Berwick, complaining of an injury he had received from some English commissioners sent into Scotland, Edward ordered the cause to be tried in England by his judges. The council of Scotland considering this order as a breach of promise in Edward, who had assured them, that any offences committed in their kingdom should be cognizable only in the Scottish courts, sent a remonstrance to the English monarch. But they obtained not redress: Edward declared, "That the cause should be tried in England; it belonged not to vassals to punish those that represented the person of their sovereign." But if the Scots were mortified at this instance of their dependency, they were much more so in the treatment of their new king, who was soon after obliged to appear personally before Edward, in his court at Westminster, to answer a complaint exhibited against him by the earl of Fife, for seizing certain estates of which he had been invested by Edward's particular order. At this trial Baliol was obliged to relinquish the seat of honour hitherto filled by the kings of Scotland in the English courts, and to plead his own cause at the bar as a common defendant. This pusillanimous submission rendered Baliol so contemptible to the Scottish nobility, that they chose a regency of twelve persons to direct the management of affairs. The Scottish monarch was alarmed; and notwithstanding the facility of his temper, determined to shake off so ignominious a dependence. He left the



court of London without taking leave, and Edward seized all his estates in England. Baliol saw his danger, and concluded a treaty with Philip. An incident that gave rise to that strict union which continued so many ages between the French and Scottish nations.

Edward intended by these indignities to engage Baliol in rebellion; that he might have a pretence for making an entire conquest of Scotland; but the situation of affairs on the continent prevented him from carrying his designs into execution. The French monarch refused to listen to any accommodation, unless some expedient could be found for repairing his honour, which he pretended was wounded on account of his being the liege lord of Edward with regard to his possessions on the continent. It was therefore proposed that the English monarch should put Philip in possession of Guienne, as a reparation for the insult; and that the king of France should immediately restore it to Edward. Philip promised, on the word of a king, to perform his part of the treaty; and Edmund was commissioned to give him the satisfaction he desired. But the French king had no sooner obtained possession of the province, than he refused to fulfil his engagement, cited Edward to appear in the court of France, and on his refusing to obey the summons, the province of Guienne, by a formal sentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown. Enraged at the shameful duplicity of Philip, Edward determined to take a severe revenge; while this infamous breach of faith awakened the highest resentment among the English, who resolved to support their monarch to the utmost of their power.

But large supplies were necessary for raising armies sufficient for attacking so formidable a power, and also keeping in awe the Welsh and Scots, both these people having given plain indications of embracing the first favourable opportunity of recovering their former independence. Edward had experienced the difficulties of raising money on the people without obtaining their consent, and therefore determined to pursue the method pointed out by Leicester during the late reign. He summoned two deputies from every every borough, in order to procure their leave to the levying of the necessary taxes on the people. "It is an excellent rule," said Edward in the preamble to this writ, "that what concerns all, should be approved by all; and that common dangers should be repelled by united efforts." A noble principle, and worthy of a more enlightened age! Nor did Edward stop here. He summoned also deputies from the inferior clergy, and these formed a lower house of convocation. They, however, refused to obey the king's writ, lest it should be construed as an acknowledgement of their having submitted to the authority of the temporal power. It was therefore agreed that the king should issue his writ to the archbishops, who should, in consequence, summon the clergy. The king intended that these deputies should, with the prelates, have formed one estate of the kingdom; but this expedient rendered it necessary for the ecclesiastics to meet in two houses of convocation, under their respective archbishops. The English parliament, for the assembly now properly deserved that name, being met, the barons and knights granted the king an eleventh of their moveables, the burgesses a seventh, and the clergy a tenth.

A. D. 1296. The war with France had for some time been carried on with various success; when pope Celestine, desirous of engaging the powers of Europe in another crusade, offered his mediation, and a truce was made between the belligerent powers. This cessation of hostilities with Philip enabled Edward to make preparations for repelling the attempts of the Scots, whom he knew were highly exasperated at the affront their king had lately received. While he was employed in raising an army necessary for that purpose, he received advice of the treaty secretly concluded between Baliol and Philip; but he was

not intimidated by the close connection between these two powers. He summoned Baliol to perform the duty of a vassal, and cited him to appear before the English parliament; but he refused the citation, and having procured a dispensation from his oath of fealty, he renounced his homage and defied the English monarch. Exasperated at the conduct of Baliol, Edward marched to the northward at the head of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The Scots army was more numerous, being composed of forty thousand infantry, and five hundred horse, but they wanted both discipline and experience; and, what was still of more consequence, dissensions prevailed among the leaders. From these alarming appearances, several of the Scottish nobility, among whom were Robert Bruce, the father and son, the earls of March and Angus, prognosticated the ruin of their country, and made their submission to Edward, who now passed the Tweed at Coldstream, without opposition. Berwick was taken by assault, and above seven thousand of the garrison put to the sword; the governor, Sir William Douglas, was taken prisoner. Earl Warrene was then dispatched, at the head of ten thousand men, to besiege the castle of Dunbar, defended by the flower of the Scottish nobility.

Baliol knew the importance of this fortress, and determined to venture a battle for its relief: and Warrene, informed of his intention, marched to meet him, when a dreadful battle ensued. The Scots, bad armed and disciplined, could not support the furious charge of the English; they were soon broke, and driven with great slaughter from the field of battle; above twenty thousand of them are said to have fallen by the swords of the English. The castle surrendered the next day to Edward, who then joined his army, and pursued his conquests without any farther opposition from Baliol's army. The castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Sterling submitted after a feeble resistance; and all the southern parts of the kingdom were immediately subdued by the English. The timid Baliol, instead of retreating to the mountainous parts of the country, where he might have supported himself against all the attempts of the English, hastened to make his submission. He expressed the deepest penitence for having disobeyed his liege lord, and made a solemn resignation of his crown into the hands of Edward, at Brechin, on the tenth of July. He was sent prisoner to the tower of London, and two years afterwards submitted to a voluntary banishment in France, where, without making any farther attempts for the recovery of his throne, he died in a private station.

Scotland being thus subdued, Edward sent to London the regalia, together with the famous fatidical marble stone, on which all the preceding kings of Scotland had, for many ages, been seated, when they received inauguration. The popular superstition of the Scots paid the highest veneration to this stone, which was regarded as the true palladium of their monarchy, and the ultimate resource in every national misfortune. The chief offices of the kingdom were entrusted to Englishmen. All the records and monuments of antiquity were destroyed; and the conqueror returned to England, persuaded that he had fully reduced the kingdom of Scotland to subjection.

But this expedition had drained his coffers, and he was obliged to have recourse to his parliament for a farther supply, in order to enable him to wrest the province of Guienne out of the hands of Philip, the truce with that monarch being now expired. The barons and burgesses very readily complied with his request, but he met with an opposition from the clergy, which was attended with some important consequences. Robert de Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, had procured a bull from pope Boniface VIII. who had lately succeeded Celestine in the papal chair, prohibiting the princes of Christendom, under the penalty of excommunication, from levy-



ing, without his consent, any tax on the clergy; and restraining, under the same penalty, all ecclesiastics from submitting to such impositions. Edward, who knew nothing of this bull, was astonished when the clergy refused their assistance, and published the bull, as a reason for their conduct. But Edward was not formed to submit to insults; he, however, adjourned the parliament till the fourteenth of January, that they might have time to deliberate on his demand, and form their final resolution.

A. D. 1297. Edward hoped that a little reflection would have rendered the clergy more conformable to his demands; but he was mistaken; the archbishop of Canterbury, in the name of the whole body, answered, "That the clergy owed obedience to two sovereigns, their spiritual and temporal; but their duty bound them to a much stricter attachment to the former than the latter." Edward, though highly enraged, concealed his resentment; but told them, that as they refused to assist the civil power, it was unreasonable for them to expect any protection from the laws. With this answer the clergy were dismissed, and orders issued to the judges, to receive no cause brought before them by any ecclesiastic; to hear and decide all causes in which they were defendants; to do every man justice against them; but to do them justice against nobody; at the same time he locked up all their granaries, and barns, and prohibited any rent to be paid them. The clergy were astonished; they had never before experienced the proper resentment of an English monarch. The archbishop of York and his clergy complied with the king's request, and received the royal protection; but Winchelsea grew more obstinate from persecution. He ordered the pope's bull to be published in all the churches of his province, and convened a synod of his suffragans at St. Paul's in London. But Edward, aware of his intention, issued a writ, inhibiting him, under pain of imprisonment, from denouncing any ecclesiastical censure either against the king, his ministers, or subjects. At the same time, the archdeacon of Bath appealed, in the king's name, to the pope against all proceedings; an expedient which effectually suspended every operation of the synod.

The clergy now found themselves in the most dreadful situation. Their houses and convents might indeed have afforded them a safe retreat, but they were in want of subsistence; and whenever they ventured abroad, they were robbed and abused by every ruffian. The people, who had hitherto beheld them with a kind of religious awe, now looked upon them with contempt, and laughed at their sufferings. The archbishop himself was robbed of his equipage and furniture, and at last reduced to board himself with a single servant, in the house of a poor clergyman. This situation was not to be endured: experience convinced them, that a deprivation of the advantages of citizens was the greatest calamity; and they accordingly became solicitous to satisfy both the king and the state. But in order to avoid an open disobedience to the positive injunctions of Boniface, instead of granting the king a fifth of their movables, they agreed to deposit an equivalent sum of money in some church or convent; whence it was taken by the king's officers.

These supplies, tho' very considerable, were far from being sufficient to answer the designs formed by Edward for taking ample vengeance on Philip for his perfidy; so that he was obliged to have recourse to arbitrary measures, extremely oppressive to the people. He imposed a tax of forty shillings on every sack of wool exported; he seized, without consent of the owners, the cattle and other commodities necessary for the supply of his army; and required the attendance of every proprietor of land, possessed of twenty pounds a year, even though he was not a tenant of the crown, and therefore not obliged by the tenure of his estate to perform any such service. It is no wonder that despotic measures like these, occasioned great uneasiness in the kingdom. The nobility were alarmed;

they gave countenance and authority to the complaints of the people, and Edward was soon convinced that he had pursued imprudent measures. An army was assembled on the sea coast, which Edward intended to embark for Guienne under the command of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, the constable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the marshal of England; while Edward himself, at the head of another army, attacked the French on the side of Flanders. This incident gave the two barons an opportunity of shewing their resentment at the arbitrary measures pursued by the king. They affirmed that their office obliged them only to attend his person in the wars, and therefore refused to lead the army. A violent altercation ensued; and the king, turning himself to the constable, exclaimed, "By God, Sir earl, you shall either go, or hang." "By God, Sir king," replied the constable, "I will neither go nor hang." And immediately left the army, with the marshal, and about thirty other barons of very considerable power.

Edward, however provoked by the refusal of the barons, was prudent enough to conceal his resentment, and laid aside his expedition into Guienne. He saw his error, and endeavoured, by pursuing conciliating methods, to get the better of this opposition. He caressed his nobility; he reconciled himself to the clergy; he made an apology for his conduct, which he imputed to the urgent necessities of the crown: and promised, on his return from his expedition, to redress all grievances, and restore the execution of the laws.

These political measures convinced the two earls, that it would be very imprudent to carry their resentments farther than they were warranted by the laws of their country. They accordingly contented themselves with drawing up a remonstrance, which was presented to the king at Winchelsea, when he was ready to embark for Flanders. Edward again promised them redress as soon as he returned to England, and added, that he hoped those nobles who had declined leading his army, would do no injury to his crown or kingdom during his absence. The barons were, however, far from being satisfied, and he had hardly landed on the continent, before the constable and marshal insisted on an authentic confirmation both of the great charter, and the charter of the forests. Edward was very desirous of putting it off till his return, but the parliament, which had been assembled at London by his order, joining with the two earls, and the charters being sent over to Flanders, he confirmed them in presence of all the prelates and nobility in his army.

A. D. 1298. Edward, though he lost no time by indolence, did not land in Flanders till the season was too far advanced for making any attempt of importance. The earl of Flanders, who had joined in a league with Edward, soon experienced the power and resentment of Philip. Lisle, St. Omer, Courtray, and Ypres were already wrested from him, and many more of the principal places in his dominions were threatened with the same fate. The arrival of Edward indeed put a stop to the success of Philip; but the two kings, instead of venturing a decisive action, agreed to a truce for two years; and engaged to submit their differences to the arbitration of pope Boniface. But as both these monarchs were jealous of the claims made on the most trivial pretences by the holy see, they took care to insert in their reference, that they did not submit their differences to his decision, from any right he might pretend by virtue of his pontifical character; but merely by their own consent, as a private person. The pope soon gave his sentence, which seemed to have been dictated by his passion rather than his judgment. He commanded not only a restitution of Guienne, but also the places which had been taken from the earl of Flanders. Philip was desirous of comprehending John Baliol and the Scots in this treaty; but this was absolutely refused by Edward. At last the two monarchs compromised their



their differences, by making mutual sacrifices to each other. Edward abandoned his ally, the earl of Flanders; and Philip gave up the Scots. This is not the only time the interests of allies have been sacrificed at the altar of ambition. The sentence of Boniface was, however, regarded, and the treaty cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himself with Margaret, Philip's sister; and that of the prince of Wales with Isabella, the daughter of that monarch.

During these transactions on the continent, the Scots made a successful effort for the recovery of their liberties. Edward had not been fortunate in his choice of persons to whom he had committed the administration of affairs in Scotland. Warrenne, earl of Surry, to whom the chief authority had been delegated, was, indeed, a man of prudence, virtue, and abilities; but his ill state of health obliged him to return to England. At his departure, the reins of government were intrusted to William de Ormesby, chief justiciary, and Cressingham, the treasurer. The former was distinguished by the rigour and severity of his temper, and the latter by his avarice. Persons of such characters were ill adapted to the task of reconciling the Scots to a yoke they bore with the utmost reluctance. Instead of making use of moderate and lenient measures, they treated them as a conquered people, and made them sensible of the servitude into which they were fallen. This exasperated the whole nation, and the Scots resolved to attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty.

Among those who had severely felt the hand of power, was one William Wallace, a person of small fortune, but descended from an ancient family. He saw the distresses of the people, and undertook the defence of his country. He was of a gigantic stature, prodigious strength, heroic courage, and disinterested magnanimity. He had retired to the woods, to avoid the vengeance of the government; and put himself at the head of a small body of men, who, like himself, had fled from the tyranny of the English. He planned his enterprizes with so much prudence, that he was always successful; and the fame of his exploits soon increased the number of his followers. He now determined to attack the governors, and accordingly advanced to Scone for that purpose. But Ormesby and Cressingham, apprized of his intention, fled into England, and were followed by all the other officers of that kingdom. Elated at this success, the Scots flew to arms; and some of the principal barons, among whom was Sir William Douglas, openly countenanced the party of Wallace.

The earl of Surry was now sufficiently alarmed, and endeavoured to recover by the celerity of his motions what he had lost by neglect. He entered Annandale, and came up with the Scottish army at Irvine before they were sufficiently formed. The nobility finding it would be in vain to oppose the English, made their submission, and obtained a pardon. Wallace, however, at the head of a chosen body of men, who had all bound themselves by an oath never to lay down their arms till they had effected the liberty of their country, retired before the capitulation was signed, and took post on a hill above the monastery of Cambuskenneth, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. Warrenne continued his march, and discovered the enemy on the opposite bank of Forth; but, at the same time, perceived the danger of attacking them in this advantageous situation, especially as the bridge over the Forth was so narrow, as hardly to admit two men abreast. Sir Richard Lundy, a Scotsman of birth and family, but a firm adherent to the English, desired a party of five hundred horse, and a proportional body of foot, might be put under his command; promising to pass the river at a ford a few miles above, and to fall on the rear of the enemy, in order to divert their attention while the main body of the army passed the bridge. This prudent design was, however, rendered abortive by the impatience of Cressingham, who being actuated, both by personal and national animosities, against

the Scots, urged the general to attack them immediately; exclaiming loudly against all delays, as expensive, and dishonourable to the king. Surry, who considered these reflections as censures upon his own conduct, ordered the army to pass the bridge immediately. But he paid dearly for his temerity. Wallace let as many of them pass as he was confident he could conquer; and then attacked them with such fury, that they were all cut to pieces, or pushed into the river, where they perished. Near five thousand men fell in the action, and among the rest Cressingham himself, who being found among the slain, the Scots flayed his dead body, and made saddles and girths of his skin. The remainder of the English army were so dispirited at the destruction of their countrymen, whom they could not assist, that Warrenne thought it advisable to make no farther attempts against the enemy; and accordingly returned, with the remains of his army, into England.

The Scots now flocked from every part of the kingdom to join the standard of Wallace, who was immediately declared regent of the kingdom during the captivity of Baliol. His forces were greatly elated with their success; and he immediately led them towards the borders of England, where he was sure of finding subsistence; the disorders of war, added to unfavourable seasons, having occasioned a famine in Scotland. The castles of Berwick and Roxburgh made but a feeble resistance, and opened the Scots a free passage into Northumberland. Wallace first led his victorious troops against Carlisle; but not being able to take the city, he ravaged the country as far as Durham, and returned loaded with plunder.

During these disorders in the north, Edward arrived in England, and determined to wipe off this stain of national disgrace, and make the enemy pay dearly for their victory. But before he put himself at the head of his army, he prudently endeavoured to appease the murmurs of his people by concessions and promises. He assembled a parliament at York, and ordered the two charters, together with the additional statutes in favour of public liberty, to be read and published for the satisfaction of the common people. This was accordingly performed with great formality; and the bishop of Carlisle solemnly denounced the sentence of excommunication against all violators of these charters. The king then ordered a strict account of the quantity of corn, and other commodities, which had been violently seized before his departure, to be taken, in order that the owners might receive satisfaction; and returned to the citizens of London the privilege of choosing their own magistrates, which had been taken from them in the latter part of his father's reign.

These popular measures gained him the hearts of his subjects; they flocked to his standard, and he soon found himself at the head of an hundred thousand fighting men; a force abundantly sufficient to reduce the insurgents to subjection. On the other hand, that union, which alone can render an army powerful, was wanting among the Scots. Divisions and envy took place among that unhappy people. The noblemen descended from the royal family of Scotland, instead of looking upon the patriotic virtues of Wallace with admiration, and joining in a glorious emulation in the service of their country, threw the most ungenerous reflections upon his conduct, and even charged him with having formed a design of seizing the crown. They chose rather to behold their country groaning under the yoke of perpetual bondage, than see themselves eclipsed by a person of inferior birth. Wallace saw the fatal consequences that must attend these divisions, and generously resigned his authority, retaining only the command of a body of men who refused to follow any other leader. The liberty of his country, not a desire of power, had called him from his retreat, and he willingly sacrificed the latter to preserve the former. On the resignation of Wallace, the command



mand of the army devolved upon the steward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenock, both eminent for their birth and fortune.

This contest being decided, the Scottish army marched to Falkirk, where they determined to wait the attack of the English. The army was drawn up in three bodies, the fronts of which were composed of pike-men, and the intervals filled with archers. But dreading the great superiority of the English cavalry, they endeavoured to secure their front with pallisades tied together with ropes.

Pleased with the hopes of terminating the war by one decisive action, Edward divided his army into three bodies, conformable to that of the enemy, and led them to the charge. The attack was begun by the English archers, who poured a dreadful shower of arrows upon the enemy. The Scottish bowmen, unable to support the fury of the English, were driven from the field of battle with great slaughter. The archers pursued their advantage; and pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, threw them into disorder, which was improved by the cavalry, and a general rout ensued, attended with the most dreadful carnage. It is impossible to fix, with any certainty, the number that fell in this remarkable battle. Some historians tell us, that no less than fifty or sixty thousand perished, while others have reduced their enormous account to twenty thousand. This, however, is certain, that the Scots never suffered a greater loss, nor ever experienced a defeat that seemed pregnant with more destructive consequences.

Wallace alone kept a considerable party of his troops together; and retiring behind the Carron, marched leisurely along the banks of that small river, which protected him from the enemy. Bruce followed him, appeared on the opposite bank, and desired a short conference. He began with reproaching the Scottish leader with madness, in taking up arms against Edward, one of the most powerful princes, and the best general of the age: at the same time insinuating, that Wallace himself had formed a design of seizing the crown. Wallace warmly disclaimed every ambitious intention; declaring, that the miseries of his country alone roused him to arms. Adding, that he had neither any right to expect, nor any inclination to seize the sceptre of Scotland. "To you" added he, "your country owes her afflictions. You left her overwhelmed with miseries, and I undertook the cause you so basely betrayed; a cause I mean to support while I have strength to wield a sword; nor shall I envy you a life of ease and pleasure in the court of a foreign tyrant. You, my lord, have, indeed, a just title to the crown, and might wear it with honour to yourself, and advantage to your country; but you seem to prefer the chains of servitude to freedom, and the smiles of despotism to the calls of honour."

Struck with the generous sentiments of Wallace, Bruce repented of his engagements with Edward. He saw his own conduct in a very different point of light, and determined to seize the first opportunity of joining those patriotic chiefs who had so nobly supported the cause of his country. Bruce now returned to the English army; and Wallace, at the head of the poor remains of the battle of Falkirk, retired into the northern parts of the kingdom, fully determined never to submit to the laws of the conqueror.

Unable to face the armies of the English, and desirous, if possible, to support the liberties of their country, the Scots implored in vain the protection of Lewis: he had abandoned them to the fury of the conqueror by his late treaty. But they were more successful in their application to Boniface; he undertook the defence of Scotland. That pontiff, who seemed determined to carry the power of the papal chair to the most extravagant height, wrote a letter to Edward; in which, after confuting the pretensions of that monarch to the superiority of Scotland, advanced claims still more absurd in their room. He asserted, with a singular degree of confidence,

that the pope was the true liege lord of Scotland; that his right was full, entire, and derived from the most remote antiquity. Edward, both astonished and offended at this bold assertion, was at first inclined to treat the pontiff's letter with contempt; but fearing the superstitious bigotry of the people might occasion disorders in the nation, and prevent his maintaining the superiority he had acquired over Scotland, he wrote an answer to the pope's epistle, and advanced claims to the Scottish crown, at least as chimerical as those of his holiness. He deduced the superiority of England over Scotland from the time of Brutus the Trojan, who, he said, first founded the British monarchy, in the time of Eli and Samuel. He laid it down as a fact, confirmed by the records of antiquity, that the English monarchs had often made grants of Scotland to their subjects, and had dethroned those vassal kings when they proved unfaithful to them. He recited, with great ostentation, the homage which William had done to Henry II. but mentioned not the abolition of that extorted deed by Richard I. These pretensions, however absurd, were confirmed by one hundred and four barons assembled at Lincoln for that purpose. But though they signed those pretensions, and agreed to send them to Boniface, they took particular care to prevent this act from affording the least pretension for his holiness to make it the foundation of any claim to a superiority over England. They annexed a positive declaration, that though they were willing to submit these proofs to him as a man, they did not by any means receive him as a judge. "The crown of England" added they, "is free, nor will we suffer even the king himself to relinquish its independency."

A. D. 1303. The Scots, though their army had been so totally defeated at Falkirk, were not subdued: fresh forces had joined the remains of that army in the mountainous parts of the kingdom, and again attacked the districts possessed by the English. An army of ten thousand men was soon formed under Cummin, appointed regent on the resignation of Wallace, and advanced to Biggar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. John de Segrave, whom Edward had left guardian of Scotland, assembled all the English forces in that kingdom to oppose the Scots; but perceiving that it would be difficult to procure the necessary quantity of provisions for their subsistence in a body, he separated them into three divisions: the first was commanded by himself in person, the second by his brother, and the third by Sir Robert Neville. Cummin determined to take advantage of this separation, and advanced, under covert of the night, to attack Segrave's division, which lay at Rossin, about sixteen miles from the Scottish camp. As soon as the dawn appeared, the English discovered Cummin's army marching to attack them, but it was too late to make the necessary preparations; the Scots fell upon them before they could form themselves in order of battle, and obtained an easy victory: a few only escaped, by flying to the second division, informing them at once of their misfortune, and the approach of the enemy. The commander immediately drew up his men, and led them on directly to revenge the death of their countrymen. A bloody contest ensued. The Scots, elated with success, charged with the utmost fury; while the English, animated with vengeance, made a noble resistance. The battle continued for some time doubtful, but at last terminated in favour of the Scots, and the English were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. By this time the third division, under the command of Sir Robert Neville, appeared; and the Scots, already exhausted with fatigue, and their ranks considerably thinned by the two former actions, would willingly have declined the engagement. They pleaded the excessive labours they had already undergone; they pointed to their wounds, and desired to retire while it was yet in their power. Cummin, who knew that a retreat was now impossible, reminded them of



the cause for which they were fighting, the tyranny of the English, the glory of their ancestors, and the disgrace of slavery. His arguments prevailed, and having furnished the followers of their camp with the arms of the vanquished, and mounted the horses they had taken, stood the shock of a third engagement, and with the utmost difficulty obtained the victory. The event was not, however, wholly inglorious to Neville; he rescued Segrave, who had been taken prisoner in the first engagement, and retreated in excellent order. The Scots soon after made themselves masters of Stirling castle, and gave the command of that fortress to Oliphant, an officer celebrated both for his courage and capacity.

But these successes on the part of the Scots, proved only gleams of sunshine before a dreadful storm. Edward determined to revenge the disgrace of his forces, and appointed Roxburgh for the rendezvous of his army. Every precaution was taken to ensure the success of this expedition, and to prevent any want of provisions, a numerous fleet was fitted out with orders to sail along the coast, and attend the march of the army with proper supplies. The forces being assembled at Roxburgh, Edward advanced into the heart of Scotland, at the head of an army that would have rendered all opposition in the open field, a species of madness: the Scots had no other resource than to fly for safety to the woods and fastnesses of their country. The only opposition Edward met with was from two or three castles; the rest opened their gates on the first summons. In this manner he led his army from one extremity of Scotland to the other: his vigilance preserved his forces from surprise, and his fleet supplied them with plenty of provisions. Even the intrepid Wallace, though he followed the English armies, found few opportunities for displaying his valour. The conduct of Edward rendered all his attempts abortive.

A. D. 1305. Edward having entirely finished the conquest of Scotland, applied himself to settle the administration; and in order to render the Scots more submissive to his government, he conferred on several of the nobility particular marks of his favour. Ten persons, two from each order of bishops, abbots, earls and barons, and two for the community of the gentry, were chosen as deputies to the parliament summoned to meet at London, in order to settle the administration in a manner at once both permanent and advantageous to all parties. The conferences were accordingly opened, and after a consultation of twenty days, the civil establishment of Scotland was fixed in the following manner: "Eight justices were to be appointed to regulate the affairs of government; the natives of both kingdoms were rendered equally capable of filling the posts of power and trust in Scotland. John, earl of Britany, was appointed guardian of that kingdom, and the offices of chancellor, chamberlain, and judges, were filled partly by English and partly by Scotsmen."

It was also agreed, "That the Scottish laws and customs should be abolished; and that a parliament should be summoned, on the guardian's arrival in Scotland, in which the laws of king David should be revived, together with the amendments and additions made to them by succeeding kings: that the guardian, with the concurrence of his council, should have full power to make such alterations and amendments, as should seem most consistent with the good of the kingdom, and the safety of the subject, without consulting the king: but if any difficulty should arise, which required a more mature deliberation to remove, the whole should be properly stated, and sent by the deputies from the states of Scotland to the English parliament, where the question should be finally determined."

At the breaking up of the parliament, Edward issued a general pardon to all the Scottish nobility who had carried arms against him. Wallace, however, was excepted; the king insisting that he should surrender himself at discretion. That chief still conti-

nued in arms, at the head of a few followers, and still cherished the expiring sparks of Scottish liberty. But the publication of Edward's pardon caused a very considerable desertion in his little party, and he was obliged to wander from one part of the country to another, in order to keep himself concealed from the vigilant eyes of his enemies. He continued this itinerant course of life for some time; but was at last betrayed by Sir John Monteith, his former friend, and sent prisoner to London. Edward, whose natural bravery should have induced him to cherish similar qualities in an enemy, was so enraged at some violences committed by Wallace during the fury of the war, that he ordered him to be tried as a rebel and traitor, and executed on Tower-hill.

A. D. 1306. Exasperated at this barbarous policy, the Scots, before disgusted at the many innovations introduced into the laws of their country by the sword of a conqueror, meditated a severe revenge; they wanted only a chief of determined resolution to lead them against the enemy. Nor was it long before a general of the greatest merit appeared. Robert Bruce, descended from the royal family of Scotland, determined to seize the sceptre of his ancestors. He well knew, that after the submissions he had made to Edward, he should never be able to appear with any advantage, while the illustrious Wallace, then the idol of the common people, survived; but the death of that chief removed the only obstacle to his ambition. John Baliol, the competitor with Bruce's father for the Scottish crown, died also about the same time. This incident united the two parties, which had before divided Scotland, and greatly encouraged Bruce to attempt the deliverance of his country from the yoke of slavery. He was now at the court of Edward, and opened his mind to Cummin, who approved of his design, and promised his assistance; but by reflecting coolly on the enterprize, he changed his opinion, and informed Edward of Bruce's intentions; the king, who suspected that the discovery of Cummin proceeded from envy, omitted to secure the person of Bruce, till he was convinced of the truth from concurring circumstances.

The doubts of Edward saved Bruce from imprisonment; but his friends soon perceived the dangers to which he was exposed; and the earl of Gloucester, thinking it would be imprudent either to converse with Bruce, or give him the necessary information in a letter, sent him, by a servant, a pair of gilt spurs and a purse of gold, which he pretended he had borrowed from him. Bruce soon perceived the meaning of the ænigmatical present, and immediately effected his escape. Soon after his arrival in his native country, he presented himself at a meeting of the Scottish nobles, discovered to them his designs, and exhorted them to join in the noble attempt to break the chains of servitude, and revenge the insulted rights of their fellow citizens. They listened to his remonstrances, and declared their resolution of seconding his patriotic designs and asserting the undoubted rights of the nation, against their common oppressors. Cummin alone opposed this general determination. He represented the attempt as pregnant with destruction; he told them it was madness to oppose the power of the English, while that power was in the hands of a prince of such uncommon vigour and abilities. He added, that nothing but the most rigorous punishments could be expected, if they again broke their oaths of fealty, and shook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward. Bruce, who plainly foresaw the failure of all his ambitious projects from the opposition of Cummin, followed him, on the dissolution of the assembly, to the cloisters of the Grey Friars, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kilpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, asked him if the traitor was slain. "I believe so," replied Bruce. "And is that a matter," cried Kilpatrick, "to be left to conjecture? I will secure him." He immediately ran to Cummin, and drawing his dagger, stabbed him to the heart. This act, so justly condemned





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Lady Mary Bruce exposed, as a public spectacle,  
at Roxburgh castle, by order of EDWARD the first.*







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



condemned in the present age, was then considered as a noble achievement of patriotic virtue.

It was now too late to recede: no pardon could be expected from Edward; Bruce and his party had only the alternative to conquer or perish. No time was to be lost, and that martial leader improved every moment: he flew into different parts of the kingdom to rouse his countrymen to arms, and persuade them to shake off the galling yoke of slavery. The Scots embraced with ardour the pleasing hopes of recovering their liberty. Their courage was stimulated by oppression. The English were again driven out of the kingdom, except those who had taken refuge in places of strength; and Bruce received the crown of his ancestors in the abbey of Scone.

Edward was no sooner informed of this unexpected event, than he sent Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, at the head of a considerable body of forces, into Scotland, to check the progress of the insurgents. Bruce had collected a considerable number of forces, but they were raw and undisciplined, and consequently unable to withstand the attacks of veteran troops. They were encamped at Methven near Perth, without suspecting the approach of an enemy. Pembroke profitted by their ignorance; he attacked them in the night, and drove them from the field. Bruce behaved with the greatest intrepidity; was thrice dismounted from his horse and as often recovered himself: but all his efforts were in vain; he was obliged to submit to superior fortune, and seek his safety in a speedy flight. This dreadful disaster struck the Scots with terror: the greater part of them deserted their leader, and Bruce was obliged to fly for shelter to the Western Isles.

A few days after this defeat, Edward himself arrived in Scotland, and divided his army into two bodies, one of which he sent to the northward under the command of the prince of Wales, assisted by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford. The prince made himself master of the castle of Kildrommey, and soon after took the countess of Buchan, and the lady Mary Bruce, sister to the king, prisoners. These two ladies Edward, from a disingenuous motive of revenge, ordered to be shut up in wooden cages, and one of them to be hung over the battlements of Roxburgh, and the other over those of Berwick, as public spectacles to the insulting populace. After performing this successful expedition, the prince met his father at Perth: all Scotland was once more subdued by the forces of Edward, and that prince returned to Carlisle.

A. D. 1307. Bruce, who had hitherto concealed himself so effectually that it was generally believed he had perished in the wreck of his army, now appeared at the head of a small body of men, and committed the most dreadful ravages upon the peaceable inhabitants who were in the interest of the English. Edward, at once alarmed and exasperated at this sudden and unexpected interruption of the public tranquillity, dispatched the earl of Pembroke, at the head of a considerable body of forces, to attack the insurgent in his retreat; but Bruce, who was well ac-

quainted with the nature of the country, led the earl into an ambuscade, and totally defeated his forces.

Edward now made preparations for invading Scotland with more fury than ever; he determined to make the rebels feel the weight of his resentment. But he lived not to execute his designs. He had for some time been afflicted with a dysentery, which had weakened him exceedingly; but his eagerness to finish the reduction of Scotland, suffered him not to continue at Carlisle. He set out at the head of his forces, but the fatigue of marching increased his distemper; and he died at Burgh on the Sands, on the seventh of July, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Edward had many virtues and some vices; but the former were more than sufficient to balance the latter. His ambition, and a desire of increasing the power of his kingdom, seem to have formed the ruling passion of his soul. In pursuit of these, he scrupled not to pursue measures inconsistent with the liberty of his people. The equity of his enterprize against Scotland has been justly questioned; but when it is remembered, that the union of the two kingdoms must have been attended with the most solid advantages to both, we shall, perhaps, be more inclined to praise than censure his conduct. At the same time, it must be confessed, that if his character should be thought exceptionable in this particular, his country obtained the most permanent advantages from his activity, his courage, his policy and his prudence. He restored authority to the government, maintained the laws against all the efforts of his turbulent barons, and executed justice with severity on all who disturbed the domestic peace of the kingdom. His merit as a legislator was so great, that he is often called "The English Justinian;" because, in his reign, the laws acquired a great perfection, and justly deserved the name of Establishments. He settled the jurisdiction of the several courts; and he first established the office of justice of peace. His conduct with regard to the clergy was more politic; he saw their power, and was desirous of preventing its increase. Their possessions were unalienable, and perpetually augmenting: he therefore prohibited them from making new acquisitions, by passing the statute of mortmain. But the undertaking that will always render the name of this great legislator dear to the English, was his establishing the House of Commons, by summoning two deputies from every borough, conformable to the example of the earl of Leicester. By this means the boroughs became of importance in the state; and the mechanics and tradesmen, whom the feudal system had placed in a despicable point of light, acquired the honour of being one of the branches of the legislature; trade was encouraged, and men of property thought it no disgrace to engage in the commerce of their country. In a word, this great prince laid the foundation for that species of government which unites all the advantages of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, and which is still the glory and boast of this island.

## EDWARD II. surnamed of CAERNARVON.

A. D. 1307. **Y**OUNG Edward, who was twenty-three years of age on the death of his father, was remarkable for the gracefulness of his person, the majesty of his appearance, and the mildness of his disposition. But he was not inspired with the spirit of his father. He was born to obey minions and favourites; not to govern a great kingdom, and support the authority of the crown over a proud and turbulent nobility. The English had formed the most pleasing ideas of enjoying both happiness and

tranquillity under his government; but they soon perceived that all their hopes were built on a chimerical foundation, and that the pleasing prospect was merely delusive; it vanished like the cloud of the morning. His father, on his death-bed, had charged him to pursue the war against Scotland with the utmost vigour. "Carry my ashes before you," said he to his son; "the rebels will never be able to support the sight of them." But young Edward had no talents for war. He marched, indeed, against Bruce,



Bruce, who now appeared at the head of a respectable army, but returned with precipitation; he seemed to dread the fatigues of victory.

Piers Gaveston, a gentleman of Guienne, possessed of a few talents, frivolous in themselves, but capable of attracting the regard of weak and inferior minds, engrossed the friendship and favour of Edward. His beauty, and his great address in all the genteel exercises, constituted his chief merit, while his vices threatened destruction to the state. Gaveston, however, gained so entire an ascendancy over the young Edward, that his father had banished this favourite from the kingdom, and made his son promise him, in his last moments, never to recall him. But young Edward paid no regard to his solemn asseveration: his heart was so strongly disposed to friendship and confidence, that one of the first acts of his reign was to send for this unworthy minion, who was already detested by the nation. He created him earl of Cornwall, married him to his own niece, and entrusted to him the government of the kingdom.

While Edward was thus lavishing power, honours, and estates, on a worthless favourite, the war in Scotland was neglected. Bruce, who had retired to his fastnesses on the approach of the former Edward, now appeared boldly in the plain, fell upon the county of Galloway, and reduced it to his obedience. The earl of Britany was sent, at the head of a powerful army, to stop the career of the Scots; and Bruce perceiving that it would be in vain to contend with a force so far superior to his own, once more retired to the mountains and morasses of that country.

A.D. 1308. Edward, after passing over to the continent, and consummating his marriage with Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, was crowned, with his new queen, at Westminster, on the twenty-fifth of February. But a difficulty arose, previous to the performance of the ceremony, which greatly alarmed the monarch. The barons, exasperated at the insolence of Gaveston, who affected to treat them with the most mortifying contempt, refused to assist at the coronation, unless Gaveston was banished the kingdom. Edward promised to redress all their grievances, provided they would not force him to delay the ceremony; and the barons, in return, agreed to suspend their resentment. But Gaveston was so far from profiting by these national marks of disgust to his person and conduct, that he appeared, with the most fastidious pomp, in the procession, in which he carried the crown of St. Edward before the king. One of the barons was so highly provoked at his assuming behaviour, that he was, with some difficulty, prevented from sacrificing the insulting favourite to his resentment.

A party was now formed against the insolent Gaveston, at the head of which was Thomas earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and once the most opulent and powerful subject in England. The confederated barons bound themselves, by a solemn oath, never to desert each other till the detested favourite was banished the kingdom. Favoured by the opposition of the nobility, the people paid no longer any submission to the laws: robberies, murders, and other alarming disorders, the constant preludes to civil war, were committed in every part of the kingdom. Gaveston still despised the threatening storm, and even treated the young queen with contempt.

A parliament was now called to remove these disorders, and restore the domestic tranquillity of the kingdom. The barons, determined not to miss so favourable an opportunity of effectually humbling the favourite, came to Westminster attended by a numerous armed retinue, required the banishment of Gaveston, and prevailed upon the bishops to threaten him with excommunication. Edward found it would be madness to resist, and therefore complied with their demands; but instead of sending him out of the English dominions, as the barons expected, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and ac-

companied him as far as Bristol when he set out for his new government.

A.D. 1309. Edward, deprived of the company of Gaveston, carested his nobles, and soon removed the bad impression made on their minds by the insolent behaviour of the favourite: they even consented to his being recalled, and all resentment seemed to be buried in the grave of forgetfulness. But Gaveston learnt not wisdom from experience: he forgot his former misfortunes, and resumed, on his return, the same insolence and ostentation which had before procured his exile. The barons were now more provoked than ever; they determined to put it out of the power of the king himself to protect so hated a minion. They again came to parliament, attended by an army of their retainers, and compelled the king to surrender his authority into the hands of twelve persons, whose ordinances were to have the force of statutes.

A.D. 1311. This junto governed the kingdom twelve months, and then produced a set of ordinances, which the king confirmed with the same facility he granted this unlimited commission to the barons. By these ordinances it was enacted, that the church should enjoy her privileges; that the peace of the kingdom should be kept; that the two charters should be observed; that the customs should be collected by natives, and paid into the exchequer, whence the money should be issued by the treasurer and chamberlains for the maintenance of the household, that the king might be supported by his own revenue, without being obliged to oppress the subject; that Emery Frenobalde, and his partners, by whom the customs had hitherto been farmed, should account for their receipts within a fortnight after Michaelmas, on pain of being arrested, stripped of their effects, and treated as public enemies. That no prizes should be taken by the king's officers without the owner's consent. That the duty of three shillings on every tun of wine should be no longer collected. That the jurisdiction of the steward and marshal of the king's court should be limited to causes respecting the officers of the household, and such as resided within the verge of the court. That it should be deemed felony for any person to take corn, goods, or merchandize, under a false pretence of purveyance for the king. That sheriffs should be appointed by the chancellor, treasurer, king's council, barons of the exchequer, and justices of the king's bench; and that none should be entrusted with the office but such as had lands of sufficient value to answer for their actions. That parliaments should be held once a year. That the coin of the kingdom should not be altered, but for very cogent reasons, and by consent of the baronage. That all persons prosecuted unjustly, and acquitted, should be entitled to damages. That none should be appealed maliciously, or outlawed in counties where they had no lands or tenements. That they should neither forfeit their estates, nor lose their lives, provided they surrendered themselves to the king's prison to stand trial. That pardons for robbery, and other felonies, should not be granted without good reason, but deemed void, unless agreeable to the king's oath, the course of law, and the custom of the kingdom. That all privy-seals for stopping law, or common right, on false pretences of being in the service of the crown, should be declared void, and the plaintiff recover damages on the discovery of the deceit. That the jurisdiction of the court of exchequer should be confined to such pleas as concerned the crown, the officers of the exchequer, and their menial servants. That acquittances should be given for debts paid, and accounts passed in the exchequer; or, if denied, the plaintiff should have redress in parliament. That all grants of lands, castles, towns, offices, wards, and escheats, in any part of the king's dominions, made since the sixteenth of May in the preceding year, should be resumed by the crown, and not renewed



renewed to the same persons, without the advice of the barons, or consent of the parliament; and that all grants which should be made before the king's debts were paid, and his revenues improved, should be deemed null and void; and the procurers of such be punished by the award of the baronage. That all evil counsellors should be removed from the king's person, particularly Henry de Beaumont, and his sister the lady Vesey, who had obtained grants from the king dishonourable to the dignity, and prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown. That whereas Piers Gaveston had given evil counsel to his majesty, removed all persons of integrity and abilities from the public offices; and supplied their places with his own weak and worthless creatures, embezzled the king's treasure, impoverished the realm; by obtaining unreasonable grants, and procuring blank charters, which he filled up according to his own pleasure; protected robbers, arrogated to himself the royal power and dignity, and formed associations inconsistent with the laws of the land; he should, for these misdemeanors, abjure the kingdom for ever before the first of November; and if found in any part of his majesty's dominions after that day, should be treated as a public enemy. That the king should not leave the realm, nor declare war against any prince or potentate, without the consent of the barons. That on his quitting the kingdom with their consent, a guardian of the realm should be appointed by the parliament, who should also nominate the chief officers of the state, of the household, of the revenue, and of justice; as well as the keepers of forests, the escheators on both sides the Trent, and, in a word, all persons employed under the crown in any part of his majesty's dominions. That all persons in office should take an oath to observe these ordinances; and that one bishop, two earls, and as many barons, should be chosen in every parliament, to receive complaints against the king's ministers, and others who should violate these ordinances, and to punish offenders at discretion.

Several of the above ordinances were truly laudable, and tended to the regular dispensation of justice, and the protection of the weak against the powerful; but others wholly deprived the king of his prerogative, and rendered him a mere cypher in government. Edward knew this; and therefore, when he signed them, he secretly determined to observe them no longer than he had an opportunity of declaring them void, and of no effect. For as the commission was granted solely for the purpose of making such ordinances as should be advantageous both to the king and his people, such articles as should be found prejudicial to either, could not be considered as ratified and confirmed. The parliament was therefore no sooner dissolved, than the king repaired to York, where he published a proclamation, repealing the article relative to the exile of Piers Gaveston, "as being unjust, and contrary to the oath taken by the king at his coronation."

A. D. 1312. Gaveston immediately obeyed the royal mandate, and was reinstated in all his former credit and authority. Exasperated at this conduct of the king, and dreading the resentment of the powerful minion, the barons flew to arms, and besieged Gaveston in Scarborough castle. The king exerted all his power in raising an army for the relief of his favourite; but his attempts were in vain; the people refused to join his standard. While the king was thus employed in endeavouring to raise a body of forces, Gaveston, sensible of the bad condition of his garrison, and the want of provisions, was obliged to capitulate; by which it was agreed, that he should surrender himself a prisoner for two months, during which time means should be used for bringing about an accommodation; but if the terms proposed by the barons should not be accepted, the castle should be restored to him in the same condition as when he surrendered it. Pembroke, who had conducted the

siege of the castle, being now master of the favourite's person, conducted him to the castle of Dedington, near Banbury, where he left him, probably by consent of the others, with a feeble guard; under pretence of pressing business. But before he returned Gaveston was carried off by the earl of Warwick, who, together with the earls of Lancaster, Arundel, and Hereford, in violation of their engagements, and contrary to all laws human and divine, caused him to be beheaded by the hands of an executioner.

Edward was transported with rage when he was informed of the death of his favourite. He threatened to take the severest vengeance, and even to exterminate his whole nobility who were concerned in that detestable action. But he soon found that his threatenings were in vain. The more reasonable part of the nation could not indeed behold this bloody tragedy without horror, and dread the consequence of a reformation begun with murder and perjury; yet they did not think it advisable to plunge the nation into all the horrors of a civil war, and depopulate the kingdom to revenge a breach of the laws of humanity. Nor was Edward himself inexorable in his resentments: he soon listened to the terms of accommodation. It was stipulated, that the barons should ask him pardon publicly on their knees, and he was so pleased with these vain appearances of exterior submission, that he readily forgave them all their past offences.

A. D. 1314. The death of Gaveston having thus restored tranquillity between the king and his barons, it was now determined to send a powerful force against the Scots, who taking advantage of the troubles in England, had made inroads into the northern counties, and committed the most dreadful ravages. The whole military force of the kingdom was assembled; and Edward put himself at the head of a powerful army, which, according to the Scottish writers, amounted to an hundred thousand men. Bruce, whose army was inferior in numbers, endeavoured to supply by art, what he wanted in strength. Persuaded that this important contest was to decide the fate of his kingdom, he chose the field of battle with the utmost prudence, and made the necessary preparations for receiving the English. He posted himself at Bannock-burn, about two miles from Sterling; having a hill on his right flank, and a morass on his left. In the front of his camp ran a small rivulet, the banks of which, as well as the bed of the stream, he filled with sharp stakes; and caused deep pits to be dug a little beyond the opposite bank, into which sharp stakes were also planted, and the whole covered over with turf. The van of the English army reached the neighbourhood of the Scottish camp in the evening of the twenty-fourth of June, and a smart skirmish ensued between two parties of cavalry. The English were led by Henry de Bohun, a younger brother of the earl of Hereford, and the Scots by Bruce in person. The contest was very bloody; but was at last decided in favour of the Scots, by the valour of Bruce, who rode up to Bohun, and cleft his head with a battle-axe, in sight of both armies. The English, on the loss of their leader, retreated to the army; but had not night put a stop to the reinforcements which were marching to the relief of each party, the action had then become general.

As soon as the morning appeared, the English troops prepared for the dreadful conflict. The wings, composed of cavalry, were commanded by the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, and the king himself led the centre or main body. Bruce drew up his forces, consisting chiefly of foot, in three lines, and a body of reserve. The centre was commanded by himself, the right wing by his brother Edward, the left by Randolph, and the body of reserve by Sir James Douglas.

Just as the charge was going to be sounded, a dispute happened between the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, with regard to making the first attack upon the



the enemy. The first claimed it by custom, as having always been enjoyed by his ancestors; and the latter as constable of England. The earl of Gloucester determined not to submit to his opponent, broke the rank, and impelled by all the ardour of youth, rushed on to the attack, and fell among the covered pits, by which means his whole squadron was thrown into confusion, and he himself perished. This imprudent folly of youth proved fatal to the English army. Several of the covered pits had been discovered during the skirmish in the evening; and the king, in order to prevent a similar misfortune, gave orders for a body of infantry to take a circuit round the morafs, and attack the main body of the Scottish army in flank; and during the confusion of that unexpected attack, the cavalry were to have forced the passage of the rivulet, and fallen sword in hand on the embarrassed enemy.

The fate of Gloucester was hardly determined, when the body of infantry having made the prescribed circuit, fell with the utmost fury on the wing commanded by Randolph, and galled them so severely with repeated showers of arrows, that they were thrown into disorder. Sir James Douglas perceived the confusion, and fell suddenly upon the rear of the English with such impetuosity, that they were routed with great slaughter. The main body of the English, however, marched up with great resolution to attack the enemy; when they observed on the heights towards their left, the appearance of another army marching leisurely to surround them. This formidable appearance was nothing more than a number of waggoners and sumpter boys, whom Bruce had supplied with military standards, which at a distance gave them the appearance of a numerous body of forces. The English were struck with a panic; they fled with the utmost precipitation, and Bruce obtained a complete victory. The booty acquired by the Scots was prodigious; besides which they took several persons of distinction prisoners, who paid largely for their ransom. Edward himself had scarce time to reach Dunbar castle, before Sir James Douglas appeared at the head of four hundred horse, hoping to intercept Edward if he attempted to escape to Berwick by land; but the king eluded his vigilance by passing to that town in a small vessel.

By this victory the independence of Scotland was secured, and Robert Bruce firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors. That intrepid general distinguished himself as much after the victory by his humanity and generosity, as he had done in the battle by his bravery and prudence. He treated all his prisoners with the greatest tenderness; he sent the bodies of the earl of Gloucester and lord Clifford to the English monarch at Berwick; he dismissed lord Monthermer, for whom he had a particular friendship, without ransom; he exchanged the earl of Hereford and other noblemen, for his wife, his daughter and sister, the earl of Mar and the bishop of Glasgow, who had remained prisoners in England ever since the battle of Methven; and he caused the dead bodies left on the field of battle to be decently interred.

A.D. 1315. Notwithstanding this alarming misfortune, which called for the united force of the whole kingdom to recover the loss sustained at Bannock-burn, the barons, who seemed regardless of the honour of their country, were not in the least affected, they even founded the hopes of their own future grandeur on the weakness and distresses of the crown. They no sooner saw the king return with disgrace, than they insisted on a renewal of their ordinances, and Lancaster was placed at the head of the ministry. Edward perceived his danger, and sensible of his own incapacity for holding the reins of government, attached himself to a new favourite. This was Hugh le Despenser, or Spencer, a young man of high rank, descended from a noble family, and an Englishman by birth. He possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address, necessary to engage the affections of Edward; but wanted that prudence and

moderation which alone could have supported him in this dangerous pre-eminence, surrounded by such numbers of powerful enemies. Had the opposition of the barons, however, been founded on virtue, and directed only to support the honour of their country, these defects would have been considered as abundantly supplied by the talents and experience of the father of this new favourite, and who had also acquired a considerable share in the administration. He was a nobleman venerable for his age, and during his whole life had been respected for his wisdom, his valour and his intrepidity. But envy now obscured all his merits; his past services were forgotten; and he was, together with his son, devoted to destruction by the turbulent barons. They first indicated their displeasure by absenting themselves from parliament; but this not producing the desired effect, they determined to have recourse to more powerful methods for completing their designs.

It was not long before an opportunity offered which gave them a pretence for attacking the ministers. Edward, who had set no bounds to his bounty with regard to his favourites, had not only married the younger Spencer to his niece, one of the co-heiresses of the earl of Gloucester, slain at the fatal battle of Bannock-burn, but also given him a barony, which it was pretended had reverted to the crown. This transaction, which could be considered as nothing more than a proper subject for a law-suit, caused an insurrection in the kingdom. Lancaster, and several other barons, flew to arms, and peremptorily demanded the banishment of the two Spencers. The king refused to comply; upon which they marched to London, and presented to the parliament an accusation against the favourites. All resistance was in vain: the two Spencers were condemned to banishment without a single crime being proved against them. They, however, submitted to their sentence, and all disturbances seemed happily to subside.

A.D. 1321. Possibly Edward, in his circumstances, might have submitted to this encroachment made upon his prerogative, had not a fresh insult roused him from his indolence. The queen, having occasion to pass by the castle of Leeds in Kent, belonging to lord Badlesmere, one of the confederated barons, dispatched some of her servants to desire a night's lodging in the castle; the request was not only denied, but they were even refused admittance, and some of them killed. This outrageous behaviour to a princess who had joined the barons against the younger Spencer, was resented by all parties, and the king, levying an army, made himself master of the castle, and put the governor and several of the garrison to death. This seasonable act of justice was approved even by the turbulent barons themselves, and Edward, who saw the consequences of provoking that ferocious body, was determined to attempt the recovery of his prerogative. He ventured to recall the two Spencers, whose sentence he declared to be illegal and unjust, as being passed without the consent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him and the barons assembled in parliament. He added, "That he was bound by the great charter to receive the petitions of the Spencers, because he was obliged not to deny justice to any man."

A.D. 1322. But neither reason nor the voice of humanity itself, had any force with the associated barons; they continued in arms, but their forces were not sufficient to meet those of the king in the open field. In this distressful situation, they had recourse to the Scottish monarch, with whom they concluded a treaty, promising to recognize his title to the crown of Scotland; and that prince in return, stipulated to assist them with a body of forces. Encouraged by the hopes of a powerful assistance, and joined by the earl of Hereford at the head of his retainers, Lancaster posted himself at Burton upon Trent, in order to defend the passage of the river. But he wanted intrepidity in the day of battle; he was intimidated at the approach of the royal army, and retreated towards



towards Borough bridge, in order, if possible, to reach the borders of Scotland. Unfortunately for Lancaster, Sir Andrew Harcla, governor of Carlisle, suspecting his design, posted himself, at the head of a body of troops, to oppose his passage over the Eure, so that Lancaster found himself reduced to the wretched alternative of venturing an engagement, or surrender himself a prisoner to Harcla. He chose the former: but the earl of Hereford being slain in the first attack, the barons troops fled with great precipitation, and Lancaster was taken prisoner. Harcla conducted the earl to the king at Pomfret, where he was tried by a court martial, and condemned to death. Lancaster now experienced the same indignities which had before been practised upon Gaveston. He was dressed in mean apparel, placed upon a lean horse without a bridle, and a hood put upon his head. In this ignominious manner he was conducted to an eminence in the neighbourhood of Pomfret, amidst the scoffs of the rabble, and there beheaded. Thus fell Thomas earl of Lancaster, a prince of the blood, and one of the most powerful barons ever known in England; but whose turbulent temper hurried him into measures destructive at once of the peace of society, and the honour of his country. He sacrificed all the rules of justice and humanity to his revenge, and fell himself a victim at the altar of his own ambition.

But the sanguinary inquisition did not end with the death of Lancaster; about twenty other barons were afterwards tried and executed. Many made their escape into France, and others were thrown into prison. Opposition seemed to lie gasping at the feet of Edward. Harcla was rewarded for his services with a large estate and the earldom of Carlisle; but he did not long enjoy the royal bounty. He entered into a treasonable correspondence with the king of Scotland, and paid the forfeit of his life as an atonement for his folly.

The younger Spencer profitted not by former experience. Elated with success, and giddy with power, he inflamed still farther the hatred of the public against him, by new acts of violence. Fresh complaints were every day presented against his conduct, and the king, despairing of making a successful campaign against Scotland, while the nation was divided, concluded a truce with Robert for thirteen years; and the Scottish monarch, though his title to the crown was not acknowledged in the treaty, was satisfied with ensuring himself a quiet possession of it during so considerable a period.

A. D. 1325. But Edward did not long enjoy his triumph over the turbulent barons: calamities of a more violent kind now threatened the destruction of the English monarch. Charles the Fair, the third son, and the third successor of Philip the Fair, summoned Edward to do him homage for his province of Guienne. Spencer, who saw all the consequences that might attend his own authority during the king's absence, would not consent to his leaving the kingdom. The parliament was consulted, and it was the unanimous opinion of the whole assembly, that it was improper for the king to go abroad in person, but that ambassadors should be sent to the court of France, requesting that the homage might be delayed till a more convenient opportunity. Charles refused to postpone the ceremony, and sent a body of forces to attack Guienne. It was now thought proper to send the queen Isabella to her brother's court, in order, if possible, to bring about an accommodation; but all her attempts were in vain; Charles insisted on the homage being performed immediately by the king in person.

In this critical situation of affairs, the fertile imagination of Isabella, furnished her with an expedient for removing all difficulties, and putting it in her power to be revenged on the younger Spencer, whom she detested. She proposed that the king should resign the sovereignty of Guienne to his son, and that the prince should be sent to Paris to perform the du-

ties of a vassal. This proposal concealed a snare which the English council never expected. Edward and Spencer were charmed with the contrivance, and the young prince soon after arrived at Paris. Isabella had now gained her principal point, and determined to make use of her good fortune, by procuring the destruction of her enemies.

Edward and his favourite were soon convinced of the egregious blunder they had committed, in trusting the person of the heir apparent to the crown in the hands of an ambitious woman. The queen, on her arrival in France, had found a great number of fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian party; and their common hatred of Spencer soon cemented a secret friendship between them. Among the rest was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron in the Welsh marches, and one of the leaders of the late rebellion. This young nobleman soon insinuated himself into her affections, and she sacrificed to a vicious passion all the sentiments of honour and fidelity she owed to her husband. It was in vain that Edward ordered her to return; she declared her resolution of continuing in France till the Spencers were banished England with infamy and disgrace.

A. D. 1326. Edward tried every gentle method to bring her to a sense of her duty, but in vain; she remained deaf to the lenient voice of intreaty. Recourse was therefore had to the pope, who readily engaged in the cause of the injured Edward. He wrote a very pressing letter to the king of France, insisting, even on the pain of excommunication, that the queen of England should be sent back to her husband. Charles was so affected by this menace of the pontiff, and much more by the shameful commerce carried on between Mortimer and his sister, that he determined to support her no longer. He accordingly shewed her the pope's letter, and desired that she would quit his dominions immediately.

Isabella had provided against this event, which she had for some time expected. She had affianced her son, the prince of Wales, to the daughter of William, count of Hainault and Holland; who, in return, promised her an asylum in his dominions, and to assist her with a body of troops to humble her enemies. She therefore retired directly into Hainault, where she was received with the greatest marks of kindness and respect. Every method was now used for raising an army to attend the queen and the young prince to England; and about three thousand men at arms were collected for this expedition, under the command of John de Hainault, the count's brother. But Isabella did not found her hopes of success on the number and valour of her troops in the intended invasion of her husband's dominions, but in the connections she had formed with the discontented nobles. All the old Lancastrian faction were ready to join her; and the families of about twenty of the nobility, who had suffered with the late earl of Lancaster, were the more zealous in their attachment, as they hoped, in consequence of her success, to be restored to the estates which had been forfeited in consequence of the rebellion of their relation. Besides these, others had joined the queen's party. The king's brothers, the archbishop of Canterbury, with other prelates, and several of the most powerful barons, approved her measures; so that nothing was wanting but the appearance of the queen and the prince, with such a body of foreign forces as was sufficient to protect them against immediate violence, to turn the whole force of the tempest against the unfortunate Edward.

The queen having collected her forces at Dorset, embarked with her son, and landed in Suffolk on the twenty-fourth of September. She was immediately joined by the princes of the blood, and other factious nobles. But to give her hostile appearance a still more favourable aspect, she renewed her declaration, that the sole motive of her enterprise was to deliver the nation from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of chancellor Baldock, their creature. This proclamation had the desired effect: the ardour of the English



to join the standard of the queen was amazing; even Robert de Watteville, who had been sent by the king to oppose her progress in Suffolk, deserted to her with all his forces.

Edward now saw the consequences of his folly in parting with the young prince, whose presence secured the barons against forfeitures. The king was still at London, and applied to the citizens for assistance against the invaders of his kingdom; but he soon perceived that no reliance could be placed on their loyalty; they were also poisoned with the leaven of rebellion. Edward therefore set out for the western parts of England, hoping that his subjects in that corner of the kingdom would commiserate majesty in distress, and support their king against the unnatural rebellion of an implacable woman. But he was deceived; they flocked not to his standard; and that unfortunate prince formed a resolution of passing over into Ireland, leaving the elder Spencer to command in the castle of Bristol.

Edward had hardly left London, before the populace committed the most dreadful disorders. They plundered the houses, and murdered the persons of all who were obnoxious to them. Even the acknowledged virtues of the bishop of Exeter could not protect him from their rage. He was dragged, like a felon, to the great cross in Cheapside, where his head was severed from his body. The other cities followed the example of the capital; and taking advantage of the national confusion, committed every species of outrage with wantonness and impunity.

The earl of Kent, assisted by John de Hainault, at the head of his foreign mercenaries, pursued the king to Bristol, and invested the castle, where the elder Spencer had shut himself up, and would have defended the fortress to the last extremity, had not his garrison been infected with the disloyalty of the times; but they mutinied against their commander, and delivered him up to the enemy. No respect was paid to this venerable nobleman, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year. All his former services, as well as his virtues, were forgotten; and though they could alledge nothing against him but his loyalty to his master, he was condemned to death by the rebellious barons, and hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor. So dreadful is the passion of revenge in the breasts of a ferocious nobility; the common dictates of humanity, as well as the laws, both human and divine, are sacrificed at its altar!

The king, pursuant to his resolution, had embarked for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himself among the mountains of Wales. Isabella was alarmed when she heard her husband was still in his own dominions. She feared that the distresses of their sovereign might turn the tide of popular favour against her party; and it was determined to seize the royal person. The difficulty of discovering his retreat was soon removed, by bribing the Welsh; and the king was taken at Caerfilly, in Glamorganshire, with the younger Spencer, Baldock the chancellor, and a few domestics; all the rest of his courtiers having deserted him in his misfortunes. The king was committed to the care of the earl of Lancaster, and confined in Kenilworth castle. The younger Spencer, without any form of trial, was executed, with the most shocking circumstances of barbarity and insult. Baldock, the chancellor, being a priest, could not, with safety, be so suddenly and so illegally dispatched. He was conducted to London, where he was assaulted by the populace, who used him with the utmost cruelty, and threw him into Newgate, where he soon after expired.

A.D. 1327. But the measure of Isabella's wickedness was not yet full. It was not sufficient to have seized the person of the king; it was also necessary that he should resign his sceptre, and even that his life should fall a sacrifice to her safety. She made no scruple of convoking, in the name of her hus-

band, a parliament, who were to dethrone him. A charge was accordingly exhibited against him; in which, though it was drawn by his most inveterate enemies, nothing but his confined genius or his misfortunes were objected to him; malice itself not being able to find any particular crime that could be objected against him. But this was of little weight in an assembly convoked for his destruction. The spirit of faction had annihilated justice. The parliament deposed the king with the same facility they would have banished a simple individual. Certain commissioners were immediately named for carrying to Edward the resolution of the parliament with regard to his deposition. This deputation consisted of three bishops, three earls, two abbots, and two knights for each county, together with Sir William Trussel, one of the judges, who was nominated the nation's particular procurator. They were instructed to use every argument in their power to prevail upon Edward to make a voluntary resignation of that power with which they were determined to trust him no longer.

The bishops of Hereford and Lincoln, two of his most inveterate enemies, were sent to converse with him before the deputies arrived, in order to prepare him for the approaching change of his condition. Edward was sufficiently convinced that his fate was determined when these two prelates appeared; and the manner in which they discharged their commission was perfectly similar to the rest of their conduct. Instead of pouring the balm of consolation into the breast of wounded royalty, they aggravated the pungent smart by a thousand malicious insinuations: and when they perceived Edward made the least struggle to maintain his dignity, by refusing to confer with the deputies; they told him, "that if he continued obstinate in refusing to resign, the parliament would involve his whole family in his guilt, exclude all his children from the succession, and place another person on the throne of his ancestors." This menace awakened all the fondness of a father in the soul of the unfortunate Edward: he paused; he dropped a tear to the remembrance of his fallen state; consented to admit the deputies to an audience, and retired to his chamber. As soon as he had recollected his spirits, he entered the chamber of audience dressed in a mourning habit; but after the articles of impeachment against him were read, and the commissioners had demanded his immediate resignation, he was unable to stand the shock; his spirits forsook him, and he had fallen to the ground, had not the bishop of Lincoln supported him in this dreadful moment of conflicting passions. As soon as he recovered, he proceeded to the ceremony of resignation, by delivering, with his own hands, to the commissioners, the crown, sceptre, and other ensigns of royalty, which had been brought thither for that purpose. And Sir William Trussel renounced, in the name of the parliament and people, all future allegiance and fealty.

The melancholy ceremony being finished, the commissioners returned to London, and young Edward was placed on his father's throne. But it was impossible to prevent these atrocious acts of violence from opening the eyes of a deluded people. The cruelty, the perfidy, and the infidelity of the queen, joined to her impudent hypocrisy, in publicly bewailing, with tears, the misfortunes of the king, who owed them all to her execrable conduct, could not fail of exciting the indignation of the English. Her infamous commerce with Mortimer increased the public odium, and she was looked upon with detestation by every friend to truth, to virtue, to fidelity. The current of popular favour was now changed; the queen was regarded with horror, while the fate of the unfortunate Edward was deplored. A scene of majesty in distress attracted the pity, the compassion, the tears of the people. The earl of Lancaster himself was touched with these generous sentiments:



ments: he treated his prisoner with the greatest kindness and respect; he is even said to have entertained more honourable intentions in his favour.

Isabella and Mortimer were alarmed; they well knew the consequence, if Edward should again be placed in the seat of power; and determined to add the guilt of murder to their long catalogue of crimes. The king was accordingly taken out of the hands of Lancaster, and delivered over to lord Berkley, and Mautravers and Gournay. Berkley himself behaved with great kindness to the royal captive; but the two others treated him with the utmost cruelty and insolence, though the goodness of Edward's constitution supported him under all these afflictions, till orders arrived from the queen and Mortimer to finish the inhuman tragedy. But even his death was to be attended with cruelty. These detested monsters in the human shape, threw the imprisoned monarch on his bed, held him down violently with a table, which they threw upon him; and thrust into his fundament a red-hot iron, inserting it through a horn, in order to prevent any external marks of violence upon his person. But the guards and servants were sufficiently apprized of the horrid deed; by the screams with which the king, in such unutterable agonies, filled the castle. These proclaimed to the world the infernal orders of an adulterous woman, and a perfidious nobleman. They cried to heaven for vengeance, nor did they long cry in vain.

Thus perished, by the hands of inhuman assassins, Edward II. a prince of the mildest disposition, though he experienced the fate of a tyrant. He was totally incapable of government in those ferocious times. The sceptre was too weighty for his feeble arm. He might, indeed, have reigned in tranquillity, had he placed his favours on deserving objects; and if the exorbitant power of the barons, in that age, would have submitted to the authority of a minister. But the nobles, whose turbulent disposition the great abilities of his father were scarce sufficient to restrain, overturned the constitution when the reins of government were held by a more feeble hand. They dreaded the valour and firmness of the one, and despised the slender abilities of the other. The laws wanted power to restrain the violences of the great, and the voice of justice was stifled amidst the din of arms. The king was accused of crimes committed by his enemies; and all the dreadful scenes of devastation, the natural consequences of civil discord, though they owed their rise to the turbulent ambition of his barons, were imputed to him. The people considered their monarch as the source of those misfortunes which flowed from the brutal manners of the great. His most inveterate enemies have not accused him of any crime; and perhaps it will be difficult to find, in the annals of history, a prince more innocent, or more inoffensive than Edward II. But the feudal constitution required a person of strength, of firmness, of valour, to hold the reins of government. Edward was destitute of these abilities; and fell a victim to vice and licentiousness in the forty-third year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign.

The king left four children, two sons and two daughters. Edward, his eldest son, who succeeded him in the throne; John, afterwards created earl of Cornwall, and died very young at Perth: Jane, afterwards married to Edward Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald, count of Gueldres.

During this reign, the order of the Knights Templars was dissolved, by the barbarous injustice of Clement V. instigated by the cruel and vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair. This order owed its rise to the first fervour of the crusades; and by uniting valour with devotion, the two most popular qualities of that age, and employing both in the defence of the Holy Land, they soon made rapid advances to credit and authority. Hence they also acquired, from the piety of the faithful, very ample possessions in every country of Europe, especially in France.

But time having relaxed the severity of their original virtues, and convinced them of the inefficacy of those expeditions to the East, which had so long depopulated Europe, they chose rather to enjoy in their native countries those opulent estates, than expose themselves to incessant dangers against the infidels in the Holy Land. By this change of conduct they lost their popularity; while their riches tempted the avidity of several of the monarchs of Europe. But though they were no longer beheld with reverence by the people, they still maintained a considerable part of their former credit; the vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair alone proved the source of their destruction. They were accused, by two profligate and imprisoned knights of their own order, of crimes so repugnant to reason and policy, that their being mentioned was abundantly sufficient to destroy the credit of the witnesses. But Philip was implacable. All the Templars in France were seized and committed to prison in one day; above an hundred of them were put to the most cruel tortures; and fifty-nine burnt together near the abbey of St. Antoine, in Paris. Even the grand master of the order, John de Molay, and Guy, brother to the sovereign of Dauphiné, two of the principal noblemen in Europe, the one by his dignity, and the other by his birth, were committed alive to the flames before the church of Notre-dame. Clement V. one of Philip's creatures, and who then resided at Poitiers, abolished the whole order; by the plenitude of his apostolic power. Their conduct underwent the strictest scrutiny in several parts of Europe, but not the least trace of the crimes imputed to them by Philip was even pretended to be discovered. A very ample testimony of their piety and morals was sent to the pope by the English.

The Arts and Sciences made but a small progress in England during this period. But it often happens, that in the darkest nights of ignorance and error, some bright star of uncommon lustre darts the beams of genius amidst the dreadful gloom, and illuminates, for a season, some parts of the dull obscurity. Roger Bacon was a genius of this kind, and born for the instruction of the human species; but the age in which he lived knew not his merit. He was a Franciscan friar at Oxford, and styled Doctor Mirabilis for his great learning; but much more for his inventions, the genuine characteristic of genius. He discovered the telescope, burning-glass, camera obscura, gun-powder, the transmutation of metals, and several other particulars known only to himself. Future times, and future artists, have claimed the discoveries made by Bacon. A greater genius in mechanics had not then arose since the days of Archimedes. But all his merit could not protect him against the barbarous opinions of the age in which he lived. He was persecuted by an enthusiastic clergy, at a time when philosophy had made a less progress than any other branch of learning; and geometry and astronomy were branded with the odious name of necromancy. He died on the eleventh of June, 1292.

In the year 1237, water was first conveyed into the city of London, by means of leaden pipes from springs in the manor of Tyburn; but the infant artists of that age were forty-eight years in completing that useful work; the great conduit in Cheapside, built of stone, and furnished with cisterns lined with lead, not being finished till the year 1285.

The noble discovery of the mariner's compass was made about the year 1302; but the person to whom we owe that invaluable acquisition is not certainly known; though one Flavio de Givia, a native of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, is said, by several, to have been the fortunate person. But though the English lay no claim to the discovery, they were the inventors of the box in which the magnetical needle is suspended, a contrivance by which it is always kept in an horizontal position.

When it is considered that all Europe was now involved



involved in a night of superstitious ignorance, we shall not be surprized that so few discoveries were made during this period. The sciences were absorbed in mysteries of theology, and learning chiefly confined to the clergy, who generally employed their talents in usefess, and often in ridiculous speculations. Some indeed studied physic, but in so strange and imperfect a manner, that every epidemical distemper which resisted their injudicious method of practice became a real plague, and swept away multitudes of people. The physicians were too ignorant and too positive to admit of any innovations in the practice of the healing art; they knew not the art of adapting

medicines to the nature of the disease, and the constitution of the patient.

Among other wild and ridiculous notions, which prevailed in this age of bigotry and superstition, it was imagined, that the persons afflicted with the leprosy, a disease then very common, had conspired with the Saracens to poison all the springs and fountains in several countries. This chimerical notion, which evidently sprung from the source of ignorance, drew on those unhappy persons the utmost severity of justice. The physicians were too ignorant to convince the people of the injustice of so ridiculous an accusation.

## B O O K VIII.

From the deposition of Edward II. to the death of Henry IV.

### E D W A R D III. furnamed of W I N D S O R.

A. D. 1327. **E**DWARD, though placed in the seat of power on the resignation of his father, was too young to hold the reins of government; a council of regency was appointed by the parliament for directing the administration of affairs during his minority. This council consisted of twelve persons; five prelates, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford; and seven lay peers, the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Surry, and the lords Wake, Ingham, Piercy, and Rofs. The earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector of the king's person. But it could not be expected that the dreadful disorders which had so long desolated the kingdom, would subside during the minority of young Edward; especially as the reins of government were held by a faithless, passionate, headstrong woman, totally governed by an ambitious and unexperienced minister, who, though he possessed even more power than the younger Spencer, had neither his abilities nor his interest.

Bruce, who considered the truce as terminated by the resignation of the elder Edward, took advantage of the unsettled state of the kingdom, and made an attempt upon the castle of Norham, but the governor, Sir Robert Manners, having received intelligence of the design, made so furious a sally on the Scottish forces, that they were put to flight with great slaughter, and obliged to retire with precipitation into their own country. Bruce was not, however, intimidated, he collected an army on the frontiers, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, under the command of the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, and threatened to invade the northern counties. The Scots had been long trained to the desultory practices of war. The noble equipage of their troops consisted of a bag of oatmeal, which, as a supply in cases of necessity, each foldier carried behind him, together with a light plate of iron, on which he instantly baked the oatmeal into a cake in the open fields. But his chief subsistence was the cattle he seized; and his cookery was as expeditious as his other operations. After slaying the animal, he placed the skin hanging loose in the form of a bag, on some stakes driven into the ground for that purpose; he poured a sufficient quantity of water into this bag, kindled a fire below, and thus made it serve as a cauldron to boil his victuals. Soldiers like these, wholly unincumbered, and who dislodged themselves in a moment, could ravage provinces with impunity; and to this particular they chiefly owed the success

they met with in their invasions of the northern counties.

The English ministry were averse to a war with Scotland, but it would have been fatal to their power had they suffered such insults to escape with impunity. Young Edward earnestly desired to lead his troops against the enemy, and chastise their insolence. No objection was made to his making the campaign in person, and he marched to the northward at the head of sixty thousand men. After the utmost difficulty he found the enemy encamped on the declivity of a hill, at the foot of which was the river Were. But however desirous Edward was of coming to an engagement, he soon perceived that he could not attack the enemy in their present situation, without exposing his army to the utmost danger. Incensed at being so near the enemy without being able to bring them to an engagement, Edward sent them a defiance, and challenged them to meet him in the open field, and terminate their quarrel by a decisive battle. Douglas was highly exasperated at this defiance, and advised to accept the challenge sent by the king of England; but the motion was over-ruled by Murray, who told Edward, that he never listened to the counsel of an enemy in any of his operations. But Douglas, tho' he could not prevail on Murray to bring on a general engagement with the English, determined not to continue idle in his camp. He put himself at the head of two hundred horse, passed the river in the night, and entering the English camp unperceived, advanced as far as the royal tent, with a design to surprise and carry off the king. But the attempt was rendered abortive by some of Edward's servants, who awaking in the critical moment, made a noble resistance, and sacrificed their lives in his defence. The king himself cut his way through the Scots, who had entered his tent, and escaped. The English were now alarmed, the greater part of the Scots were slain; but Douglas himself, with a few followers, found means to retreat to his own army. Soon after the Scots decamped during the night, and marched with such expedition, that it would be in vain for Edward to hope he should be able to overtake them.

A. D. 1328. The bad success of this expedition fell violently upon the infamous Mortimer, who had usurped the whole authority of the government. The king himself was highly incensed, and was determined to free himself from the power of a minister who seemed regardless of national honour. Mortimer saw his danger, and thought it necessary, on any terms, to make a peace with the Scots. Accordingly



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England*





he entered into a negotiation with Bruce, whom he acknowledged as king of Scotland, renounced the English claim of superiority, and was contented in return with stipulating the payment of thirty thousand marks. Though the queen and Mortimer had sufficient interest to procure a confirmation of this treaty by the parliament, yet it was no sooner made public, than it excited an universal clamour throughout the kingdom; the people expressed their resentment in the most poignant terms. They declared openly, that this peace was neither honourable nor necessary; that those who concluded it had basely sacrificed both the blood and treasure of the nation to private views; that the queen, who under pretence of her husband's incapacity, had usurped his authority, had now sufficiently discovered how unable she herself was to hold the reins of government; and that all the errors committed by the elder Edward during the whole course of his reign, were nothing in comparison to what she had done in the very beginning of her administration.

Mortimer perceived that his treaty with Bruce had rendered him very unpopular, and he began to dread the consequences, especially when he was informed, that the earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, the archbishops of Canterbury, the bishops of London and Winchester, and several powerful barons, had determined to impeach him before the parliament. He knew the consequence if a majority in that assembly should favour the complainants, and exerted all his power to bring about a reconciliation. He succeeded; and it was agreed that all grievances should be redressed in the ensuing parliament. In the mean time a general pardon passed the great seal, for all who had joined in the late confederacy.

A. D. 1329. But though Mortimer had been obliged to temporize, he was determined to have his revenge, and to single out an object that might strike his enemies with terror. The weakness of the earl of Kent promoted his criminal intentions. He caused a report to be spread, that Edward the second was yet alive and confined in Corfe castle. The earl, who had always retained a sincere affection for that unfortunate brother, though he had joined the queen's party to drive the two Spencer's from the kingdom, immediately formed a design of replacing him on the throne. But the treacherous Mortimer had no sooner procured sufficient proofs of his design, than he caused him to be seized, and committed to prison.

A. D. 1330. The parliament was immediately assembled, and the slavish though turbulent barons, condemned him to lose his life and fortune. The queen and Mortimer, apprehensive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution, and he was beheaded the day after his sentence was pronounced. But though the barons wanted virtue and fortitude to oppose the designs of an insolent minister, the earl was so beloved by the people, that when he was brought upon the scaffold, the common executioner refused to perform his office; nor could any one be found to supply his place, till the evening, when the sentence was executed by a felon from the Marshalsea, who, as a reward for his service, received a free pardon for all the robberies he had committed. But crimes like these could not long remain unpunished by a prince who knew how to reign.

This inhuman action filled up the measure of Mortimer's crimes, and rendered him universally odious. All parties, forgetting their former animosities, conspired the destruction of this insolent and perfidious minister. Edward himself, now in his eighteenth year, was desirous of taking into his own hands the reins of government, and bringing to exemplary punishment, a man who made no scruple of sacrificing the honour of his country, and the lives of the nobility to his insatiable thirst of power. But it was absolutely necessary to use the utmost precaution. Mortimer had so entirely engrossed the admini-

stration of affairs, that the whole power of the kingdom was at his devotion; he was always upon his guard, was continually attended by one hundred and eighty armed knights and their followers, and had even surrounded the throne itself with his emissaries, who acted as spies on the behaviour of the king and his friends. A prince of less fortitude than Edward would have been deterred by so many difficulties; but Edward was a stranger to fear. He imparted his design to William lord Montacute, and several other noblemen, who all promised their assistance, and it was determined to seize Mortimer during the session of parliament which was summoned to meet at Nottingham.

In order to this it was proposed that the king should occupy the castle of Nottingham, which would enable them to carry on their designs with more safety and success; but on their arrival they found the castle already filled with the attendants of Isabella and Mortimer, one or two apartments only being left for the king and a few of his attendants. It was now sufficiently evident, that it would be impossible to execute their design without the assistance of Sir William Eland, the governor of the castle. Lord Montacute was therefore sent to gain him over to their party, which was effected with great facility, that gentleman joyfully embracing an opportunity of shewing at once his affection for the person of his sovereign, and his detestation of those, who by their infamous conduct, had brought their country to the brink of destruction. But at the same time, he informed Montacute that it would be impracticable for him to admit any assistance by the common entry, the castle being strictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen. He, however, recollected, that there was a subterraneous passage formerly contrived as a secret outlet to the fortress, but at present concealed by a heap of rubbish. Through this cavern therefore he undertook to conduct the confederates to Mortimer's apartment. The attempt succeeded; Mortimer was seized in an apartment adjoining to that of the queen, without the least resistance, and sent directly under a strong guard to the tower of London.

A parliament was immediately summoned to meet at Westminster for the trial of this tyrannical minister, and a proclamation was issued for all persons who had any complaints to prefer against him, to appear before that assembly, in order to obtain redress for all their just grievances. Nor was justice long deferred. The first business that engaged the attention of the national assembly was the impeachment of the tyrannical Mortimer. The accusation was immediately drawn up, and consisted of nine articles, which contained many high crimes and misdemeanours. Among others, he was accused of having usurped the regal power from the council of regency appointed by the parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conspiracy to restore that prince; of having solicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demesnes; of having dissipated the public treasure; of secreting for his own use twenty thousand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of having repaired to the parliament with an armed force, disturbed their deliberations, and threatened several of the members with death. These facts were all notorious. It was thought unnecessary to call witnesses: and Mortimer was condemned to suffer as a traitor, without being suffered to make his defence. The sentence was executed on the twenty-ninth of November, at the Elms, about a mile from London, where this once powerful nobleman was hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor. The queen was confined to her house at Risings in the neighbourhood of London, and her revenue reduced to four thousand pounds a year. The king constantly visited her once or twice a year, during the remainder of her life; but she never recovered the least degree of power or authority in the state.



A. D. 1331. Edward now published a proclamation, informing his subjects, that he had taken into his own hands the reins of government. He could not have diffeminated a more pleasing article of intelligence. The people were rejoiced at seeing on the throne a prince, of whose abilities for government they had already formed the most pleasing idea; and the first acts of his public administration tended to convince them that their hopes were not founded on a chimerical basis. He resumed all the grants that had been made of the royal demesnes during his minority, and rewarded those who had assisted him in seizing the ambitious Mortimer. He remitted the fines and confiscations that had been awarded against the barons who had opposed the destructive measures of that minister. He reversed the sentence of attainder against the earl of Kent, restored his son to the family estate and honours, and his widow to the enjoyment of her jointure. All the sheriffs that had been appointed by Mortimer, he displaced; dispatched orders to all the judges to administer strict justice to all persons without delay, notwithstanding any letters that might have been procured from the crown to the contrary; and pursued every measure that appeared conducive to establish the public peace, and introduce a frugal management of the national treasure.

Besides the disorders that had crept into the administration of public affairs, there were others that equally required the abilities and firmness of Edward to remove. The kingdom was infested with numerous bands of robbers, who, taking advantage of the late commotions, had set the power of the magistrates at defiance, and exercised, with impunity, their lawless depredations. They were even openly protected by the great barons, who employed them against their enemies. It was therefore previously necessary to destroy this alarming connection before the evil could be removed. Accordingly Edward exacted a solemn promise from his barons, assembled in parliament, to break off all connections with such malefactors, as a disgrace to nobility. He issued a proclamation, forbidding all jousts and tournaments, which served as a plausible pretence for assembling great numbers of armed men, to the disturbance of the public tranquillity, and the terror of the peaceable inhabitants. After taking these necessary measures, he marched in person against the robbers; and by his courage and activity, the more powerful troops were broken and dispersed; many were taken and executed, and great numbers flew to the continent for safety. The ministers of justice followed the royal example; they were indefatigable in discovering and pursuing, and strict in punishing criminals. By these salutary methods, the disease was removed, and travellers passed from one part of the kingdom to the other in safety.

A. D. 1332. While Edward was thus employed in promoting the happiness of his people, an accident happened which excited his ambition. Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, and shewn himself so worthy of a throne, died soon after the conclusion of the last peace, and left his son David, a minor, under the guardianship of the earl of Murray. Among other particulars in the late treaty, it was stipulated, that both the Scottish nobility, who enjoyed lands in England before the commencement of the war; and the English, who enjoyed estates in Scotland, should be restored to their respective possessions. Edward had scrupulously performed his part of the treaty; but Robert had refused to follow the example of the English monarch. It would have been in vain to attempt any other method for redress but that of petition, while Robert swayed the Scottish sceptre; but the feeble state of the kingdom under a minority induced them to enter into an association for recovering their rights. Lord Beaumont was at the head of this confederacy. He claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and proposed, as the most effectual

method of obtaining justice, to invite Edward Baliol, son to John Baliol, to make an attempt for recovering his father's crown.

Baliol, who, ever since the death of his father, had lived on his patrimonial estate in Normandy, little thought of reviving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland; but the proposal was too flattering to be refused. Young Baliol engaged in the enterprise, and joined the discontented barons in England. Edward was now applied to for assistance; but the English monarch was too prudent to engage openly in the attempt, though he secretly encouraged the undertaking of Baliol, and blew the sparks of civil discord into a flame. Scotland was at this time in a very feeble condition. Murray, who had so often led the Scots to victory, had lately paid the debt of nature; and lord Douglas, disdaining a life of indolence and ease, had passed over into Spain, and perished in a battle against the Moors.

Baliol and the discontented nobles did not meet with any great success in raising forces, but determined to try the fortune of a battle. They embarked at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and in a few days reached the coast of Fife. On their approaching the shore, they perceived a body of the militia, commanded by Sir Alexander Seaton, drawn up on the beach to oppose their landing; but the English charged the Scottish general with such resolution, that he was totally defeated; and himself, with near a thousand of his soldiers, slain on the spot. No further opposition was made to their landing; and they advanced to Dunfermling, where they seized a magazine of arms and provisions. Here Baliol, in reviewing his little army, found they fell short of three thousand men.

Donald, earl of Marre, who had succeeded Murray in the regency, was greatly inferior to his predecessor; he wanted his prudence, his intrepidity, his resources. He, however, soon collected an army of near forty thousand men, and advanced to meet the enemy; but all his motions were desultory; and he observed no order in the encampment of his army.

Baliol, who wanted neither valour nor activity, advanced into the heart of the country, hoping to be joined by the old partisans of his family; but he was deceived. He came at the head of an English army, and that circumstance alone was sufficient to render him obnoxious to the Scots. In the midst of this disappointment, he was informed, that the earl of Marre was encamped at Gladsmuir, on the opposite side of the river Erne. Baliol was not intimidated: he passed the stream at Duplin, and falling unexpectedly on the Scottish forces during the night, threw them into confusion, and drove them from their camp with great slaughter.

The English flattered themselves that they had obtained a complete victory; but some of the chiefs ascending an eminence to survey the country, perceived the Scottish army, now recovered from their panic, advancing towards them in three divisions. The English flew to arms; and posting themselves in a narrow defile, resolutely waited the approach of the enemy. The Scots, exasperated at their late defeat by a handful of men, advanced to the attack with the utmost precipitation, without regarding some broken ground which lay between them and the English. But they were soon convinced of their folly; their ranks were disordered; and the second division pressing upon the first, threw the whole into confusion, so that they became an easy prey to the English. Above twelve thousand of the Scots fell in the engagement: and among them the flower of their nobility, particularly the regent himself, Robert Bruce, a natural son of the late king: the earls of Athole and Montith; and the lords Hay, Keith, and Lindiey. Not above thirty men fell on the side of the English.

Animated by these repeated successes, Baliol advanced to Perth, which he entered without opposition, and immediately repaired the fortifications.

This



This necessary work was hardly finished, before the earl of Marche, and Sir Archibald Douglas, at the head of an army of forty thousand men, appeared, and invested the place by land, determined to reduce the English by famine. They also collected a few vessels, under the command of one John Crabbe, a Flemish sailor, in order to block up the place by water. But the English Squadron, which were lying at the mouth of the Tay to supply Baliol's army with provisions, soon drove Crabbe from his station, and took the greater part of his ships. The Scottish generals now perceived that it would be in vain to continue the blockade of Perth; they abandoned the enterprize; the army dispersed; and the kingdom was, in effect, subdued by an handful of men.

The usual consequences attended the good fortune of Baliol: the nobility and gentry flocked to make their submission. The young king, and his queen, sister to the king of England, were sent into France; and Baliol was crowned king of Scotland at Scone, on the twenty-seventh of September.

A. D. 1333. He did not, however, long enjoy the crown he had so easily obtained; for having imprudently dismissed the greater part of his English followers, he was driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to seek protection in England. Before this revolution happened, Baliol had perceived, that it would be impossible for him to keep possession of the throne without the assistance of the English monarch. Accordingly he sent a message to Edward, offering to renew the homage for his crown, acknowledge his superiority, and to marry his sister, if a dispensation from the pope could be obtained, as her nuptials with David Bruce had never been consummated. Ambitious of gaining what he had lost by the treachery of Mortimer, Edward entered into a treaty with Baliol; but that prince being now driven from his throne, there was a necessity for replating him in the seat of power.

If any excuse was wanting for the English monarch to break the peace lately concluded with Robert Bruce, the Scots themselves furnished one sufficient to rouse a less ambitious prince than Edward. Elated with their late success against Baliol, and allured by the hopes of plunder, the Scots broke into Cumberland, and laid great part of the country waste with fire and sword. Edward immediately sent orders to Sir Anthony Lacy to begin hostilities against the enemy. His commands were obeyed with the utmost alacrity; the invaders were defeated, and obliged to return into their own country with great precipitation.

Douglas, the regent, was alarmed at this breach of the treaty, and spared neither intreaties, excuses, nor submissions, to divert the gathering storm, that threatened the destruction of his country. But all his efforts were in vain; Edward listened only to the voice of ambition. The campaign was opened with the siege of Berwick, where Edward commanded in person. That place was considered by the Scots as the key of their country; and the regent had accordingly furnished it with a strong garrison, under the command of Sir William Keith; while he himself formed a numerous army on the frontiers, in order to penetrate into England, as soon as that fortress was invested by Edward.

The siege continued near two months; when great part of the fortifications being demolished, the garrison agreed to capitulate, if not relieved in five days. The terms were accepted; and a messenger dispatched to Sir Archibald Douglas, the regent, informing him of the conditions, and pressing him to march immediately to their relief. The great importance of Berwick, and the impatience of his forces to be led against the English, determined him to comply with the request of the garrison. He marched immediately to their relief, and drew up his forces at the foot of Halidown-hill, a little to the north of Berwick, in sight of the English camp. His army was divided into four bodies, and headed by the principal nobility of Scotland.

The English were also drawn up in four separate bodies, and both wings flanked with archers; and in this disposition Edward waited the attack of the enemy, who began to ascend the hill, with great impetuosity, about five in the afternoon; but the steepness of the ascent, the weight of their armour, the incessant showers of arrows discharged from the bows of the English; and the large stones rolled down upon them, soon checked their career. They halted; and their general being that moment transfixt with an arrow, fell lifeless to the ground. The utmost consternation now seized the Scottish army. Edward perceived their disorder, and commanded lord D'Arcy, at the head of a body of light-armed infantry, to charge them in flank, while he himself attacked their front with a detachment of veterans. The Scottish knights, in order to render the action more steady and desperate, had dismounted from their horses, but could not stand the shock of the English. The whole army fled with the utmost precipitation. Near thirty thousand of the Scots fell in the action, and all the chief nobility were either slain or taken prisoners. The English lost only one knight, one esquire, and thirteen private soldiers. The town and castle of Berwick immediately surrendered; and no farther assistance being apprehended, Edward, after leaving a considerable part of his army with Baliol, returned into England.

It was now impossible for the Scots to oppose the power of Baliol: the principal part of their nobility were lost, their army was dissipated, their king in France, and their regent slain. Submission was their only resource. Baliol accordingly marched through the whole country; and all the castles, except those of Dumbarton, Urquhart, and two or three others, which were deemed impregnable, opened their gates at the first summons.

A. D. 1334. A parliament was now summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the tenth of February, where Baliol was acknowledged king; the superiority of England was again recognized; many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to him; and Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland, were declared to be forever annexed to the crown of England. Such shameful conditions could not fail of exasperating the Scots. They submitted to them indeed, but determined to observe the treaty no longer than they were not in a condition to break it.

An opportunity soon offered: the English troops returned to their own country, and the Scots immediately flew to arms. They renounced the fealty they had sworn to Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. At the same time they elected Sir Andrew Murray regent, and defeated Baliol in several small, but decisive actions. Edward now saw, that it was necessary for him to subdue that stubborn people a second time; and he accordingly made preparations for invading Scotland at the head of an army impossible for them to withstand.

A. D. 1335. The English monarch reached Berwick early in the spring, and pursued his march, without opposition, into the very heart of Scotland; the enemy having abandoned all the plains at his approach, and retired to the mountains and fastnesses of their country. Edward perceiving it would be in vain to traverse a wild, deserted, and barren country, returned to Perth. Several small skirmishes, however, happened between the Scots and the straggling parties of the English; in one of which Sir Andrew Murray, the regent, was taken prisoner.

While Edward continued at Perth, he detached a body of forces, under the command of his brother, John of Eltham, and Sir Anthony Lacy, to ravage the western counties, which were principally inhabited by the Bruce party. The Scots, who imagined themselves able to face a part of the English army, left their fastnesses, and presented themselves in order of battle. A bloody engagement ensued, and the victory was, for some time, doubtful, but at



last declared in favour of the English. A great number of the Scots perished on the field of battle. The adherents of Bruce were so intimidated by this defeat, that they determined to submit to the terms Edward should think proper to impose; and a treaty was accordingly concluded, on the following terms: "That the Scottish noblemen should receive a free pardon for all former offences; that they should enjoy their lands, honours, and offices in Scotland; and be restored to their English possessions which had been forfeited: That all the privileges and franchises of the church and boroughs of Scotland should continue unaltered and inviolable: That none but natives should be put into the offices of that crown and kingdom, excepting in some particular cases, where their king, Edward Baliol, should make use of his prerogative in favour of persons of another nation." It was also soon after agreed by the rest of Bruce's party, who at first refused to sign the above treaty, "That Edward Baliol should enjoy the crown of Scotland during his natural life; and that at his death it should descend to David Bruce, who, in the mean time, should be honourably maintained at London."

Hostilities being thus terminated, Edward ordered the fortifications of Perth to be repaired, and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling to be rebuilt. He also appointed the earl of Athol guardian of the northern parts of the kingdom; and returned to England, at the head of the greater part of his army. But though the Scots had again submitted to Edward, they were far from being reconciled to their condition, and only watched for a favourable opportunity of shaking off a yoke to which necessity alone had compelled them to submit. They did not wait long. The earl of Athol was not at all adapted to govern such turbulent people. Instead of soothing the Scots, and applying lenients to heal the wounds of their country, he treated them with rigour; and the castle of Kildrummy, in which the regent's wife had shut herself up, having still refused to open its gates to the English, the guardian imprudently besieged the fortrefs. This action awakened all the pride and anger of the Scots: the earl of Marche and Sir William Douglas hastened immediately to the relief of the fortrefs, attacked the besiegers with the utmost impetuosity, and routed them with great slaughter. The earl of Athol himself was among the slain. Animated with this success, they invested the castles of Coupar and Lochendoris. The standard of war was again displayed, and forces were collected in every part of the kingdom. But before any farther hostilities were commenced, the pope and the king of France interposed their good offices; and a truce till the ninth of May, in the ensuing year, was agreed to, in order to give time for concluding a general treaty of peace.

A.D. 1336. The conferences were accordingly opened at Newcastle early in the spring; but Philip de Valois, who now filled the throne of France, and found his interest in the dissensions between the Scots and English, gave such instructions to his envoys, that though they assumed the characters of mediators between the contending parties, they omitted no opportunity of embarrassing the negotiation, and rendering the intended treaty abortive. Philip had already afforded considerable assistance to the Scots; and his envoys now assured them, that their master would never abandon the cause of the unfortunate and injured David Bruce, but support him to the utmost of his power. Elated with these promises, and exasperated against the invaders of their country, the Scottish deputies insisted on such high terms, that Edward broke off the treaty in a transport of resentment, and both parties made preparations for deciding the contest by the sword.

Edward had always been very careful to conciliate the affections of his subjects by the most popular acts; and being now determined to reduce the refractory Scots to an absolute submission, which could

not be executed without large supplies, he wisely passed several salutary laws for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and the more effectually securing the property and persons of individuals from the designs of secret or open enemies. Among others, were several acts for the freedom and extension of commerce, and the preservation of the weight and quality of the coin; for the more effectually bringing to justice the perpetrators of murders, robberies, and other species of felony; and for restraining his officers from committing excesses in the case of purveyance. By these, and other similar methods, he so endeared himself to his subjects, both clergy and laity, that they very readily granted him large subsidies for supporting the conquests he had made in Scotland, and finally reducing that nation under the English government.

Strengthened by these supplies, and fired with resentment against the Scots, Edward marched a fourth time into Scotland, and laid those countries waste which had declared against him. The lord Beaumont, who commanded a separate detachment, laid the town and castle of Aberdeen in ashes, to revenge the death of Sir Thomas Rosselin, whom the inhabitants had attacked and killed on his landing at Dunotter. Edward met with no opposition in his march; but still the nation itself was as far as ever from being broken and subdued. The Scots had retreated to their fastnesses; experience taught them prudence: they knew they were not able to meet the English in the open field, and wisely abandoned the low countries to the ravages of the enemy. The hopes of a war, which now seemed inevitable, between England and France, encouraged them to persevere in their opposition to Edward; they still flattered themselves with being able to recover their national liberty.

A.D. 1337. We have now reached that period of history, which produced a transaction that gave occasion to the most memorable events; and therefore it will be necessary to give some account of its springs and causes. After the death of Lewis X. of France, the public attention of that kingdom was engrossed by a question of the Salic law. That prince left only one daughter; and they had never examined in France, whether females were capable of inheriting the crown? Laws had been enacted only to serve the present occasion. They had no knowledge of the Salian code, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks; the want of which had been supplied by the established customs, and these customs were continually changing in France. The parliament under Philip the Fair had adjudged the province of Artois to a female, in prejudice to the next male heir; and the succession of Champagne had, at some times, been settled upon the females, and at other times taken from them. Charles the Fair took possession of Champagne in right of his wife, to the exclusion of the princes. Right therefore varied with power: it was not a fundamental law of the state to exclude a daughter from her father's throne. Besides the article in the ancient Salian code, which deprives the females of the right of inheriting in the Salic country, seems to have been founded only on this particular, that every Salic lord was obliged to appear in arms at the public assemblies of the nation. But the queen is not obliged to bear arms; the nation does it for her. It may, therefore, be affirmed, that the Salic law, a regulation in other respects so little known, was relative to the otheriefs, and not to the crown. These arguments were, for some time, maintained by the duke of Burgundy, uncle to the princess, daughter of Lewis X. and by several princes of the blood. Lewis X. had two brothers, who, in a short space of time, succeeded him, one after the other. The elder was Philip the Long, and the younger Charles the Fair. Charles, at that time, not thinking himself so near the crown, attacked the Salic law, out of jealousy of his brother. Philip the Long took care to



to have it determined at a meeting of some barons, prelates, and burghers of Paris, that females ought to be excluded from the crown of France. Had the other party prevailed, the contrary would have been declared a fundamental law. Philip died, after a very short reign, and left no male issue. The Salic law was then confirmed a second time; and Charles the Fair, who had opposed it, succeeded to the crown, without any formal dispute, and excluded his brother's daughters. At the death of Charles the Fair, the same cause was again decided; his queen was pregnant at the time of his decease, and a regent was wanting for the kingdom.

Edward, as the son of Isabella, sister to Charles the Fair, claimed the regency; but it was conferred on Philip de Valois, as the first prince of the blood; and on the queen's being delivered of a daughter, ascended the throne with the consent of the nation. Edward, however, determined to maintain his right to the succession; a claim the more insupportable, as the three sons of Philip the Fair had left daughters who were still living, and whose rights were therefore preferable to that of Edward. The king of Navarre's claim was also better founded than that of Edward, as being descended from a daughter of Lewis Hutin, the immediate successor of Philip the Fair.

But notwithstanding these disadvantages, Edward determined to attack France, and wrest from the hand of Philip de Valois that sceptre which he imagined to belong to him, as the next in blood to the deceased king. He was greatly encouraged in this resolution by Robert d'Artois, a prince of the blood of France, who having been condemned in consequence of a forgery he had committed, took refuge in England. Inspired with the most implacable revenge against Philip, Robert omitted no arguments to induce the king to declare war against France, in favour of his title to that crown. Edward was the more inclined to listen to the arguments of Robert, because Philip had given protection to David Bruce, the exiled king of Scotland. Philip was no sooner informed of the counsel given by Robert d'Artois, than he issued a sentence of felony and forfeiture against him; and declared, that every vassal of the crown, whether within or without the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, was involved in the same sentence. This menace was easily apprehended; it wanted no comment; and Edward made preparations for carrying the war into the heart of France, in order to prevent his provinces on the continent from falling into the hands of Philip.

In order to divert the arms of the French monarch from Guienne, and at the same time to make an effectual attack upon Philip's dominions, Edward endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany. The earl of Hainault, the duke of Brabant, the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, the lords of Fauquemont and Banquet, were engaged to join the English. This confederacy was not, however, thought sufficiently formidable, without the accession of Flanders; but this required some address to accomplish. The Flemings, who, by their arts and manufactures, had acquired riches and some share of independence, had risen in tumults, insulted the nobility, and driven their earl into France; determined to free themselves from every species of tyranny. The leader of these popular insurrections was one Jacob Van Ardevelt, a rich brewer of Ghent, who governed the people in a more arbitrary manner than any of their lawful sovereigns. He never appeared in the streets without a guard of fourscore persons, who, from the least signal given by this demagogue, murdered any person who happened to fall under his displeasure. Whatever he thought proper to propose in the assembly of the states, was never contradicted, because every member feared his power. Edward courted the assistance of this ferocious leader, who

refused to join in the alliance, unless Edward would assume the title of king of France, in order to remove the scruples of the Flemings, who hesitated on the right of invading the territories of their liege lord. Edward agreed to the condition, and Ardevelt invited him into Flanders. About the same time, Edward received from the emperor Lewis of Bavaria the title of "Vicar of the Empire," that he might appear to have a right to command the princes of Germany.

Every thing now portended an immediate rupture between the crowns of France and England. Philip invaded Guienne; and Edward ordered the duke of Brabant to demand, in his name, the crown of France; constituted him his lieutenant general of that kingdom; and issued a proclamation, commanding the French, whom he called his subjects, to pay him obedience. Provoked at Edward's assuming his crown, Philip assembled a considerable army to chastise the Flemings, and reinstate the earl of Flanders in the possession of that country. But Edward sent a large body of forces to join his new allies, under the command of the earls of Derby and Suffolk, in order to render the designs of Philip abortive. The English, on their arrival on the coast, were informed that Guy de Rickenbrough, natural brother to the earl of Flanders, had taken possession of the isle of Cadzant, in order to cut off all communication by sea to Bruges and Ghent. It was therefore resolved to drive him from that advantageous post. Guy, who was prepared for the attack, gave them a very warm reception; but the English, after an obstinate dispute, made good their landing, when a bloody battle ensued, in which the earl of Derby was thrown from his horse, and would, in all probability, have been killed or taken prisoner, had he not been rescued by Sir Walter Manny, a valiant knight of Hainault, who, at the head of a body of horse, charged the enemy with the utmost fury, and took Guy de Rickenbrough prisoner with his own hand. The loss of their leader struck the French with consternation; they immediately fell into confusion, and were routed with prodigious slaughter. This victory filled Ardevelt and his party with joy; and the Flemings sent a message to Edward, pressing him to come over without delay, and head the allied army in person. But the immense preparations for the ensuing campaign produced nothing decisive. The allies of Edward were weak in themselves; and having no other object than his money, which began to be exhausted, they were at once very slow in their motions, and very irresolute in their measures.

A.D. 1339. Edward at last took the field, at the head of an army of near fifty thousand men, and encamped between Marchiennes and Douay; but being informed that Philip was advancing with an army of near double his force, he left his camp, and crossed the Schelde to meet him, and terminate, by one decisive action, a war attended with so ruinous an expence. But both seemed to decline an engagement; and after facing each other for some days, Edward retired back into Flanders, and dispersed his army.

Though the English monarch had entered into engagements with the duke of Brabant to stay in the Low Countries till the war was finished, he found it impossible to keep his promise. His absence had already occasioned many disorders in England, where bands of robbers disturbed the peace of the nation; and the Brucean party had not only recovered what they had lost in Scotland, but also invaded the northern counties of England. These circumstances were considered as a sufficient reason for Edward's passing over into England; and the king having promised, on his word of honour, to return in person, the duke gave his consent to his departure.

A.D. 1340. As soon as Edward landed in England, he issued writs for assembling a parliament at Westminster. The assembly shewed an uncommon alacrity in assisting the monarch, and providing for the



the security of the realm against all invaders. They granted the king a large supply; and orders were issued for fortifying Southampton and the Isle of Wight; for fitting out a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, to protect the coasts; for sending supplies of provisions to the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling; and for raising a body of seven hundred and eighty-two men at arms, two thousand light-horse, and two thousand and ten archers, for defending the marches of Scotland. These tokens of affection deserved a grateful return, and accordingly Edward granted a full remission of all debts due to the crown, and of all prosecutions on forest-trepasses since his accession to the throne. To these he added a confirmation of the two charters, and of the franchises of the boroughs. But notwithstanding the remarkable harmony that prevailed among the branches of the legislature, the parliament declared, that they owed Edward no obedience as king of France, and that the two kingdoms should for ever remain distinct and independent. It was foreseen, that France, if subdued, would become the seat of government, and England be regarded only as a province of the monarchy.

While Edward was making preparations for returning into the Low Countries, advice arrived from the duke of Gueldres, that the French had assembled a powerful fleet to intercept him in his passage. Orders were therefore given for fitting out a sufficient number of ships for carrying the king, and a considerable body of forces, to the continent. The utmost expedition was used on this occasion; and Edward embarked at Orwell on the thirteenth of June, attended by the principal nobility of England. His fleet consisted of two hundred and fifty sail of ships, having on board a powerful body of men at arms, and archers. A few days after their departure, Edward discovered the French fleet in the harbour of Sluise, and immediately made preparations for fighting the enemy. Early the next morning, the French, who had left the harbour, appeared in three divisions; and about eleven the engagement began with the utmost fury. The English had taken care to get to windward of the enemy, and grappled their ships so firmly with those of the French, that they formed a firm compact body, and the men fought with the same firmness as on dry land. The French, whose number of vessels was much greater than that of the English, observing a ship carrying the royal standard of England, advanced to attack her with the utmost intrepidity; but all their efforts were in vain. The examples of the king and his gallant nobles animated to such a degree both the seamen and soldiers, that they every where maintained a superiority over the enemy. The French could not stand the shock of the English; many hundreds of them leaped overboard, and perished in the sea. In this critical moment, a reinforcement of Flemish ships joined the English, and determined the fortune of the day. Two hundred and thirty of the enemy's ships were taken; and thirty-two thousand Frenchmen were slain, with two of their admirals. The loss of the English was inconsiderable. Philip's courtiers were so astonished at this dreadful misfortune, that none dared to be the messenger of such alarming intelligence. His jester at last gave him a hint, by which the monarch discovered the loss he had sustained, and the triumph of the English.

This victory added a lustre to Edward's authority among his allies; and he soon marched at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, composed of English, Germans, Flemings and Gascons. The first attempt was the siege of Tournay; but the city was no sooner invested, than Edward detached fifty thousand men, under the command of Robert d'Artois, who posted himself near St. Omer's to favour the siege. Robert's troops were chiefly composed of tradesmen, who had never faced an enemy, and were wholly strangers to military disci-

pline. From such troops very little could be expected; and accordingly they were totally routed by a sally from the garrison, notwithstanding the great abilities of their leader.

This defeat did not, however, intimidate Edward. He pushed the siege with the utmost vigour, and met every where with a noble resistance. Tournay was, at that time, one of the noblest cities in Flanders, and contained above sixty thousand inhabitants. It was defended by a garrison of fifteen thousand men, commanded by Robert Butraud and Matthew de la Trie, marshals of France; assisted by the counts of Eu, Guisnes, Foix, Narbonne, and other gallant noblemen, who were resolved to perish under the ruins of the city, rather than open their gates to the enemy.

At the end of ten weeks, the city was reduced to great distress; and Philip having collected a prodigious army, advanced within a few leagues of the English camp; not with a design to bring on a general engagement, but of being ready to assist the garrison whenever an opportunity offered. Edward, exasperated at the length of the siege, sent an herald to Philip, challenging him to decide their claims to the crown of France by single combat, or by an action of a hundred against a hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip replied, that a vassal was not entitled to challenge his liege lord; and that the duel was, besides, proposed on very unequal terms; but if Edward would increase the stake, and put also the kingdom of England on the issue of the combat, he would willingly accept the challenge. These bravadoes were in the true spirit of the times; but both these kings were too wise to think seriously of putting them in execution.

While the two armies continued in the neighbourhood of each other, and a battle was every day expected, the countess dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward, and sister to Philip, though she had retired to the convent of Fonteville after the death of her husband, left her retreat on this interesting occasion, to employ her good offices for bringing about a peace between persons so nearly related to her. Her zeal produced a short cessation of hostilities, and which the pope in vain endeavoured to convert into a peace; but the demands of Edward were too exorbitant to be admitted. He required that Philip should free Guienne from all claims of superiority, and entirely abandon the protection of Scotland. These conditions were accordingly rejected by Philip; a prolongation of the truce only was agreed to. The success of Edward certainly entitled him not to make such demands. His allies were never firmly attached to his interest: they were, indeed, desirous of his money, but never intended to weaken the power of France. Accordingly, when they found that his treasure was nearly exhausted, they abandoned the confederacy; and Edward being pressed by his impatient creditors, he was obliged to pass privately into England.

His embarrassment had chiefly arose from the nature of the subsidy granted by parliament. It consisted of corn and wool, on account of the scarcity of money; and these commodities could not be collected and disposed of soon enough to answer his exigencies. But though this was nothing more than might have been expected, Edward was determined to punish the sheriffs and officers of his revenue; for he considered them as guilty of negligence, which had, in some measure, occasioned the bad success of his expedition. The bishop of Chichester, chancellor; the bishop of Litchfield, treasurer; and the archbishop, prime minister, now felt the weight of his displeasure. The two former were imprisoned; but the primate, fearing the effects of Edward's anger, retired immediately to Canterbury, and determined to defend himself by the weapons of the prelacy. He accordingly convened a meeting of the clergy in that cathedral; and pronounced a

general



general sentence of excommunication against all who had violated the immunities of the church.

A. D. 1341. A parliament being assembled, the primate, who had received no summons to attend, presented himself at the gate in his pontifical ornaments, and demanded admittance to his seat as the first and highest peer of the realm. He was, however, denied admittance for two days successively; but Edward, sensible of the dangerous consequences that might attend his quarrel with the clergy, prudently accepted of the concessions made by the churchman, and the primate was again received into favour.

This dispute with the archbishop, the immense debt Edward had contracted on the continent, and the arbitrary measures he had pursued with regard to the officers of his revenue, alarmed the parliament, and it was determined to set proper bounds to the royal prerogative. They required a new confirmation of the great charter; they passed a bill, whereby it was enacted, that no nobleman should be proceeded against or punished, but by the judgment of his peers assembled in parliament; that the more important offices of state should be filled by the king, with the consent of the council and barons; that every session these offices should be resumed by him, and the ministers who discharged them reduced to private persons; that they should, in that condition, answer, before the parliament, to any accusations brought against them; and that if they were any ways found guilty, they should finally be dispossessed of their dignities, and more sufficient persons be substituted in their place. Edward ratified these acts in full parliament, but never intended to make them the rule of his conduct.

By making these important concessions, the king obtained large supplies from the parliament, particularly a grant of twenty thousand sacks of wool, to be transported to Flanders before Michaelmas, with a prohibition to all other persons from sending thither any wool, till that period was elapsed. But though Edward had, by sacrificing some parts of the royal authority, extricated himself from his present difficulties, he did not seem desirous of continuing the war on the side of Flanders, in support of his title to the crown of France. An unforeseen accident renewed the hostilities between the two kingdoms. John III. duke of Brittany was desirous of leaving his duchy to a daughter of his brother the count de Ponthievre; but in order to prevent the calamities that always attend a disputed succession, he determined to marry her to some prince capable of repelling any attempts that might be made to disturb the tranquillity of his country. Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France, appeared to him the most proper for this purpose. He consulted the states of Brittany, who approved of his choice: the marriage was concluded; and all the vassals swore fealty to Charles and his spouse, as their future sovereigns. The count de Montfort himself, one of John's brothers by a second marriage, acknowledged the rights of his niece, and made no difficulty of taking an oath of fealty to Charles. But he forgot both his concession and his oath on the death of John, and exerted himself in taking possession of the country. He engaged many of the most considerable barons to acknowledge his authority, and made himself master of Rennes, Nantes, Brest, Hennebonne, and most of the important fortresses of the duchy. He met with very little opposition in his attempts, Charles de Blois being engaged in soliciting, at the court of France, the investiture of the duchy.

But though Montfort had made these acquisitions, he was sensible he should not be able to support himself against the attempts of Charles de Blois, unless assisted by some powerful ally. He therefore determined to apply to the English monarch. Accordingly, under pretence of soliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had fallen to him by the death of his brother, he visited Edward; made that prince an offer of doing him homage, and

of acknowledging his title to the crown of France, provided he would engage to assist him against Charles de Blois. Edward saw immediately all the advantages that might attend an alliance with Montfort; and being at the same time incited by the persuasions of Robert d'Artois, he agreed to the conditions, and a formal alliance was concluded between them.

Thinking his treaty with Edward was a profound secret, Montfort made no difficulty of repairing to Paris, in order to support his claim to the duchy of Brittany. But he was soon convinced both of his error and the imprudent step he had taken. Philip, at his first audience, told him plainly, that he had no right to Brittany, and at the same time reproached him with having done homage to Edward, and entered into an alliance with a prince, who was the professed enemy of France. Montfort acknowledged his having passed over to England, but denied the charge of having done homage to Edward; adding, that he was satisfied of the goodness of his claim, and was ready to submit to the judgment of his peers, with regard to Brittany. Philip immediately appointed a day for discussing his claim, but forbid him to stir out of Paris till after the sentence was pronounced.

Montfort was now sufficiently convinced that he had every thing to fear, and took a resolution to make his escape. He accordingly withdrew from Paris during the night in the disguise of a merchant, and reached Brittany in safety. Philip was no sooner informed of his escape, than, in a transport of rage and indignation, he instantly confiscated the earldom of Montfort, commanded the parliament of Paris, by his sole authority, even without summoning the peers of France, or exhibiting any formal process, to adjudge Brittany to Charles de Blois; and the more effectually to carry the sentence into execution, he supplied his nephew with a numerous army, under the command of his eldest son John, duke of Normandy. Montfort, who was unable to face the French army in the field, shut himself up in Nantes, which was soon besieged by the duke of Normandy. The city was strongly fortified, and capable of holding out a considerable time against the enemy; but by the treachery of the inhabitants the city was delivered up to the enemy, Montfort himself was taken prisoner, and committed to the castle of the Louvre.

A. D. 1342. The captivity of Montfort seemed to have determined the fate of Brittany. But the heroic virtues and conjugal fidelity of his wife supported the falling fortunes of his family. Jane of Flanders, countess of Montfort, one of the most extraordinary women of that age, no sooner heard of the imprisonment of her husband, than assembling the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then resided. She presented herself in the midst of the assembly with her infant son in her arms, and conjured them to preserve from destruction, the only remaining heir of that illustrious family, who had so long held the sceptre of Brittany. Deeply affected by her politic address, they promised to support her with their lives and fortunes. All the other fortified towns in the duchy embraced the same resolution; and the utmost expedition was used to furnish them with every thing necessary for making a noble defence against the enemy. The countess herself repaired to Hennebonne, the strongest fortress in Brittany, determined there to wait for the expected succours from Edward, and in the mean time sent her infant son to England, that he might not be exposed to the same unhappy fate with his father.

Persuaded that the reduction of Hennebonne, together with the captivity of the countess, would put a final period to all opposition, Charles de Blois invested the place with a numerous army, composed of French, Spaniards, Genoese, and some Britons. The siege was carried on with the utmost vigour, and the place defended with a bravery that would have done honour to the best general of the age. The French



were repulsed in every attack, and perpetually harassed with soldiers from the garrison. The countess was foremost in every danger, and led her troops with the utmost prudence and intrepidity. Perceiving that the besiegers in making an assault upon one part of the town had neglected to secure a distant quarter of their camp, she sallied out at the head of two hundred horse, made a dreadful slaughter, and set fire to their tents, baggage and magazines. A detachment was immediately sent from the main body of the army, and Jane soon perceived that her retreat was cut off. A moment was sufficient to form her resolution; she ordered her men to disperse, and fly to Brest, where she would soon meet them. Her commands were obeyed, and Jane, having increased her escort to five hundred men, cut her way through part of the enemy's camp, and entered the town amidst the shouts and acclamations of the garrison.

But notwithstanding the noble defence made by the countess, the town was at last reduced to the last extremity. Several breaches were made in the walls, and the enemy was preparing for a general assault. It was now thought necessary to offer terms of capitulation, and the bishop of Leon was actually sent for that purpose to the camp of Charles de Blois; but the countess, who had mounted one of the towers of the fortress, discovering the English fleet coming to her assistance, immediately communicated the joyful tidings to the garrison, and the bishop of Leon was recalled. The French were confounded when they saw the English enter the harbour, and laid aside their design of making a general assault. This reinforcement consisted of a body of men at arms, and six thousand archers, commanded by Sir Walter Manny, one of the best captains of the age. The courage of the garrison was now revived; they readily joined the English in a sally, drove the besiegers from their posts, and obliged them to retire with precipitation.

This reinforcement was not, however, sufficient to enable the countess to take the field against the enemy, and she therefore determined to pass over into England to solicit in person more effectual succours from Edward. Her request was granted; a more numerous reinforcement was immediately embarked under the command of Robert d'Artois, and the earl of Northampton. The countess herself returned in this fleet, which was attacked in the passage, by a French squadron commanded by prince Lewis of Spain. The countess behaved with her usual intrepidity, and the action continued with great obstinacy till night put an end to the contest; and before the morning appeared a dreadful storm separated the two fleets; but the English reached the harbour of Hennebonne in safety.

The first attempt made by Robert was against Vannes, which he carried by assault, but was dangerously wounded, and during his confinement a party of the Britons, in the interest of Charles, attacked and took the place by surprise. Robert had the good fortune to escape; but died soon after in his passage to England. Edward was greatly affected at the loss of this nobleman, and swore he would revenge his death; an oath which he punctually observed. He assembled his army, embarked at Sandwich on the fifth of October, and after a passage of two days, landed at Brest. He formed three important sieges at the same time, and by attempting too much, miscarried in all. The duke of Normandy, at the head of forty thousand men, encamped in the neighbourhood of the English, and cut off their provisions. In this dangerous situation Edward listened to the mediation of the pope's legate, and a truce for three years was concluded on the following conditions:

I. That Vannes should be sequestered, till the expiration of the truce, in the hands of two cardinals, to be disposed of by them in such a manner as they should think proper.

II. That the Flemings should be absolved from the

censures which the pope, at the instigation of the king of France, had denounced against them.

III. That the places taken on both sides should remain in the hands of the present possessors; and the prisoners set at liberty, on paying their ransoms.

IV. That the allies both of France and England should be included in this treaty, and that the two kings should exert their utmost endeavours to prevent hostilities in Guienne, France and Britany.

A. D. 1343. Soon after the ratification of these articles Edward returned to England; but neither of the monarchs seemed desirous of observing the truce; Philip was desirous of procuring the departure of Edward, and the motive of Edward was that of extricating himself from a very dangerous situation. It is therefore no wonder, that the least incident was laid hold of to break the truce, and recommence hostilities. Edward complained loudly of the execution of some Briton lords, whom Philip had put to death, under pretence of their being guilty of treason. He was even so incensed, when he first heard of the fate of these noblemen, that he gave orders for beheading all the prisoners of Philip's party, but was prevailed upon to recall the bloody sentence, by the remonstrances of Henry, earl of Lancaster. He, however, sent for one of the principal captives, and told him, with great emotion, that though the death of his countrymen beheaded at Paris, was a sufficient reason for retaliating the same punishment on him and his fellow prisoners, yet he would not stain his reputation by imitating so bad an example; he would not satiate his vengeance in the blood of the innocent; but, by the assistance of the Almighty, he would severely punish the author of such unparalleled treachery and barbarity. Nor were his threats in vain.

A. D. 1344. He dispatched Henry, earl of Derby, at the head of a considerable body of forces, to begin hostilities in Guienne. Derby was the son of Henry, earl of Lancaster, and one of the most accomplished noblemen of the English court. He was at once intrepid and humane, beloved by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. For some time he was very successful in his invasions of the enemy's territories. He attacked the count de Laille, the French general encamped at Bergerac, drove him from his intrenchments, and made himself master of the place. This success animated the English; they proceeded in their conquests with great rapidity, till they had reduced the greater part of Perigord.

A. D. 1345. But while the earl of Derby was reducing the French towns, the count de Laille, having collected an army of twelve thousand men, invested Auberauche, which had lately fallen into the hands of the English. Derby hastened to relieve the place, and arriving near the camp of the enemy in the night, Sir Walter Manny proposed to attack the French immediately. His advice was followed with such secrecy and success, that the English entered one quarter of the French camp without resistance, and fell upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that the counts de Laille, Perigord, and Valentinois, were taken prisoners in their tents, before they had time to recover from their surprise; and their troops seized with such a panic, that they fled with the utmost precipitation. The confusion was not, however, general. While one quarter was filled with disorder, the other, where the count de Cominges commanded, fled to arms and advanced against the enemy. Elated with success the English attacked them with incredible fury, and the engagement became very bloody; when the garrison, alarmed by hearing the trumpets sound a general charge, and discovering by the light of the dawn the English ensigns, sallied out, attacked the French in flank, and put them to flight. Above seven thousand fell in the action, and twelve hundred were taken prisoners; among whom were nine counts, and above three hundred knights and gentlemen of distinction. Derby, having thus defeated and dispersed the





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



TRAGICAL DEATH of  
*Jacob Van Ardevelt.*



the French army, made a very rapid progress in reducing the adjacent provinces. Montfegat, Montepesat, Villa Franche, Miremont, Tonnius, Damassen, Aiguillon, a fortress deemed impregnable, Angouleme, and Reole, fell successively into the hands of the English. He would have extended his conquests still farther, but the advanced season of the year obliged him to put his army into winter quarters.

A. D. 1346. Alarmed at the progress of the English, Philip collected a numerous army; under the command of his son, the duke of Normandy, assisted by the duke of Burgundy. It would have been madness for Derby to have met the French in the open field: he was therefore reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive. He therefore furnished all the fortified places with good garrisons, large quantities of provisions and military stores; and then passed over to England, to inform Edward of the state of the provinces, and the danger to which they were now exposed. The duke of Normandy opened the campaign with the siege of Angouleme, the garrison of which made a noble defence; but were at last reduced to extremities. John lord Norwich, the governor, saw the impossibility of defending the place much longer; but being unwilling to surrender at discretion, had recourse to a stratagem, to save at once his own honour, and his soldiers from being made prisoners of war. He ascended the ramparts, and desired to speak with the duke of Normandy. His request was granted. The duke approached the walls; and Norwich begged a cessation of arms for the morrow, which was the feast of the Virgin, to whom the duke, as well as himself, paid great devotion. The duke very readily agreed to the proposal; and Norwich having ordered his forces to prepare their baggage, marched out of the town as soon as the morning appeared. Persuaded they were going to be attacked, the French flew to arms; but Norwich dispatched a messenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. "I see," exclaimed that prince, "the governor has outwitted me; but let us be contented with taking the place."

The report of Derby, with regard to the dangerous state of Guienne, quickened the motions of Edward, who had determined to head his army in person. He therefore summoned all his allies on the side of Flanders to furnish their contingents of troops, but they refused to fulfil their engagements. Edward had, indeed, lately lost his friend, Jacob Ardevelt, the demagogue of Ghent. That popular leader, desirous of transferring the government from the earl of Flanders to the prince of Wales, had proposed, in a meeting of the states, to insist that their count should renounce his alliance with Philip de Valois; and in case he persisted in maintaining that connection, that they should transfer their allegiance to young Edward: adding, that they had nothing to fear from the resentment of either their own sovereign or the king of France, as the English monarch was both able and willing to support them effectually. The states, astonished at this unexpected proposal, and afraid of contradicting that popular leader, desired time to consult their constituents, as they had no authority to determine a question of such importance without their consent. The request was too reasonable to be denied, and the assembly broke up in great confusion. His enemies laid hold of this attempt to ruin him: they charged him with having embezzled vast sums of the public money; and of having made large remittances to England, whither he intended to retire, in order to enjoy in tranquillity the riches he had procured by deceiving the people. The giddy multitude immediately changed their opinion. The idol they had so long worshipped was now devoted to destruction: they thirsted for the blood of a person, for whose preservation, but a few weeks before, they would willingly have shed their own. Ardevelt soon felt the effects of this fatal change in the sentiments of the people. They sur-

rounded his house, forced the door, and dragged him into the street, where he was sacrificed to the resentment of an enraged and ferocious people.

Edward finding it would now be in vain to make any attempt on the side of Flanders, he embarked; with his forces, for Guienne; but contrary winds still prevented him from sailing. In this distressful situation, Geoffrey D'Harcourt, a Norman baron, prevailed upon Edward to change the destination of his enterprise. D'Harcourt was a nobleman highly esteemed both for his personal merit and valour; but having been persecuted by Philip, fled into England for protection. He displayed the advantages that must attend an expedition into Normandy, a province well cultivated, full of rich and flourishing cities, destitute of troops; and at a great distance from the French armies. Hence he very justly observed, that it would be much more advantageous for the English to land in Normandy than in Guienne. Edward was convinced of the justice of his remarks; and, as soon as the wind permitted, put to sea; and, after a passage of two days only, landed at La Hogue without opposition. Here Edward knighted his eldest son, the prince of Wales, a youth then only sixteen years of age. His army consisted of four thousand men at arms; ten thousand archers, ten thousand Welsh infantry, and six thousand Irish; a number in appearance not at all adapted to the purpose of invading France; though the success of the campaign far exceeded the most sanguine expectations. An universal consternation was immediately spread through the whole province of Normandy; where not the least apprehensions were entertained of an invasion. The ships were destroyed at La Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourg. The towns of Valognes, Carentan, and St. Lo, surrendered at discretion; and the English marched to Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy. This city was both rich and populous, but without fortifications. Persuaded that the wealth of Caen would induce the English to plunder the city, Philip dispatched the count d'Eu, constable of France, and the count de Tankerville, at the head of a considerable body of troops, for its defence. The English approached the suburbs; and the inhabitants, elated with the reinforcements they had received, sallied out upon the enemy, contrary to the advice of the constable. The consequence was what might naturally be expected when undisciplined multitudes attack a regular army; they were totally defeated, and the counts d'Eu and Tankerville taken prisoners. The English entered the city with the fugitives, and a dreadful massacre began: neither age, nor sex, nor condition, were spared; all fell a sacrifice to the sword of the English. Edward at last put a stop to the slaughter; the inhabitants laid down their arms, and the city was plundered with more deliberation. The booty was prodigious; and the whole was embarked, together with three hundred of the richest burghers, and all the prisoners of distinction, and sent to England.

The castle of Caen, however, still held out; and Edward, who thought the reduction of it would be of little consequence, marched through the bishoprics of Lisieux and Evreux towards Rouen, the capital of Normandy. In his route he took the towns of Louvere and Lisieux; but on advancing to the banks of the Seine, he found the bridge already broken down, and the French monarch posted on the opposite side of the river, at the head of a prodigious army. Edward did every thing in his power to provoke Philip to a battle. He laid the whole country waste, burnt the suburbs of Pont l'Arche, Vernon, and Mullien. The same fate attended the noble palace of St. Germain; and some of the light troops carried their ravages to the very gates of Paris. Edward made another attempt to pass the Seine at Poissy, but met with the same disappointment; the bridge was broken down, and Philip's army appeared on the opposite bank of the river. Some stratagem was therefore necessary to elude the vigilance



lance of Philip. Accordingly the English monarch marched, with great rapidity, farther up the Seine; but by a sudden countermarch during the night, returned to Poissy, repaired the bridge, routed the militia left to guard the passage, crossed the river, and advanced, with quick marches, towards Flanders. In his route he burnt the suburbs of Beauvais; and defeated, with great slaughter, the inhabitants of Amiens, who were marching to reinforce their king's army. But he soon found himself in the same dangerous situation as before: all the bridges on the Somme were either broken down, or strongly guarded. The country was ruined. Philip was advancing against him at the head of an hundred thousand men; and Godemar de Faye stationed on the opposite side of the Somme, with a numerous army, to observe his motions. In this alarming crisis, he offered a reward to any person who could lead his army to a place where he might pass the Somme; and a peasant of Normandy, preferring riches to the safety of his country, pointed out a ford below Blanchetague, where the stream was not above a foot in depth at low water. This discovery revived the courage of the English; they decamped at midnight, and reached the ford about sun-rising the next morning, a little before the tide of flood made up the river. The place exactly answered the description given of it by the peasant; but the opposite bank was guarded by Godemar de Faye, at the head of twelve thousand men. This opposition was not, however, sufficient to intimidate Edward, who was always master of his passions, and maintained a remarkable coolness and presence of mind in the midst of the most furious battle. He plunged himself into the stream, calling out, "Let all who love me follow my example." Animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, the soldiers threw themselves into the river with the most amazing intrepidity. The French made a noble opposition; but nothing was capable of stopping the career of the English: they were not intimidated by any opposition; and after a bloody dispute, put the enemy to flight, and gained the opposite bank, just as the van of Philip's army, under the command of the king of Bohemia and John de Hainault, appeared. It is impossible to express the vexation of Philip, in being thus disappointed of his revenge. He had traced the English above fifty leagues by the smoking ruins left behind them, and now thought himself sure of overtaking the invaders. But it was in vain to repine; the tide of flood was made up the river, and rendered a passage impossible, while the English pursued their march with great tranquillity.

Though Edward had thus escaped the danger of being attacked in his late alarming situation, he was convinced it would be impossible for him to pursue his march over the extensive plains of Picardy, without exposing his van to inevitable destruction by the perpetual attacks of a numerous cavalry: he therefore determined to wait for the enemy, and venture a general engagement. He accordingly chose an advantageous spot of ground near the village of Crecy; and to secure his flank from the furious attacks of the French horse, he threw up a large entrenchment, and extended it round a small wood, where he deposited his baggage. Having taken these necessary precautions, he drew up his army on a small eminence, and divided it into three lines. The first was commanded by the prince of Wales, assisted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, Geoffrey Harcourt of Normandy, the lords Stafford, Chandois, Delawar, Holland and Cobham, and several other persons of distinction. This line consisted of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and six thousand Welshmen. The second line was commanded by the earls of Arundel and Northampton, assisted by the lords Willoughby, Ros, Bassett of Sapcote, and Malton, and consisted of eight hundred men at arms, two thousand four hundred archers, and four thousand bill-men. He himself com-

manded the third line, which consisted of seven hundred men at arms, six thousand archers, and five thousand three hundred bill-men. In this position Edward waited, with great tranquillity, the approach of the enemy.

Philip, after passing the Somme at Abeville, pursued his march at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, determined to take the severest revenge on the English, who had laid his country waste, and insulted the standard of France. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Crecy, he detached several of his officers to reconnoitre the position of the English. They readily obeyed, and faithfully described, at their return, the admirable order of Edward's forces. The count de Balche, one of the best foldiers in Philip's army, added, that there was not the least danger of Edward's declining a battle; and therefore he advised, that instead of attacking the English immediately, the engagement should be deferred till the next morning, that the troops might rest themselves after their fatiguing march. But this was over-ruled. The force of numbers was thought sufficient to balance every inconvenience, and it was determined to begin the action immediately.

The French were now in sight of the English; and Edward, that he might still farther animate his men, rode through the ranks, and urged every motive that had a tendency to raise their natural valour, and inspire them with the noble resolution of remaining conquerors, or falling in the glorious attempt. He told them, that the number of the enemy should be so far from intimidating, that it should inspire them with courage; that confusion would be the inevitable consequence of such multitudes of undisciplined forces; and that the order in which he had placed them, added to their own resolution, would be abundantly sufficient to repel all the attacks of the French army. Adding, "I request nothing from you, but that you imitate my example, and that of the prince of Wales." The troops caught the courage and noble intrepidity of their sovereign; they wished to be led against the enemy.

While Edward was employed in raising the ardour of his troops, Philip endeavoured to marshal his army; but this was impossible. He sent orders, indeed, for the lines to halt till they received farther instructions; but his commands were but imperfectly obeyed. His army being composed of a great number of princes and noblemen, jealous of each other's honour, and most of them strangers to military subordination, pressed forward to begin the attack; so that when the van halted, pursuant to the orders of Philip, the succeeding ranks continued to move forward with great impetuosity, till the whole became one enormous body moving towards Crecy in great confusion; nor was it in the power of Philip to remove the disorder till they came near the English army, when they stopped of themselves, and gave Philip an opportunity of drawing them up in some order. He divided his army into three lines, conformable to that of the English. The first was led by John de Luxembourg, king of Bohemia, and composed of three thousand men at arms, twenty-nine thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen, under the command of Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi. These were placed opposite to the English archers. Charles, count of Alençon, brother to Philip, led the second division, consisting of four thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand infantry. The third division was headed by Philip in person; and formed a body of reserve, amounting to twelve thousand men at arms, and fifty thousand foot.

The battle was begun by the Genoese cross-bowmen; but a sudden shower having fallen a little before the engagement, their bow-strings were relaxed, and their arrows fell short of the enemy. The same misfortune had not, however, attended the bows of the English archers: they were preserved in cases, whence they now drew them, and poured in such a dreadful



dreadful shower of arrows; that the Genoese, unable to support the shock, were thrown into disorder, and fell back upon the duke d'Alençon's cavalry. Another discharge doubly increased the confusion; the whole vast body seemed to be composed of hurry, terror, and dismay.

At last the duke of Alençon disengaged himself from the flying Genoese; made a circuit with his cavalry, and fell upon the flank of the first battalion of English archers. The battle now became desperate and bloody. The French opened themselves a passage through the archers, and advanced against the prince of Wales, who received them with such firmness and resolution, that numbers of them were slain; but the prince himself was still in the greatest danger of being surrounded by the superior numbers of the enemy. The earls of Arundel and Northampton perceived his situation, and detached a body of troops to his assistance. Philip took advantage of this motion, and sent three squadrons of French and German knights to the aid of his brother. The prince was now attacked both in front and rear; and a messenger was dispatched by the earl of Warwick to the king, to inform him of the danger of his son, and desire him to order a body of troops to his assistance. "Is he dead or wounded?" said the king with great tranquillity. He was answered in the negative. "Return," added he, "and tell my son, that I reserve the honour of the day to him, and that I am confident he will shew himself worthy of the honour of knighthood." This answer being delivered to the prince in the hearing of his followers, they seemed to be inspired with fresh courage; they were more than a match for the increasing numbers of the enemy, who exerted all their efforts to break again the compacted phalanx of the English, who, in their turn, attacked the French with such impetuosity, that they were unable to stand the shock. The duke of Alençon was slain. A dreadful carnage ensued, princes, peers, generals, knights, and common soldiers, fell promiscuously, and formed a frightful heap of slain.

Enraged to see the two first lines of his army totally defeated, Philip advanced at the head of the body of reserve, which the confusion that reigned in the French army had hitherto prevented from engaging; but there was now no longer any equality in the action. Confounded at the sight of seeing such numbers of their countrymen slain, and the whole plain filled with fugitives, the troops answered not the courage of their leader, who gave signal proofs of his valour and capacity as a general, but it was too late. The French refused any longer to face the English, and a general flight ensued. Philip himself was wounded, and carried off the field of battle by John de Hainault. The standard of France was thrown down, and the whole army dispersed; but the slaughter did not cease till darkness put an end to the dispute. The victory being complete, the king flew into the arms of the prince of Wales and exclaimed, "My gallant son, heaven grant you may persevere in the glorious course you have begun! The heroic manner in which you have acquitted yourself to-day, sufficiently proves you deserve the crown you are born to wear."

Such was the issue of the famous battle of Crecy, fought on the twenty-fifth of August; when, by a moderate computation, there fell by the swords of the English twenty-four baronets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand infantry; together with the principal nobility of France, among whom were the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the earls of Alençon, Flanders, Blois, Reaumont, Harcourt, Auxerre, St. Pol, and Sancerre; with the kings of Bohemia and Majorca. The former had been long famous as a general, but age had now deprived him of his sight. He could not, however, be persuaded from engaging in the hottest part of the battle. He caused the reins of his bridle to be interlaced with

those of two valiant knights, and rushed between those to the spot where young Edward fought in person, and with whom he exchanged two or three random strokes. But he was soon after parted from him, and, together with his valiant companions, fell among the slain. His crest was composed of three ostrich feathers, with this motto, ICH DIEN, I serve; and in memory of this celebrated victory it was assumed by the prince of Wales; and has been ever since resumed by his successors.

No quarter was given by the English at the battle of Crecy; probably owing to their peculiar situation; though others say it was in consequence of similar orders issued by Philip. But though mercy was refused to the living, the dead were treated with the greatest marks of humanity. Edward sent the body of the king of Bohemia to his family; caused the field of battle to be consecrated, attended in person the funerals of the noblemen who fell in the action, and ordered the common soldiers to be interred with the greatest decency.

This battle was almost as remarkable for the small loss of the English as for the prodigious slaughter of the French. Only one esquire, three knights, and a few private men fell in this remarkable action. So great is superiority of prudence and conduct over numbers and temerity. It is said that the English derived great advantages from some pieces of artillery in their army; an invention which had some years been known, and of which it is surprising that Philip neglected the advantage. But notwithstanding several authors of credit mention this particular, there is reason to believe that the whole is founded on mistake. It is not natural to think that Edward in so long, so laborious, and so dangerous a march and retreat, could carry about with him an unwieldy train of artillery, especially when it is considered that the cannon of that age were prodigiously clumsy, and consequently of much greater weight than ours. Besides, none of the historians who lived at that time, though they were very minute in describing his passage over the Somme, mention any thing of artillery, though it would have been of much greater use than his archers, who lined the banks of that river to cover his passage.

Edward drew the most solid advantages from the battle of Crecy. He had observed and regretted the great length of the voyage to Guienne, the only method by which he could send troops to defend his provinces, or attack the monarch of France. His great object was, therefore, to secure an easy passage into that kingdom; the death of Ardevelt having destroyed his authority in the Low Countries. He had now an opportunity of making himself master of some part on the French coast opposite to England, and Calais seemed the best adapted to answer his designs. Accordingly he led his victorious army thither, and invested the place on the third of September.

Few years are recorded in the annals of history more glorious to England than that at present under consideration: the armies of Edward were every where victorious. The duke of Normandy was recalled from Guienne, on the landing of Edward in Normandy; no army was left to oppose the progress of the earl of Derby; nor did that able general fail to improve so favourable an opportunity. He took Maribeu and Lusignan, by assault; Taillebourg, St. Jean d'Angeli, and Poitiers, opened their gates at the first summons. These acquisitions opened him a free passage into the adjacent provinces, and Derby extended his incursions to the banks of the Loire; spreading terror and desolation through all that part of the French dominions.

The war was still carried on in Britany, and the countess of Montford continued to display her heroic virtues. Charles de Blois, at the head of a numerous army invested the fortress of Roche de Rén, and pushed the siege with the utmost vigour. The place was of too much importance for the countess to suf-



fer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, without making one attempt for its relief. She put herself at the head of her little army, and having received a reinforcement of English troops under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked the French during the night, routed their whole army, and took Charles de Blois prisoner. This misfortune called another heroine from obscurity. The countess of Blois, in whose right her husband claimed the duchy of Brittany, seized the reins of government, and became a powerful rival to the countess of Montfort. She was her equal both in the field and the cabinet; the war was carried on with the same vigour as before the captivity of her husband.

The Scots had some time since recalled their king, David Bruce, from France; and at the instigation of Philip, took the opportunity of invading England during the absence of Edward, at the head of an army of fifty thousand men. David, whose sole intention was to ravage the country, levied the most oppressive contributions, and committed the most dreadful disorders in his march, which he extended to the gates of Durham. The distress of the people animated queen Philippa to march in person to their defence; and having collected an army of twelve thousand, led them against the Scottish invaders. Her army was divided into four bodies, the first was commanded by lord Piercy; the second by the archbishop of York and lord Neville; the third by the bishop of Lincoln and lord Mowbray; and the fourth by Baliol in person. In this order the English approached the army of Bruce encamped at Neville's Cross, near the city of Durham. Bruce drew up his army in three lines; the first, consisting of French auxiliaries and the flower of the Scottish nobility, was commanded by the king in person; the second by Robert, high-steward of Scotland and the earl of Marche; and the third by the earls of Murray and Douglas.

While both armies stood ready to engage, queen Philippa rode through the ranks of the English, exhorting every man to do his duty, and to take ample revenge on the barbarous ravagers of their country. The battle was begun by a troop of Genoese crossbowmen, who served in the division under Robert; but they were soon routed by the more experienced English archers. Robert perceived the superiority of the latter, and pressed on furiously with his men at arms, to begin a close fight with the detachment under lord Piercy. The English archers opened immediately to the right and left, to let the enemy pass, but closed again immediately, and galled them dreadfully with their arrows in flank, while they were engaged in front with the English infantry. Robert, however, maintained the fight with the greatest intrepidity; and it was for some time doubtful to which side Fortune would give the victory. Baliol saw the danger, and led up his division to the assistance of lord Piercy. The Scots were now struck with a panic, and immediately betook themselves to flight. Baliol, who was not deficient in military abilities, instead of pursuing the fugitives, wheeled suddenly about, and fell with the utmost impetuosity on the flank of the division commanded by the king. David fought with great intrepidity, and, assisted by his barons, made a noble stand against the attacks of the English; but the contest was unequal; the whole division was broken and put to flight, and the king himself taken prisoner. The third division, under the earls of Murray and Douglas, still stood firm, but were soon broken when attacked by the whole force of the English. Murray was slain in endeavouring to rally his men, and Douglas taken prisoner. The English now remained masters of the field of battle; and this victory would, in all probability, have determined the fate of Scotland, had not Robert rallied his men after he had given way to the attacks of the English, and retreated in such excellent order, by which the other fugitives had time to

join him, and form a body, which the victors did not think proper to pursue.

The Scots had been often unfortunate in their pitched battles with the English, but never did they receive a more fatal blow than the present. Fifteen, some say twenty thousand Scots, fell in the action. And from a list of the slain, and those who were taken prisoners, it appeared, that there was scarcely a noble family in Scotland that did not share in this public calamity.

David, and about thirty-six noble prisoners, were secured in the tower of London; and Philippa embarking at Dover, passed over to the English camp before Calais, where she was received with all the honours that were due to her rank, to her merit, and success.

Edward had yet made but little progress in the siege of Calais. John de Vienne, a knight of Burgundy, who commanded there, was a person of approved courage and fidelity; so that the English monarch, sensible of the difficulty of taking the place by force, had, from the very beginning of the siege, determined to reduce it by famine. He accordingly blocked up the place both by land and sea; so that, after a siege of some months, the place was in want of provisions; and the governor was obliged to put out all the useless mouths; that the garrison might subsist the longer: and Edward, with a generosity not common in these times, not only suffered these distressed people to pass unmolested through his camp, but also supplied them with money for their journey.

A.D. 1347. Philip, sensible of the importance of Calais, and desirous of succouring a garrison that had so nobly exerted themselves in defending that fortress, determined to attempt their relief, and approached the place at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men. But he soon perceived that it would be madness to attack the English camp, and therefore had recourse to negotiation. He offered to cede Guienne, together with the earldom of Ponthieu, and proposed a match between their children. These offers were, however, rejected. On which Philip dispatched a herald to Edward, offering to decide their quarrel in the open field; but the English monarch was too prudent to risk the whole upon the uncertain issue of a single combat; and Philip was obliged to decamp, and disperse his numerous army.

Despairing of relief, and almost wholly destitute of provisions, the garrison desired to capitulate. John de Vienne accordingly appeared upon the walls, and made a signal for a conference; and Edward sent Sir Walter Manny to hear what he had to propose. The governor told him, that having now no farther hopes of relief, he was willing to surrender the place, and desired no other conditions than that the lives and liberties of the garrison should be secured. Manny answered, that Edward was so exasperated against the inhabitants of Calais for their pertinacious resistance, that he was sure he would receive the town on no conditions that should confine him with regard to their punishment. "Is this" replied Vienne; "the treatment to which brave men are entitled? Would not your king have expected the same conduct from any English knight in my condition, which I have performed for my sovereign? The noble defence made by the inhabitants of Calais certainly merits the esteem of every prince, much more of so gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you, that if we must perish, we shall not perish unrevenged; and that we are not yet so reduced, but we can sell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is, doubtless, the interest of both sides to prevent these desperate extremities; and I expect that you yourself, brave knight, will interpose your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Struck with the justice of these sentiments, and being a friend to valour wherever it was found, Manny



Manny exerted all his interest with Edward in behalf of the brave garrison of Calais. He represented the dreadful consequences that might result from so dangerous a precedent, which could not fail of increasing the miseries of war, already sufficiently severe. Edward felt the whole force of his observations, and thought proper to mitigate the severity of the conditions he had demanded. He only insisted, that six of the principal citizens should repair to his camp with the keys of the fortress, bare-headed and bare-footed, with ropes about their necks, to be disposed of as he thought proper. These conditions being complied with, he promised to spare the lives of the rest of the inhabitants.

It is impossible to describe the horror and confusion which these severe conditions excited in the breasts of the inhabitants of Calais. They endeavoured to deprecate the wrath of the victor by the most humble submissions and affecting remonstrances. But Edward was inflexible; and it was resolved by the garrison to submit to the massacre that must follow from their refusal, rather than devote six of their brethren to an ignominious death, for no other reason than that of having done their duty to their king and country. But before the council broke up, Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, stepped forth, and offered to lay down his life for the safety of his friends and companions. Affected with this uncommon instance of magnanimity, three of his own relations declared themselves ready to share in the glorious sacrifice; and two others were quickly found who followed their example. These willing victims to the safety of their countrymen appeared before Edward, laid the keys of their city at his feet, and were ordered to be executed immediately. Pierced with the afflictions of virtue in distress, the queen fell on her knees before Edward, and besought him with tears to spare the lives of those brave men, whose only crime was their attachment to their sovereign. Edward could not withstand the force of conjugal affection; he relented, and the heroic burghers were pardoned. But the compassion of Philippa did not terminate here: she carried the almost famished victims to her tent, ordered them a noble repast, made them a present of money and clothes, and sent them back to their friends in safety.

Edward being now master of Calais, took every precaution in his power to secure his conquest. He knew that it would be impossible for him ever to make the inhabitants real friends to his government, and therefore obliged them all to leave the town, and re-peopled it from England. This policy preserved the place several centuries from falling again into the hands of a French monarch.

A. D. 1348. Satisfied with this important conquest, Edward listened to the mediation of the pope, and concluded a truce with Philip; but the terms of it were very ill observed; and an attempt was made to recover Calais, by corrupting the governor. One Aimery de Pavia, an Italian knight, brave and intrepid in war, but a stranger to every principle of honour and fidelity, was entrusted by the English monarch with the command of this important fortress. Geoffrey de Charny, governor of St. Omer's, found means to open a negotiation with Aimery; who, in consideration of twenty thousand golden crowns, promised to admit a certain number of Frenchmen into the fortress; and the most proper methods were accordingly taken to insure success. Edward, informed of the design by Aimery's secretary, prepared to turn the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy. He sent for the governor to London, and reproached him with his crime; but promised to spare his life, if he would assist him in taking vengeance for the perfidious attempt. The Italian hesitated not a moment to promise his utmost assistance in executing the intended design. A day had been appointed for the admission of the French; and Edward having prepared a detachment of a thousand men, under the command of Sir Walter

Manny, departed secretly from London with the prince of Wales, and reached Calais the evening before the treacherous design was intended to be carried into execution. Charny arrived; and a chosen band of soldiers was admitted at one of the postern gates by the governor, who received the stipulated sum. All the French who entered were immediately taken prisoners, while Charny was waiting with impatience for the signal to enter the town in triumph. At last the great gate was opened, but not for him. The English rushed out under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, both Edward and the prince of Wales serving as volunteers. Charny was astonished, but determined to dispute the victory with the enemy. He drew up his men in a square battalion, and maintained the fight till break of day with the greatest intrepidity. During this contest, a valiant knight, called Eustace de Ribamont, had the glory of fighting a single combat with Edward, whom he beat twice to the ground, and who as often recovered himself with surprising agility. The victory was long doubtful; but at last Ribamont owned himself conquered, and delivered his sword to the king. Charny, in the mean time, maintained the fight with great obstinacy; but perceiving his retreat cut off by another detachment from the town, he surrendered at discretion. All the officers were conducted to Calais, where they were treated with great courtesy: they supped with the prince of Wales and the English nobility. No reflections were made on their conduct; even Charny himself was not reproached for his treachery. Ribamont was loaded with praises by Edward, who also presented him with a string of pearls he wore about his own head; saying to him, "I know you, Sir Eustace, to be gay and amorous, and that you take delight in the company of ladies and damsels. Let them all know from whom you received this present. You are no longer a prisoner. I acquit you of your ransom, and you are at liberty to-morrow to dispose of yourself as you think proper." This age was the reign of chivalry and gallantry; and in a famous combat of thirty knights against thirty, fought about this time, Beaumanoir called out, as they were going to engage, that it would be seen that day, "who had the fairest mistresses."

A. D. 1349. The order of the garter, which was now instituted, probably owed its origin to the love which Edward bore to the countess of Salisbury. That celebrated lady, at a court ball, dropped her garter, which the king took up; and observing that some of his courtiers smiled, as if he had not obtained that favour merely by accident, he called out; "Honi soit qui mal y pense." Evil to him who evil thinks. These words became the motto of the order. It consisted at first of no more than twenty-four persons besides the sovereign; though it soon became a capital object of ambition to courtiers.

But these rejoicings and festivities were terminated by a dreadful pestilence, which at this time invaded all the kingdoms of Europe. It first appeared in the northern parts of Asia; and after spreading over all that country, continued its destructive progress from one end of Europe to the other. The western parts of England first felt this fearful scourge, which soon after reached the capital, and raged, with unremitting fury, near two years, so that hardly one tenth part of the inhabitants survived. Above fifty thousand souls perished in London only. This dreadful visitation rendered a prolongation of the truce necessary, neither the French nor English being in a condition to renew hostilities. The Scots, indeed, took advantage of this misfortune to renew their ravages in the northern parts of England, but paid dearly for their temerity. Above five thousand of them were swept away by the plague, and the rest returned to their own kingdom, to disseminate the pestiferous seeds of this dreadful disease among their countrymen.

A. D. 1350. Before this scourge of heaven was removed,



removed, Philip paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded in the throne by his son John, duke of Normandy, a prince possessed of many virtues, but rather of a private than a public nature. With a heart full of the justest sentiments of honour and sincerity, he was, of all others, the most improper person to sway the sceptre of France in these turbulent times; he wanted that masterly prudence and foresight, that penetration and sagacity, which the situation of his affairs required. His kingdom was filled with domestic commotions, which greatly favoured the views of the English. His relation, Charles, king of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, threw the kingdom of France into combustion by assassinations and perfidies. He entered into a private treaty with the English, and even seduced the dauphin to engage in his intrigues; but that prince being at last convinced of the folly of such destructive connections, invited the king of Navarre, and the noblemen of his party, to an entertainment at Rouen, where they were all betrayed into the hands of king John: though this stroke proved not decisive in maintaining the royal authority.

A.D. 1356. Man seldom depreciates the humiliating hand of heaven longer than he feels the weight of his chastisement; the sanguinary spirit of ambition which seemed to have crouched beneath the late tremendous scourge of Providence, once more reared its head on the removal of that calamity. The seizing of the king of Navarre was resented by Edward; and the prince of Wales, generally known by the name of the Black prince, from the colour of his armour, having the preceding year made a successful expedition into Guienne, now advanced into Quercy, at the head of two thousand men at arms, six thousand archers, and four thousand foot. The success of this young warrior was astonishing: he wasted Quercy, the Limosin, and Auvergne, advanced to Berry, and after some unsuccessful attempts upon Bourges and Issoudun, took Vierzon by storm. Here he refreshed his army, and here he received the first intelligence that the king of France was posted at Chartres, on the other side of the Loire, all the fords of which were strongly guarded. Young Edward now perceived it was impracticable to advance, and therefore resolved to retreat to Bourdeaux. John perceived his intention, crossed the Loire, and marched with such expedition, that he overtook him in the neighbourhood of Poitiers. Edward perceiving that a retreat was now impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and all the prudence of the oldest, and most experienced commander. He posted his handful of men in a place of difficult access, full of hedges, bushes and vineyards, where neither the enemy's cavalry could attempt to pierce, nor their infantry attack him without great disadvantage: at the end of a narrow lane, the only avenue by which the French could advance to attack his main body, he placed a square battalion of the flower of his English archers; nor could the enemy avail themselves of their vast superiority of numbers, till this corps was broken.

The French army, which consisted of above sixty thousand men, was encamped between Beauvoir and Maupertuis, and had John known how to have made a proper use of his numerous forces, his success had been infallible without hazarding a battle. Prince Edward was already so distressed for want of provisions, that a few days would have been sufficient to have forced him to surrender at discretion. But the imprudent ardour of the French nobility would admit of no restraint; they imagined themselves sure of victory, and advanced immediately to attack the English. Just before the charge was sounded, the cardinal of Perigord reached the French army; and at his entreaty the battle was deferred till he had visited the English prince, and endeavoured to save the farther effusion of human blood, by an advantageous peace. Edward, conscious of his own dangerous situation, told the cardinal that he would agree to

any terms consistent with his own honour, and that of his country. He offered to purchase a retreat to Bourdeaux, by resigning all the conquests he had made, during this and the former campaign, and by stipulating not to serve against France during seven years. These offers were haughtily rejected by John, who peremptorily insisted, that the prince himself, together with a hundred of the chief nobility in his army, should surrender themselves prisoners; and on these conditions he offered a safe retreat to the English army. The answer of the prince was that of an hero, who fears death much less than dishonour. He declared that neither himself nor his knights should be taken but in battle; and that he would rather sacrifice his life than consent to such infamous terms.

The sword was now to determine the important contest. The next morning was to be the period of the lives of thousands. No advantage was omitted by Edward: he employed the night in strengthening the post he had so judiciously chosen, with new intrenchments; and detached a body of chosen men under the command of de Greilly, capital of Buche, with orders to make a compass round the hill, and keep himself concealed under covert of the hedges and ditches with which it was surrounded, till the battle should begin, and then to fall with the utmost fury on the French rear. He now divided his troops into three distinct bodies, but ranged in so close compact a manner, that they seemed to form only a square battalion: the front was defended by a number of ditches and hedges; and the flanks were secured on one side by a steep hill, and on the other by a morass. The earl of Warwick was stationed on the side of the hill, with the troops which composed the van; the rear, commanded by the earls of Suffolk and Salisbury, was posted behind a hedge about a stone's cast from the lane through which the French must march to the attack. At the end of this lane was a pretty large gap, where Edward took his post at the head of the main body, which extended itself among the vines and bushes; the weaker part of the field being inclosed by the carriages and baggage waggons.

The French army was also divided into three bodies; the first was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the second by the dauphin of France, assisted by his two brothers the dukes of Anjou and Berry; and the third, which consisted of forty thousand of the best troops in France, was led by the king in person.

The battle was begun about nine o'clock in the morning by three hundred chosen Frenchmen, who marched up the lane towards the main body of the English; but were so galled by the archers, who lined the hedges, that more than one half of them were slain before they reached the front of Edward's division, where the rest were cut to pieces by an advanced party commanded by lord Audley. The marshals Clermont and Andrehen, who with a body of chosen cavalry had advanced close behind the men at arms to support them, met with so warm a reception from the earl of Warwick, and at the same time so impetuous an attack from the earls of Suffolk and Salisbury, at the head of a detachment from the rear, that Clermont was killed on the spot, and Andrehen obliged to surrender himself prisoner: most of the corps shared the fate of the former. The first attack of the French being thus rendered abortive, the dauphin advanced to the charge, but not without great difficulty; his men, dispirited at the fate of their companions, were not ready to follow their leader. In this critical moment the capital de Buche fell with the utmost impetuosity upon their rear, and threw them into terrible disorder: the English archers plied them with incessant showers of arrows from every quarter; while the other infantry with swords and battle-axes rushed upon them and made the most dreadful slaughter. The French threw down their arms and betook themselves to flight, while Landas, Bodenai, and St. Venaant, to whom the care of the dauphin







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*Edward the Black Prince waiting on John King of France his Prisoner*



dauphin and his two brothers had been particularly committed, carried them off the field of battle, and the whole division followed their example. The duke of Orleans, struck with the same panic, fled with the utmost precipitation; though the greater part had never charged the enemy.

But still the grand division composed of the household troops, and headed by their king in person, assisted by his principal nobility, stood firm, and seemed determined to dispute the victory with the English, who were far inferior in number. They were, however, greatly dismayed at the precipitate flight of their companions. The lord Chandos called out to the prince that the battle was won, and Edward immediately mounted his horse, and advanced at the head of his army to attack the main body of the French. The dreadful struggle for victory now began; all that had passed before seemed only an exercise of arms, in comparison of the violent shock which now ensued. John exerted his utmost efforts to retrieve by his valour what he had lost by his imprudence. The prince of Wales fell with the most amazing impetuosity on a body of German cavalry placed in the front; and a stubborn contest ensued. Nor did the Germans give ground till their three leaders, together with the duke of Athens, constable of France, were slain; but being left without a commander, they quitted the field of battle, leaving the king himself and his young son Philip, exposed to all the fury of the enemy. John now saw himself reduced to a small battalion of faithful friends, who were continually lessening by the fowls of the English. At last, wearied out with fatigue and overwhelmed with numbers, he wielded the sword but faintly, and he might easily have been slain, but every one was emulous of so noble a prize, and therefore as they approached called out to him to surrender, and offered him quarter; but unwilling to yield himself a prisoner to any person of inferior rank, he cried out, "Where is my cousin the prince of Wales; to him only I will yield." Being informed that Edward was in another part of the field, he still persisted obstinately to defend himself, till Sir Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Artois, made his way through the croud of assailants, and requested John to yield himself his prisoner; and John, after being assured that he was a knight, threw him his gauntlet as a signal of surrender: his son Philip was also taken with him.

Wearied with the toil of battle, the prince of Wales, who had been carried to a considerable distance in pursuit of the flying enemy, was reposing himself under a tent he had ordered to be pitched for that purpose, when advice was brought him that the king of France and his son were surrounded, and either slain or taken prisoners. Edward immediately dispatched the earl of Warwick and the lord Cobham, at the head of a small detachment to enquire into the fate of the French monarch, and, if possible, to rescue him from the hands of the soldiers. Warwick happily arrived soon enough to save his life. The English had taken the royal prisoners from Morbec: the Gascons claimed the honour of detaining them; and some of the brutal soldiers, rather than yield the prize to their rivals, threatened to put both the illustrious captives to death. Both parties were over-awed by the presence of Warwick, who approaching the monarch with the greatest marks of respect, offered to conduct him to Edward's tent.

The behaviour of the prince was even, if possible, superior to the ability and valour he had discovered in the battle. Instead of indulging a supercilious pride too commonly the attendant on youthful warriors, he came from his tent to meet the captive king with all the marks of a sincere regard. He sympathized with his misfortunes; he comforted him in his afflictions; he paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour; and ascribed his own victory to capricious fortune, or to the superior power of an over-ruling providence. He ordered a magnificent repast to

be prepared in his tent for the royal prisoner, and he himself waited on him at table, as if he had been one of his retinue; and when pressed by the king to sit down, he declared with the greatest modesty, "That it was not for a subject, like him, to sit in the presence of so great a monarch." This moderation added new lustre to his glory.

The generous example of Edward was imitated by the whole army; the prisoners were every where treated with the greatest tenderness and humanity. The spoils taken in the French camp was so great, that the meanest individual in the English army found himself placed beyond the reach of want during the remainder of his life. Indeed the ransom of the noble prisoners alone were more than sufficient for that purpose; though these were very moderate. The extent of the fortunes of all were considered; and no more was exacted of them than they could easily spare; no man was that day impoverished for his misfortunes; they had still sufficient to perform their military service for the future in a manner suitable to their rank and quality. And after a solemn thanksgiving was performed in the English camp for their late victory, Edward marched at the head of his army to Bourdeaux.

A. D. 1357. This fatal event was no sooner known to pope Innocent VI. than he sent the cardinals of Perigord and St. Vital to Bourdeaux, with orders to use their utmost endeavours to bring about a peace; but failing in their negotiation, they confined their requests to the obtaining a truce for two years. The prince of Wales, who was sincerely disposed to heal the wounds both nations had received in this dreadful contest, readily joined his endeavours to those of the legates, and wrote over to the king, in such pressing terms, that his father sent him full powers to act as he thought most conducive to the honour of his country. The prince hesitated not a moment: he signed the truce at Bourdeaux on the twenty-third of March.

After settling the affairs of Guienne the prince embarked with his royal captives, and landed at Sandwich in Kent on the twenty-fifth of May. He was received in every place through which he passed with the greatest expressions of joy; but he constantly refused these honours which were offered him, desiring that the respect intended for him might be transferred with every mark of attention and civility to the French monarch. He was met in Southwark by a thousand of the principal citizens of London on horseback, and the mayor displayed, on this occasion, all the pomp of the city. The entry was truly magnificent. John was dressed in his royal robes, and mounted on a stately white courser, remarkable for its size and beauty, as well as for the richness of its furniture. Young Edward rode on the left-hand of his prisoner, on a little black palfrey, and in a meaner dress, as if studious to avoid every mark of distinction. The streets through which they passed were superbly adorned with plate, tapestry, and armour. The procession reached Westminster-hall about noon, where king Edward, surrounded by a splendid circle of the nobles, and other great men, received his royal prisoner, in all the pomp of state, but at the same time with all the courtesy as if he had been a neighbouring prince, who had come voluntarily to pay him a friendly visit. All the pretensions of Edward to the crown of France seemed to be forgotten, and John in captivity received the honours of a king, which were refused him when seated on the throne. The French monarch behaved with so much propriety on this occasion, as to shew himself truly deserving so generous a treatment: though conquered and a prisoner, he still preserved the dignity of a king. The French noblemen and knights met with the same generous and humane treatment.

The two most powerful enemies of Edward, the kings of France and Scotland, were now his prisoners. The latter, indeed, would have received his liberty long before, had not his subjects refused to



pay his ransom. At this juncture he seemed to have little cause to expect any favour from a victorious enemy, who had reduced his country to the greatest distress, and whom, from the late amazing success of his arms in other parts, might, according to the usual frame of the human mind, be supposed not very ready to listen to the dictates of humanity. But he was deceived. Edward, moved by the intreaties of his sister, the queen consort of Scotland, agreed to a negotiation for setting her husband at liberty. The conferences were opened at Berwick, where it was agreed, "That David should be set at liberty, and acknowledged king of Scotland, and an independent monarch, on his giving hostages for the payment of one hundred thousand marks sterling in ten years, by equal portions; and that a truce should subsist, and be inviolably observed by both nations, till the whole should be liquidated."

A.D. 1357. This treaty being ratified, David returned to his kingdom, after a captivity of eleven years. The affairs of Scotland were hardly finished, before the two cardinal legates, who had negotiated the truce with prince Edward, arrived in London, with proposals for a peace: but of so strange a nature, that Edward refused to return them any answer. Baffled in this attempt, they demanded, in the name of his holiness, the arrears of the tribute formerly paid to the see of Rome, amounting to a thousand marks. Edward treated this demand as an obsolete and ridiculous claim; and bid them tell the pontiff, "That he held his kingdom of God alone, and acknowledged no other superior, nor would he pay tribute to any mortal upon earth."

The imprisonment of the French monarch was the signal of a civil war in Paris; every ambitious person became the head of a party. Under a pretence of reformation, factions are generally established. Charles, dauphin of France, was declared regent, and had the mortification of seeing almost the whole kingdom revolt against him. Paris, at that time, began to be a formidable city, for it contained fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms. Charles found himself obliged to release the king of Navarre, whom his father had confined. This was, in fact, letting loose an enemy upon himself. The king of Navarre no sooner obtained his liberty, than he came to Paris to blow the coals of sedition, already sufficiently kindled. Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, entered the Louvre at the head of the malecontents, where he caused Robert de Clermont, marshal of France, together with the marshal of Champagne, to be massacred in presence of the dauphin. In the mean time, the peasants tumultuously assembled from all parts, and, in the general confusion, attacked every gentleman they met with, treating them as revolted slaves behave towards those severe masters who happen to fall into their hands. They revenged themselves, by a thousand cruel punishments, for the meanness of their condition. In the midst of these convulsions of state, Charles of Navarre aspired to the crown; and a war was carried on by him against the dauphin, till the latter was obliged to dissemble his resentment, by agreeing to a suspension of hostilities, and pardoning this too powerful and rebellious vassal. The other cities of the kingdom followed the example of the capital: they shook off the dauphin's authority, took the government into their own hands, and spread disorder into every province. The nobles, whose inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and were naturally disposed to check these tumults, had lost their influence; and being reproached with cowardice, on account of their base desertion of their sovereign in the battle of Poitiers, were treated with universal contempt by the inferior orders. The disbanded soldiers, and the peasants, who had learned something of the art of war, formed themselves into parties in the different provinces, especially beyond the Loire. One of their chiefs took the name of

"The Friend of God, and enemy to all the world." A fellow called John of Gouge, a burgher of Sens, was declared king by these banditti, and did almost as much mischief by his depredations as the lawful king had done by his misfortunes.

A.D. 1358. During these dreadful scenes of desolation in France, a treaty was concluded between the kings of France and England; by which it was agreed, that, in consideration of Edward's quitting all claim to the dutchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the crown of France, he and his heirs should enjoy Guienne, the Angoumois, Xaintonge, Perigord, Quercy, the Limousin, Poitou, Touraine, Calais, Guines, the Boulonnais, and the county of Ponthieu, free and independent of the crown of France: and that John and the French nobles, who had been taken prisoners with him, should pay, for their ransom, four millions of golden crowns, upwards of a million and a half sterling money. These articles were sent over to the regent of France, who laid them before a meeting of the states, by whom they were rejected with disdain, as destructive at once of the honour and safety of the nation. Edward was highly exasperated at this refusal, and determined to renew the war as soon as the truce was expired; flattering himself that he should succeed better by arms than by negotiations.

A.D. 1359. The resolution of Edward, with regard to an invasion of France, was no sooner known, than the splendour of his former victories induced a prodigious number of adventurers to flock to his standard; and he crossed the sea to Calais at the head of an army of an hundred thousand men. This force was irresistible, and the dauphin was too prudent to hazard a decisive action. He allowed the enemy to spend their fury in the open country, while he employed himself to put all the considerable towns in a posture of defence. It had been determined in a council of war called by Edward near Calais, to penetrate immediately into the heart of France, without losing time in taking places: a wise resolution, had it been punctually observed. But after wasting the province of Picardy, and entering Champagne, Edward was desirous of being invested with the royal diadem of France in the city of Rheims. He accordingly invested the city, where three months were spent without effect, while his army daily diminished by sickness, and he was obliged at last to raise the siege.

A.D. 1360. Early in the spring he entered Burgundy, which, together with the Nivernois, were preserved from his ravages, by paying the contributions he demanded. The Brie and the Gatinois he plundered with the utmost cruelty. He advanced to the gates of Paris, burnt the suburbs of that city, and challenged the dauphin to give him battle; but not being able to make that prudent prince change his plan of operations, he spread his army into the provinces of Maine, Beaufle, and the Chartraine. Here he was overtaken by so dreadful a hurricane, as seemed to threaten the dissolution of the universe. The shock of the elements, in thunder, lightening, and hail-stones of a prodigious size, struck the boldest with terror. No less than six thousand horse, and a thousand foot, were killed on the spot. Edward, with all his courage, was not proof against this dreadful scene: he considered it as a warning from heaven to him, to sheathe the destructive sword of war upon equitable terms. Penetrated with these sentiments, he leaped from his horse, and prostrating himself on the ground, with his arms extended towards the church of Chartres, dedicated to the Virgin, he vowed to agree instantly to a peace with France, if it could be obtained upon just and honourable terms. Several historians have considered this storm as the cause which inspired Edward with pacific dispositions: but perhaps the representations of the duke of Lancaster had more effect on the mind of Edward than this destructive hurricane. He insisted, that



the acquisition of the crown of France was not advanced by his successes: that in one day he might lose the advantages he had been several years in obtaining; and that a peace, in his present circumstances, might be concluded, which would annex several provinces to England.

But whatever gave rise to these pacific sentiments, a negotiation was opened at Bretigni, where a treaty was concluded; by which it was agreed, that France should pay, at three different times, three millions of crowns of gold (about a million and a half sterling) for the ransom of king John: That the king of England should renounce his pretensions to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Tourain, and Anjou; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poitou, Xaintongue, Perigord, the Limosin, Agenois, Quercy, Bigone, Gauze, Angoumois, and Rouergne; and enjoy these territories in the fullest manner; and without any feudal subjection or homage. That the dispute between Charles de Blois, and John de Montfort, with regard to the duchy of Britany, should be candidly discussed, and referred to arbitration, under the sanction of both kings; but if their good offices proved ineffectual, neither should take any part in the quarrel, though the sovereignty of Britany should remain to the king of France, and John de Montfort be restored to the possession of all his estates in that kingdom: That the king of France should renounce alliance with the Scots, and Edward his connections with the Flemings. Forty hostages, among whom were two sons of the French king, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many of the chief nobility of France, were sent to England, as a security for the performance of these conditions. John made no difficulty to ratify the treaty, and was restored to his subjects.

A. D. 1362. This peace between the two kingdoms being concluded in France, occasioned dreadful disorders in that kingdom. Vast numbers of adventurers, who had enlisted in Edward's army, joined the bands of robbers that had for some time desolated the provinces. Habituated to pillage, and strangers to fear, they committed the most dreadful ravages, and were known by the name of "The Companies." At length John, marquis of Montferrat, being at war with the Viscontis, lords of Milan, took the Companies into his pay, and freed France from these formidable bands of ruffians.

Peace being now restored, young Edward married his cousin, Joan of Kent, the young and beautiful relict of the late earl of Holland. This princess was daughter of Edmund earl of Kent, who had been beheaded in the beginning of the present reign by the intrigues of queen Isabella and the infamous Mortimer; and for her exquisite beauty, she was generally known by the appellation of "The Fair Maid of Kent." The young hero, who had raised the honour of the English to so exalted a pitch, was now created prince of Aquitaine, and invested with the property of many of the noble possessions ceded to the English by the treaty of Bretigni. He soon after crossed the sea, and fixed his residence at Bourdeaux, where he kept a royal court, beloved and respected by all his subjects, who thought themselves peculiarly happy in being governed by so great and generous a prince.

A. D. 1363. The first payment of the ransom for John having been deferred, the princes, who were still hostages at London, began to grow weary of their confinement, and the duke of Anjou broke his parole, and escaped to Paris. This act, so contrary to the principles of honour and justice, filled John with the utmost concern; and he determined, at all events, to execute the conditions of the treaty. His council in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from his design: his purpose was fixed, and every argument lost its force. "If justice and good faith" said he, "were banished from the rest of the earth, they ought yet to retain their habitation in the breasts of princes."

This noble way of thinking, incompatible with the maxims of policy, induced him to return to England, in order to substitute himself in the place of his son, the duke of Anjou. But he did not long survive this action, which he thought absolutely necessary. He died soon after, in the palace of the Savoy, where he had been royally entertained at the king's expence, and the ransom was never paid.

The kingdom of Castile was almost in as miserable a condition as France. The throne was filled by Peter, surnamed The Cruel, from his sanguinary and revengeful disposition. He was placed in the seat of power while a minor, and in very unfavourable circumstances. His father, Alphonso XI. had seven natural children by his mistress, Eleanor of Guzman; and settled such considerable fortunes on them, that they defied the royal authority; while their mother, who enjoyed still more power, insulted the queen dowager. Castile was therefore divided into two parties, one of whom joined the queen-mother, and the other Eleanor. When Peter came of age, and took the reins of government into his own hands, he was obliged to maintain a war against the faction of his natural brothers. He was victorious in a decisive battle; took Eleanor prisoner; and, to satisfy his mother's revenge, put her to death. Soon after, he married Blanche of Bourbon, who falling in love with the grand master of St. Jago, one of those very bastards who was then at war with her husband, she joined the faction, and Peter shut her up in a castle. This greatly augmented the fury of the faction, and Peter was obliged to fight against the king of Arragon and his natural brothers at the same time; but victory still followed his standards; and he made a cruel use of it. He seldom forgave a crime; so that all his relations who had appeared in arms against him, were sacrificed to his resentment; and among the rest the grand master of St. Jago. During these troubles, Blanche of Bourbon died in confinement; and it was universally reported, that she fell by the detested arts of poison. Henry of Transtamare, one of those bastards, animated with a desire of revenging at once both the death of his mother; and that of the grand master of St. Jago, entered into a treaty with Charles V. king of France, and a powerful army was soon raised, under the command of John de Bourbon. Bertrand du Guesclin, a native of Britany; famous for his military abilities, was appointed general in this expedition; and had the address to engage the Companies, now returned from Italy, to follow him into Castile. They had been excommunicated by the pope, and were deeply affected by that sentence; to which they paid a much greater regard than to any maxims of justice and humanity; though it was not sufficient to make them abandon a life of rapine and extortion.

Guesclin, in his passage to Castile, passed by Avignon, where the pope resided; and demanded, sword in hand, both an absolution for his soldiers, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres. It was in vain for the pontiff to plead his inability to perform the latter; no excuses were admitted; and the army left Avignon, hallowed by the blessing, and enriched with the spoils of the holy father.

Transtamare, supported by Arragon; and assisted by those troops which had increased in their march, was proclaimed king in the town of Burgos. It was in vain for Peter to oppose so powerful an army with success, especially as the greater part of his subjects had joined the enemy against him; and thought himself fortunate to escape with his life. He first repaired to the frontiers of Portugal; but being denied entrance into that kingdom, he repaired to Bourdeaux; to implore the aid and protection of the Black Prince.

A. D. 1367. Edward espoused his cause, and undertook to replace him on the throne of Castile. His army passed the Pyrenees in three divisions, each consisting of ten thousand horse. At his approach, all the Companies left Du Guesclin's army, declaring



declaring they would never draw their swords against their native prince. But notwithstanding the desertion of the Companies, Henry de Trāntamare and du Gueſclin were ſtill at the head of an hundred thouſand men. Both armies were now in fight of each other, and ſoon after was fought, on the banks of the Ebro near the village of Navarette, the famous battle of that name, between Peter and the Black Prince on one ſide, and Henry de Trāntamare and du Gueſclin, on the other. Edward acquired more honour in this battle than Crecy and Poitiers, becauſe the conteſt was much longer diſputed. The victory was complete; above twenty thouſand of the enemy fell on the field of battle, and Bertrand du Gueſclin and the marſhall of Ardrehen were taken priſoners. Not above four knights and forty private men fell on the ſide of the Engliſh. Peter was re-eſtabliſhed on the throne of Caſtile, and Henry de Trāntamare obliged to fly to Arragon.

But gratitude was not one of Peter's virtues: he deceived his benefactor when he had no longer any need of his aſſiſtance. He reſuſed the ſtipulated pay to the Engliſh forces; and Edward, perceiving that his men daily periſhed by ſickneſs, found himſelf under a neceſſity of leading them back to Guienne. Peter, however, enjoyed not long the good fortune he owed to the perſon he had ſo ungenerouſly treated. The Black Prince had no ſooner croſſed the Pyrenees, and Bertrand du Gueſclin paid his ranſom, than the baſtard of Trāntamare revived the party of the malecontents, and du Gueſclin began to raiſe a new army. The forces of Arragon, the rebels of Caſtile, and the French auxiliaries appeared on the ſide of Trāntamare: while Peter's army conſiſted of the greater part of the Caſtilians, the troops of Portugal, and the Moors of Spain; but his new allies rendered him ſtill more odious, and were of very little ſervice in the day of battle. Trāntamare and du Gueſclin having no longer the genius and fortune of young Edward to contend with, obtained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Toledo. Peter was taken priſoner by du Gueſclin, and his brother Trāntamare put him to death with his own hand.

A.D. 1369. Edward had contracted beſides a very dangerous diſorder during his campaign in Caſtile, an enormous debt, which Peter had ungenerouſly reſuſed to pay. This obliged him to have recourſe to methods which tranſgreſs the bounds of prudent policy. He totally alienated from him the affections of the French, by impoſing upon them an unuſual and heavy tax. The nobility of Guienne made ſtrong remonſtrances againſt this impoſition, and even carried their complaints to the king of France as their lord paramount. The principal article in the treaty of Bretigni, regarded the renunciation of the ſovereignty, and were to have been made reſpectively by John and Edward, but had remained unexecuted, though the failure in exchanging theſe renunciations was wholly owing to the chicanery of France. Charles, who directed all his affairs by the principles of policy rather than thoſe of juſtice, admitted the appeal of the nobility of Guienne, and ſummoned the prince of Wales to appear perſonally in his court at Paris. The prince, exaſperated at ſo inſolent and unjuſt a meſſage, answered, with all the ſpirit of a young warrior, that it ſhould be at the head of ſixty thouſand men. Charles was not, however, intimidated; he knew the declining years of Edward, the languiſhing ſtate of the prince of Wales's health, and the extreme animosity which the inhabitants of the conquered provinces had expreſſed againſt the Engliſh, would act very powerfully in his favour.

A.D. 1370. The firſt operations of war were commenced in Ponthieu, where the French met with very little oppoſition. The dukes of Berry and Anjou, brothers to Charles, aſſiſted by du Gueſclin, invaded the ſouthern provinces, and ſoon produced an important revolution. The ſtate of the prince's health would not permit him to mount on horſeback, or exert his uſual activity. The brave Chandois, con-

ſtable of Guienne, was ſlain in one action, and the capital du Buche, who ſucceeded him, taken priſoner in another. Young Edward ſaw the progreſs of the French with the utmoſt regret; but his diſtemper increaſed ſo faſt upon him, that he was obliged to throw up his command, and return to his native country.

Incenſed at the injuries he had received from Charles, Edward meditated a ſevere revenge, but the infirmities of age ſuffered him not to head his armies in perſon, with that vigour and activity which attended him in the field of Crecy. Sir Edward Knowles was for ſome time very fortunate. He marched from Calais at the head of thirty thouſand men, and extended his ravages to the very gates of Paris, but without being able to bring the enemy to a general engagement. He entered the provinces of Maine and Anjou, and laid them both waſte: but part of his army being there defeated by the admirable conduct of du Gueſclin, now created conſtable of France, the reſt were ſcattered and diſperſed, ſo that inſtead of reaching Guienne, they took ſhelter in Britany, whoſe ſovereign had entered into an alliance with England. The duke of Lancaſter, at the head of twenty-five thouſand men, made, ſoon after, the ſame attempt, and marched the whole length of France, from Calais to Bourdeaux; but his rear was ſo dreadfully haraſſed by flying parties of the enemy, and his foraging parties ſo frequently cut off, that hardly half his army reached the place of their deſtination. One province after another fell into the hands of the enemy, till Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Calais only remained in the hands of the Engliſh, when the neceſſities of Edward obliged him to conclude a truce with the enemy.

A.D. 1376. But the loſs of his foreign dominions was not the only mortifications, the great Edward met with in the decline of life. The paſſion for military glory, that fired his breaſt during the vigour of his age was now extinguiſhed. His glory was buried in the grave of voluptuouſneſs. After the death of his virtuous queen Philippa, Edward attached himſelf to an inſolent miſtreſs, called Alice Pierce, who now engroſſed the whole regal authority. The parliament on this occaſion preſented a ſpirited remonſtrance, and the imperious lady was baniſhed from the court. Edward alſo ſatiſfied his parliament in another requeſt. The nation had entertained a jealousy of the great power of John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter, and apprehended leſt he ſhould himſelf ſeiſe the crown on the death of his father. Edward, therefore, to remove their fears, declared, in full parliament, Richard, ſon to the prince of Wales, his heir and ſucceſſor. Soon after this declaration, the prince paid the debt of nature; an event that plunged the whole nation in the deepeſt ſorrow. He died at Windſor on the eighth of June, in the forty-fixth year of his age.

The character of this prince is truly amiable. His valour and military talents, which procured him the admiration of all Europe, form only a ſubordinate part of his merit. His humanity, generoſity, affability, and moderation, gained him the eſteem of all the world; even the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory would have received a luſtre from his virtues; they were celebrated by his greateſt enemies. Charles of France, though his kingdom had ſuffered ſo ſeverely from his valour, gave a noble mark of his high eſteem for this celebrated hero. He cauſed a ſolemn ſervice to be performed for the repoſe of his ſoul, in the church of Notre Dame, and aſſiſted himſelf in perſon, with the principal part of the nobility of France.

A.D. 1377. The king himſelf ſurvived the death of his favourite ſon but little more than a year. He paid the debt of nature at Shene, near Richmond, in Surry, on the twenty-fiſt of June, in the ſixty-fiſth year of his age, and the fifty-fiſt of his reign. Edward, whether we conſider him as a warrior, a legiſlator, or a monarch, appears to be one of the greateſt







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greatest princes that ever swayed the English sceptre. The love of glory was, indeed, his predominant passion; and it must be confessed, that he scrupled not to indulge it at the expence of humanity, the lives of his subjects, and the interest of his country. But it should, at the same time, be remembered; that he was a man, and therefore subject to errors; and that the distracted state of affairs on the continent, and the jarring interests of its princes, concurred in flattering his ambition, and inspired him with ideas, which, otherwise, perhaps, he might never have conceived.

But his domestic character is much greater than his military, which has thrown so bright a lustre on the annals of England. He was gracious and obliging to the virtuous and deserving; stern and inexorable to the dissolute and the faithless. He gained the affections of the great, though he curbed their licentiousness: he made them feel his power, though they were not inclined to murmur at his severity. He directed their turbulent spirits against a foreign enemy; and, by his valour and conduct, rendered most of their attempts successful. In conversation he was at once both affable and communicative; nor did he ever disdain to receive instruction from his inferiors, when either their station or learning enabled them to give it. At the same time, he possessed so just a discernment, that few princes ever made a more happy choice of servants, either in the domestic, the civil, or the military departments. He was a friend to the poor, the afflicted, the fatherless, and the widow. He frequently relieved their wants; and his bounty was that of a king; he placed them beyond the reach of their miseries for the future. In the distribution of rewards, he shewed a distinguished judgment; merit was always sure of being rewarded.

Edward was a friend to the constitution of his country, though his passion for glory often obliged him to break through the rules which ought to restrain the royal prerogative. He always consulted his parliament, by which means that assembly acquired a considerable accession of authority during his reign; and the Commons were no longer regarded with that indifference with which they had formerly been treated. They often complained, and not always without effect, of the arbitrary exertions of the royal prerogative; a sufficient proof that the principles of the English constitution, as it is now established, were then well known. In one of Edward's statutes there is this remarkable clause, "That no man, of what estate or condition soever, shall be put out of his land or tenement, nor taken, nor

imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought in answer by due course of law." But the most popular law passed during Edward's reign, was the statute which limited the cases of high treason, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads; namely, the conspiring the death of the king; the levying war against him, and the adhering to his enemies. The bounds of treason were, indeed, so much limited by this statute, which is still in force without any alteration, that the lawyers were obliged to enlarge them, by explaining a conspiracy for levying war against the king, to be equivalent to a conspiracy against his life; and this interpretation has, from the necessity of the case, been tacitly received.

Edward had a numerous issue by his queen Philippa of Hainault.

1. His eldest son, the heroic Edward, generally called the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour.

2. William of Hatfield, who died in his infancy.

3. Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence; who was first married to Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster. After her death, he married Violante, daughter to the duke of Milan; and died in Italy soon after the consummation of his nuptials, without leaving any posterity by that princess.

4. John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster, from whom sprung that branch which afterwards possessed the crown. He first married Blanche, daughter and co-heiress of Henry duke of Lancaster, to whose title he succeeded. His second wife was Constance, eldest daughter of Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, in whose right he assumed the arms and title of that kingdom. After her death, he married Catharine Swinford, who had already bore him several illegitimate children.

5. Edmund de Langley, earl of Cambridge, constable of Dover-castle, and afterwards duke of York.

6. William of Windsor, who died an infant.

7. Thomas of Woodstock, who received the title of earl of Buckingham from his father, and duke of Gloucester from his nephew.

The daughters were,

1. Isabella, married to Ingelram de Coucy, earl of Bedford.

2. Joan, who died of the plague at Bourdeaux.

3. Blanche, who died in her infancy.

4. Mary, married to John de Montfort, earl of Britany.

5. Margaret, married to John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke.

## R I C H A R D II. furnamed of BOURDEAUX.

A. D. **T**HIS prince, who was only in the eleventh 1377. year of his age when he ascended the throne, was remarkable for the beauty of his person; a circumstance which, joined with the enthusiastic fondness of the people for his illustrious father, the Black Prince, occasioned an universal joy in the kingdom when he was placed on the throne of his ancestors. His three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester, opposed not his accession. Indeed, their opposite tempers and dispositions formed an unsurmountable obstacle to any attempt of that kind. The coronation of the young monarch was celebrated with the utmost magnificence, and the honour of knighthood was conferred upon several of the young nobility. At this coronation we meet with the first mention in history of a champion, who ap-

peared, completely armed, in Westminster-hall, where his majesty dined. He was attended by the high constable and marshal of England, and preceded by the heralds. When the champion reached the middle of the hall, he threw his gauntlet on the ground; and challenged all persons whatsoever, who should dare to dispute his majesty's title to the crown. The origin of this custom, which is still preserved, is, however, utterly unknown: for though this is the first time we find it mentioned by historians, it is, doubtless, of a much earlier date; since Sir John Dimmock, who performed the office at the coronation of Richard II. was admitted to it by virtue of a right annexed to the manor of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, held by him in right of his wife, the daughter of Sir John Marmion.



The parliament, which met soon after the coronation, established a council of regency; and the Commons proceeded to increase their influence, and to confirm their privileges. But the great power of the king's uncles directed, for some years, the measures of government. Lancaster in particular, though very unpopular, and of a genius not at all adapted to any bold enterprize, yet having been accustomed to govern during the latter part of the late reign, took upon himself the chief direction of affairs, though neither himself nor his two brothers were named in the council of regency.

It was sufficiently evident that a war was, in this situation of affairs, inevitable. The truce concluded with France was now expired, and hostilities had been already commenced by that formidable power, but no action of importance happened between the two kingdoms. Great preparations were, indeed, made, and events of the greatest consequence were expected, when Charles, king of France, paid the debt of nature, and left his crown to his son, Charles VI. a youth only twelve years of age.

A. D. 1381. But though no actions of importance had been performed in the war against France, the great expence attending the several expeditions had exhausted the treasury; and the parliament, in order to raise the necessary supplies, imposed a new and extraordinary tax of three groats on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age; but they ordained, that in levying this tax, the rich should relieve the poor by an equable compensation. As the money was immediately wanted, and the common method of gathering it would require some considerable time, the court farmed out the grant to a set of rapacious collectors, who extorted it with the utmost rigour from the people. This imposition, added to the cruelty and presumptuous behaviour of the tax gatherers, occasioned one of the most singular mutinies recorded in the annals of history. The people had already acquired some idea of independence, and given several indications of their desire of breaking those chains which had so long been imposed upon them by a haughty nobility. Enthusiasm also assisted to augment this desire, and make the populace acquainted with their own importance. One John Ball, a turbulent but popular preacher, visited various parts of the kingdom, and every where inculcated on his audience the maxims of equal right and liberty to all the goods of nature; and the tyranny of artificial distinctions introduced by a few insolent rulers, in order to aggrandize themselves, and degrade the more considerable part of the species. Doctrines like these, so agreeable to the populace, were embraced with avidity, and kindled in the minds of the vulgar those sparks of rebellion which the insolence of the tax-gatherers blew into a flame.

The insurrection began at Deptford, in Kent; where one of the collectors came to the house of Walter, a tyler, by profession, afterwards better known by the name of Wat Tyler, and demanded three groats for one of his daughters. The peasant refused to comply with the demand, urging, that she was under the age prescribed by act of parliament. The insolent tax-gatherer not only refused to acquiesce in this decision, but offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary; and, at the same time, laid hold of the girl. Enraged at this insolence, Tyler beat out the fellow's brains with his hammer. The action was highly approved by the populace of the neighbourhood, who instantly flew to arms. Their example was followed by the peasants of Essex, Surry, Suffex, Hertfordshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln; so that even before the government had any warning of the danger, the disorder was become too great for opposition.

Blackheath was appointed the place of a general rendezvous; and they accordingly assembled there, to the number of an hundred thousand men, under

their principal leaders, Wat Tyler, and Jack Straw. The duke of Lancaster was now on the borders of Scotland, and the number of regular troops in the kingdom very inconsiderable; so that the government was thrown into the utmost confusion, as having every thing to fear from this lawless assembly. A council was called in the Tower, where a resolution was taken to send a message to the insurgents, to enquire the cause of this tumultuous meeting. The mutinous rabble received the messengers with the most haughty insolence; and returned for answer, "That they were come to speak to the king about certain important affairs; and desired he would repair to their camp in person, and hear what they had to propose." Many of the council, particularly the archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, opposed the king's going in person to treat with the rebels; thinking it at once both derogatory to his dignity, and dangerous to his life. But it being represented to the council, that the insurgents were in full march for London, and that it would be impossible to prevent their gaining admittance into the city, the king went down the river in a barge, as far as Rotherhithe; but on approaching the shore, he perceived such symptoms of tumult and insolence, that he put back, and returned to the Tower.

Exasperated at this disappointment, the peasants, who were by this time joined by the city rabble, advanced to the bridge, and threatened to burn the suburbs first, and then the capital itself, if the gates were not immediately opened. Intimidated by this threat, which they were able to carry into execution, their demand was complied with. They entered the city, and immediately gave a loose to every species of excess. They plundered the houses of the most wealthy citizens, and abused their persons, together with those of their wives and daughters. A party of them ran immediately to the duke of Lancaster's palace in the Savoy, and soon reduced that magnificent structure, together with all its splendid furniture, to ashes. Another party set fire to the Temple; while a third repaired to the elegant monastery of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, near Smithfield, and burnt the whole structure, together with all the books, records and papers. They beheaded all the gentlemen that fell into their hands, and expressed a particular animosity against the lawyers and attorneys.

The next morning they divided themselves into three bodies. The first division, under Jack Straw, the second leader in command, marched to Highbury manor, about two miles to the northward of London. The second retired to Mile-End. And the third, under the command of Wat Tyler himself, took up their station in St. Katharine's, and round the Tower, to prevent the escape of the ministers and noblemen who had taken shelter in that fortress, and whom the rabble had devoted to destruction. The king, who had also retired thither for safety, finding the fortress, which was but weakly garrisoned, and almost destitute of provisions, incapable of making any long defence, found means to escape during the night; and hearing that the rebels at Mile-End were the most tractable, and had expressed a desire of treating with the government, he repaired thither, and demanded to know the reason for this tumultuous assembly; telling them, that he was their king, that he was come to hear and redress their grievances. They insisted upon a general amnesty, the abolition of all slavery; liberty of trade in all market-towns, without paying either toll or impost; and that a stated rent should be laid upon lands, instead of the service imposed upon villanage. These requests the king granted very readily, but insisted on their laying down their arms immediately. They made no difficulty of obeying; and returned very quietly to their own houses, leaving a few of each parish to carry down with them the general pardon, and charters of their freedom.



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*J. White del.*

*H. Walker sculp.*

*The Burning of St. John's Monastery,  
near Smithfield, by Wat Tyler's Rabble.*





But the rebels under Wat Tyler were of a more ferocious disposition. They were determined to revenge the evils they had suffered on the heads of the nation, and, if possible, carry the romantic scheme of government they had formed into execution. Accordingly, while the king was treating with one division of the insurgents, Wat Tyler demanded admittance into the Tower; and the garrison were so intimidated by the multitude of rebels, that they refused to defend the place, and the gates were accordingly thrown open. This pusillanimous conduct, raised the insolence of the rabble to the highest pitch; and their behaviour was at once both brutish and barbarous. They seized Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor, dragged him to Tower-hill, and beheaded him with the utmost insolence. Sir Robert Hales, lord treasurer, and Legg, the Flemish farmer of the land-tax, suffered the same fate.

This success, instead of satiating the vengeance, increased the sanguinary disposition of the rebels; every person of any note that fell into their hands, was sacrificed as a victim to their lawless barbarity. The citizens now saw their error in admitting such a turbulent multitude into the city. Their savage practices roused them to revenge, and recovered them from their consternation. Walworth, the lord-mayor, and Philpot, one of the aldermen, promised the king, that they would support him against the rebels, provided some method could be found to amuse them with proposals. Sir John Newton was therefore sent to acquaint them, that the Essex men had accepted certain conditions from the government, in consequence of which they had retired peaceably to their habitations; and that he was empowered to offer them the same terms, on their making the same submission. But the savage plebeians, flushed with their late success, had now formed the most chimerical designs; they proposed to murder the king, together with all the whole nobility, and bury all government in a general anarchy, in order to destroy every species of subordination, and render all men equal. Tyler, therefore, made no other answer to the king's message, than that he would consent to a peace if he liked the terms. Three different charters were sent successively by Richard, in the space of a few hours, but were all rejected with the most provoking insolence.

The ministry and principal men of the city were now thoroughly exasperated, and Richard, attended by the lord mayor, and chief officers of London, rode to Smithfield. Sir John Newton was again sent to the demagogue, inviting him to a conference with the king, in order that his majesty might know his demands, and, if possible, give his consent to their being granted. Tyler now seemed to be alarmed, and moved towards Smithfield, at the head of the rabble, with a very slow and desultory pace. Newton told him the king was waiting for him, and desired he would quicken his march. "Make what haste you please yourself," replied the insolent rebel, "I shall take my own time." The true reason for this delay in the demagogue, arose from his expecting a large reinforcement from Hertfordshire and the adjacent counties, and therefore he would willingly have deferred the conference till their arrival. But the government was now in a capacity to defeat their schemes, and therefore unwilling to suffer them to exercise their savage barbarity any longer. The magistrates of London had assembled a large body of well-armed and well-affected citizens, and Sir Robert Knowles was just arrived at the head of a thousand veterans. When Tyler came into Smithfield, where the king waited for him, Sir John Newton told him that both decency and duty required that he should be uncovered in the presence of his sovereign; but the traitor, instead of complying, was so highly offended, that he would have sheathed his dagger in his breast, had not the king suddenly advanced, and drew off his attention, by asking what he had to re-

quest? Tyler was greatly disconcerted; and made such extravagant proposals; and delivered himself in so incoherent a manner, that the king could make no reply. He demanded that all the ancient laws should be abolished; that all bondmen should be free; that all warrens, parks and chafes should be laid open, and every person, the poor as well as the rich, should have free liberty to fish, fowl, and hunt in every part of the kingdom. He added several other particulars relative to the levelling scheme he had formed, but in so confused a manner that they were not understood. The king not being able to comprehend the meaning of what this illiterate leader had advanced, returned no answer, which Tyler considering as a contemptuous refusal, raised his dagger, and at the same time laid hold of the bridle of the king's horse. Walworth, the mayor, who had with difficulty curbed his resentment at the behaviour of this audacious rebel, was now so exasperated that he drew his sword, and struck him so violent a blow, that he fell to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched by Philpot.

The rabble, seeing their leader fall, prepared to take a severe revenge, and a dreadful slaughter would doubtless have ensued, had not Richard prevented it by an amazing presence of mind. He ordered his company to stop; advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and with an affable and intrepid countenance asked them, "What is the meaning of this disorder; my good people? Are you angry because you have lost your leader? I am your king; I will be your leader." Over-awed by the presence of the king, the insurgents followed him implicitly; and he led them into the fields near Islington to prevent the consequences of any disorder that might arise from an attempt to reduce them to obedience. They had no sooner left the city, than they perceived a large body of forces marching towards them under the command of Sir Robert Knowles. A panic immediately seized the whole multitude: they threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Knowles proposed that all the ringleaders should be put to death, but the king would not permit any sanguinary methods to be taken; and they were accordingly dismissed with the same charters their companions had received. These charters were, however, soon after revoked by the parliament, and the leaders of this extraordinary rebellion severely punished. Such was the end of a faction, which threatened the destruction of the kingdom; but as the deluded populace had no distinguished leader, they could not have long contended with the royal authority. Such tempests, which were then common in Europe, served, however, to shew what sort of government then prevailed.

This remarkable instance of intrepidity and presence of mind in Richard, who was now only sixteen years of age, inspired the people with the highest expectations of his future behaviour. But the presages of early youth are often deceitful. As Richard advanced in years, his conduct abundantly demonstrated that their hopes were built on a delusive foundation; it was soon evident, that he wanted both judgment and capacity. What rendered this want of ability the more alarming to the English was the unsettled state of affairs on the continent, and which threatened to involve all Europe in confusion. On the death of Gregory X. Brignano, bishop of Barri, was elected pontiff, and took the name of Urban VI. But his passionate and turbulent disposition rendered him a very improper person to be placed at the head of the church. He had not long been seated in St. Peter's chair, before he declared, in full consistory, that he was determined to punish the kings of France and England, as the disturbers of the peace of Christendom. Cardinal de la Grange, a Frenchman, and equally passionate with the pope himself, rose from his seat, and shaking his fist at the pontiff, told him that "he lied." This rash word involved all Europe in confusion.



Most of the cardinals, shocked at the brutal disposition of Urban, withdrew to Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the late election void, and proceeded unanimously to the election of a new pontiff; and Robert, son to Amadeus III. count of Geneva, was elected, and took the name of Clement VII. The new pontiff was a person of great parts, eloquent, polite, liberal, and allied to most of the princes of Europe. The emperor, England, Flanders and Hungary, declared for Urban; France, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorraine, for Clement. All the religious orders were divided: the doctors and universities joined also in the contest. The two popes bestowed on each other the appellations of Antichrist and Usurper, and proceeded to mutual excommunications. A civil and religious war was kindled in Europe, and the most horrid cruelties committed by both parties.

A. D. 1382. Clement preached up a crusade against Richard and his subjects; while Urban not only fulminated his excommunications against all the adherents of Clement, but also sent over a commission to Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, nominating him the leader of a crusade against his rival. With this commission the pope sent him plenary powers, as his legate, to grant the same indulgences to all who engaged in this expedition, as to those who carried arms against the infidels. The publication of this crusade in England answered the most sanguinary wishes of the pontiff. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and almost all ranks of people, engaged in it with the same ardour and alacrity as if they had been going to fight against an enemy that threatened to put a period to the Christian name.

A. D. 1383. The utmost dispatch was used in embarking the forces; and the bishop landed at Calais on the fourth of May, at the head of fifty thousand foot and two thousand horse. His first attempt was upon Gravelines, which he carried by assault. Intimidated by this success, the inhabitants of Dunkirk opened their gates to the victor. Bourbourg, Cassel, Berg, Furnes, Nieuport, Ostend, Blankenberg, and all the towns on the sea-coast as far as Sluise, followed the example of Dunkirk. Alarmed at this progress of the English, the count of Flanders determined to give them battle. Norwich, depending on the enthusiastic disposition of his followers, marched to meet the enemy, and a bloody battle ensued, in which the count was totally defeated. The king of France, at the head of an army of an hundred thousand men, now advanced to check the progress of the crusaders. The prelate, on a general muster of his forces, found that they amounted to ninety thousand men, occasioned by the continual arrival of fresh reinforcements from England. But many of these were the very dregs of the people, and at once ignorant of discipline and impatient of command. It was, however, resolved in a council of war, to fight the French army; but this was opposed by a large party of the troops, who insisted on their besieging Ypres, where they expected to acquire an immense booty. It was in vain to oppose this strange determination; and the bishop, in order to prevent a mutiny in his army, was obliged to undertake the reduction of that place; a step which ultimately proved fatal to his enterprize. The approaches were carried on with great intrepidity; but he was at last obliged to raise the siege, and send to England for a reinforcement. But so many difficulties occurred, that the season was lost before any thing could be effected; and the bishop returned to England with the poor remains of his army.

This miscarriage of the prelate did not, however, put an end to the schism in the church: it lasted forty years; during which space of time, religion was made a pretence for the greatest enormities. It was during this period of papal confusion, that John Wickliff, a secular priest educated at Oxford, and distinguished for the austerity of his life and manners, ventured to inculcate tenets nearly the same with

those propagated by the reformers in the sixteenth century. He denied the doctrine of the real presence, the merit of confession and monastic vows, and the supremacy of the pope. He maintained, that the numerous ceremonies of the church were destructive of true piety; that the scripture was the sole rule of faith; that the church was dependent on the state, and ought to possess no temporal wealth; and that no taxes ought to be levied upon the people till the riches of the ecclesiastics had been expended in the service of the kingdom. These opinions, which had their rise from the usurpations and abuses of the clergy, being well calculated to flatter the people, excited them to rebellion. Wickliff was, however, protected against the attempts of the ecclesiastics by many of the greatest men in the kingdom; particularly the duke of Lancaster, who greatly favoured the doctrines of this first reformer. Wickliff being summoned to appear in a synod held by the bishop of London in St. Paul's cathedral, the duke accompanied him; and in the course of his examination, insulted the bishop, and even proceeded to threats; upon which the synod broke up in great confusion. The profelytes of this reformer were called Wickliffites, and Lollards; but as the principal leaders softened or retracted those tenets which were most obnoxious to the church, this innovation produced no revolution. The respect, however, for the holy see, was every day diminishing; and the violent schism already mentioned contributed greatly to open the eyes of the people, and rouse them from that superstitious lethargy which had so long affected the inhabitants of Europe.

A. D. 1385. The Scots had taken advantage of the minority of Richard to disturb the peace of the northern counties, and a large army was raised to chastise their insolence. Richard headed his army in person. He entered Scotland by Berwick; while the Scots, who dreaded a pitched battle with the English, abandoned the low country, crossed the English borders on the west, and plundered the counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire. Richard, in the mean time, advanced to Edinburgh, and destroyed all the towns and villages that lay in his rout. He reduced that city to ashes. He treated in the same manner Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low country. But when he was desired to march towards the western coast, in order there to wait the return of the enemy, and take a severe revenge on them for the devastations they had committed, his impatience to be in England, and enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements, were more prevalent; and he carried back his army, without effecting any thing by these mighty preparations.

The French court had long been desirous of wresting their sea-ports out of the hands of the English; and they were persuaded that an opportunity now offered for that purpose; the duke of Lancaster having carried into Spain all the flower of the English military force, in order to prosecute his empty claim to the crown of Castile. Great preparations were therefore made in France for an invasion of England, as the most proper method of succeeding in their design. They collected an immense fleet and army at Sluise. All the nobility of France were engaged in this enterprize, and the English were kept for some time in perpetual alarms. The French army, when reviewed at Arras, consisted of eighty thousand men at arms, with their followers on horseback, besides a prodigious number on foot. Twelve hundred and eighty-seven ships of all sorts were ready at Sluise to carry over this numerous army; and several warlike engines of a new construction were put on board the fleet. This amazing armament engaged the attention of all Europe. The English were intimidated, particularly the city of London. The militia of the kingdom were ordered to the sea-coast; the ports and harbours were put in a posture of defence; and all the beacons on the coast prepared for giving the alarm, whenever the enemy should appear. A fleet



was also fitted out to guard the channel, and every prudent measure which reason could suggest was pursued with the utmost care and alacrity.

But the safety of England was principally owing to other causes. Ambition and envy, so often the destruction of public undertakings, had poisoned the French councils. The duke of Berry, a prince of a covetous and aspiring disposition, was no friend to this undertaking, in which he thought neither his dignity nor interest had been sufficiently consulted, and therefore determined to render the whole abortive. In order to this, he proceeded so slow in assembling the troops, that it was the middle of September before he joined the army at the head of his division. The forces were, however, embarked, and the fleet failed out of the harbour with a fair wind. But they had not left their own coast above two hours before the wind changed to the opposite quarter, and a dreadful storm succeeded, which, in a few hours, scattered the whole navy. Some of the ships were driven back into the harbour of Sluise; some were dashed on the rocks, others foundered at sea, and many of the stragglers were taken by the English. Such was the end of those mighty preparations which had held all Europe in suspense.

Richard had for some time considered the subjection in which he was held by his uncles with great regret, and determined to break these ignoble chains. Accordingly he threw himself into the arms of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of an agreeable figure, but of very dissolute manners, more calculated to corrupt the prince than to govern the kingdom. This favourite engrossed the affection of Richard, who knew not how to set bounds to his liberality. He created him duke of Ireland, and conferred on him for life the sovereignty of that island; even the whole authority of the government was by degrees lodged in his hands. Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, and lately created earl of Suffolk, was another of his favourites. He was possessed of great military talents, and had served in the army with applause. He had also been employed in several embassies and treaties of peace, in all which he had distinguished himself by his prudence, integrity, capacity and judgment; but his particular friendship for the duke of Ireland rendered him obnoxious to the people.

The princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, who now saw themselves stripped of their power, determined to attack the favourites, and recover their former influence. An impeachment was accordingly drawn up against the chancellor, and Gloucester undertook to carry it to the house of lords. It was, however, thought proper to observe the appearance of decency at least, and accordingly the commons sent a message by their speaker to the king, importing, that unless the chancellor was removed, they could not proceed in the dispatch of public business. Richard, who little expected a motion of this nature, received the address with an indignation he could not conceal. He told the speaker very sharply, "That it would better become the parliament to attend to the business for which they were summoned, than to concern themselves with his servants." Nor did he give them leave to renew their address: he set out immediately for Eltham in Kent, left his presence should be construed as a sanction to the proceedings of the parliament.

The king having thus withdrawn himself from the national council, a message was sent him by the duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Ely, desiring him, in the name of the parliament, to return: declaring, in case of refusal, that they would immediately dissolve themselves. Richard finding himself unable to resist, was obliged to be contented with stipulating, that except finishing the present impeachment against Suffolk, no attack should be made against any other of his ministers. The accusation was at once both frivolous and unjust; but innocence was but a poor

defence against the turbulent envy of the barons; Suffolk was condemned and deposed from his office.

This step was an introduction to greater excesses. Gloucester and his associates, indeed, observed their stipulation with the king, they attacked no more of his ministers; but they proceeded much farther; they attacked the regal power. The king was deprived of his authority; and the exercise of the sovereign power entrusted to fourteen commissioners, whose jurisdiction was limited to a twelvemonth, though it was sufficiently evident, that the party of Gloucester never meant to re-instate their monarch in his prerogatives. They obliged him not only to sign this commission, but to take an oath never to infringe it. Richard, however, entered a protest against this violence at the end of the session, declaring, that the prerogatives of his crown, notwithstanding his late concession, should still be deemed entire and unimpaired.

A.D. 1387. This protest had no effect on the commissioners: they proceeded directly to the exercise of their office; and Richard found himself destitute of all authority. The king was, however, determined to make one attempt for the recovery of his power. He assembled the judges and lawyers, who made no scruple of declaring, that the commission was derogatory to the royal authority; that those who procured it, or advised the king to consent to it, were punishable with death; that those who compelled him were guilty of treason; that those were equally criminal who should persevere in maintaining it; that the king has the right of dissolving parliaments when he pleases; that the parliament while they sit, must proceed first upon the king's business; and that they cannot, without the king's consent, impeach any of his ministers and judges.

It was not long before the duke of Gloucester and his party were informed of this secret consultation, and immediately had recourse to arms, and demanded that the persons who had seduced the king by their pernicious counsel, should be delivered up as traitors to the state. A few days after they appeared in his presence armed, and attended by their followers; where they accused the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Bramble, as public and dangerous enemies to the kingdom. The duke of Ireland saved himself by flight; but the others were condemned and executed. Force became the only rule of law in those unfortunate times, when the passions of the great seemed to have annihilated every idea of justice.

A.D. 1388. During the scenes of anarchy in the English government, the Scots pursued their desultory war with great advantage; but nothing worthy a place in history happened till the beginning of August, when they entered Northumberland with a small army, consisting of three hundred horse and two thousand foot, all veterans, and commanded by the two Douglasses, the earls of Fife, Murray, and Dunbar, the most celebrated commanders in the Scottish army. They ravaged the whole country through which they passed, and advanced as far as the gates of Newcastle, where the lord Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, son to the earl of Northumberland, first opposed them. But his troops were defeated, and himself was unhorsed in single combat by the younger Douglas, who having seized his lance, vowed to carry it to Scotland as a trophy of his victory. Inflamed with rage at his late misfortune, Hotspur vowed that Douglas should never carry his lance to Scotland in triumph. He accordingly collected a body of six hundred horse and eight thousand foot, and putting himself at their head marched in pursuit of the enemy, without waiting for a reinforcement of troops that were hastening to join him under the command of the bishop of Durham.

Elated with their late success the Scots had undertaken the siege of the castle of Otterborn, and were lying before that fortress when Percy, by forced marches,



marches, reached their camp. Rage had stifled prudence in the breast of Percy: he would not delay the engagement for a moment, though his troops were so greatly fatigued with their long marches, and though night was approaching when he came up with the enemy. He attacked the Scots with all the fury of a disappointed warrior, but the darkness rendered it impossible to continue the contest, and they separated without either obtaining the victory. The moon rising at midnight, however, occasioned the battle to be renewed with great fury, and at last victory declared for the Scots, Douglas was slain, and Percy taken prisoner.

A. D. 1389. The king's authority seemed now totally annihilated: the combination of the princes of the blood and chief nobility had so far engrossed the royal power, that a revolution was apparently inevitable. But the event proved otherwise. Richard, who was now in his twenty-third year, declared, in a full council held at Easter, his intention of directing the affairs of his kingdom and household by his sole authority, and taking into his own hands the reins of government. No opposition being made to so reasonable a design, Richard immediately demanded the great seal from the archbishop of Canterbury, and gave it to William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester. He removed the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Warwick from the council-board, and supplied their places with others whom he thought more worthy of his confidence. The bishop of Hereford was deprived of his office of treasurer, and the earl of Arundel of that of admiral. These changes were made without the least opposition; the dukes of Gloucester and York affected to return to their duty; and Richard, by passing a general amnesty, and remitting some subsidies which had been granted him by parliament, acquired the affections of the people, who easily pass from one extreme to another. The kingdom from this period enjoyed tranquillity for a considerable time. A truce of twenty-five years was concluded with France, which was followed with the restitution of Breſt and Cherbourg; and Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to the daughter of Charles VI. though she was then only seven years of age. This alliance was thought necessary in order to support the king against the enterprises of his uncles, who envied the power of his ministers.

A. D. 1397. But this confederacy with France gave offence to the English, who had contracted a violent antipathy against that nation; and the conduct of Richard was not calculated to procure the respect of his subjects. A slave to pleasure, and incapable of applying himself to business; under the dominion of favourites, on whom he profusely lavished the revenues of the crown, and the grants of the people; and fullying the dignity of his rank, by admitting persons of very mean condition to his familiarity; he was considered as totally unworthy of wearing the English crown.

Gloucester took advantage of the king's weakness to renew his intrigues. He absented himself from the court; hardly ever appeared in council but to oppose the measures of the administration; and exerted all his abilities to cultivate and increase his popularity with the nation. The invectives he employed against the government, against the long truce concluded with Charles, and against the marriage of Richard, joined to his address in fomenting the hatred against France, and in reviving the desire of ravaging again that hostile kingdom, made the deepest impressions on the minds of a people disposed at all times to revolt, and ever impatient under imaginary distresses.

The ministry saw their danger, and the king, whose precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation, ordered Gloucester to be unexpectedly arrested. The attempt succeeded; the duke was hurried on board a ship lying in the river ready to receive, and carry him over to Calais, where alone it was thought he could be

safely detained in custody. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time: the malecontents were astonished and over-awed by being so suddenly deprived of their leaders; and the dukes of Lancaster and York, with the earls of Derby and Rutland, having joined the ministry, they were bereaved of all possibility of resistance.

To put a final period to this opposition, a parliament was immediately summoned at Westminster, and the members entered with violence into all the measures of the court. They annulled the act of amnesty which Richard had voluntarily confirmed: they prosecuted the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel, Warwick, and other noblemen, several of whom were condemned and executed, for having been engaged in former attempts against the crown, notwithstanding the pardon they had received. The prosecution against Gloucester was just going to be commenced, when intelligence of his death arrived. It was pretended that he died suddenly of an apoplexy; but it was the general opinion that he had been murdered in consequence of orders from his nephew; and in the succeeding reign, undoubted evidence was produced in parliament of his having been suffocated with pillows by those who had the care of his person. Thus fell Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the victim of his enemies treachery, and of his own imprudent conduct. With many great and good qualities, he joined an inordinate thirst after popularity, in the pursuit of which he too often lost sight of that respect which should always be preferred to majesty; and whatever advantages he might intend to procure to his country, the measures he took for that purpose were such as no court, that had the least regard to its own honour or consequence, could suffer implicitly.

The death of Gloucester was no sooner known, than his brothers, the dukes of Lancaster and York, hastened to London at the head of a numerous body of forces, threatening to take the most severe revenge on the authors of this execrable tragedy, not excepting even the king himself. Richard had, however, taken all the precautions necessary to divert the force of the expected storm. He had not only gained over the parliament to his devotion; but also collected an army of twenty thousand veterans, and stationed them in the neighbourhood of London. Nor did he depend on the forces he had raised; he had recourse also to the milder methods of negotiation, and the two brothers, finding that all resistance would be in vain, listened to an accommodation.

A. D. 1398. But the party of the duke of Gloucester was hardly suppressed before another arose which proved fatal to Richard. The principles of honour were at this time so little known among the nobility, that Henry duke of Hereford, son to the duke of Lancaster, accused, before the council, the duke of Norfolk, of having spoken in private many slanderous words against the king. Norfolk gave him the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by single combat, a method of trial then authorized by the laws of the kingdom. The challenge was accepted, and the dispute ordered to be decided according to the laws of chivalry, in presence of the king and his whole court.

Both the noblemen appeared on the day appointed, the trumpets sounded, and they were preparing to rush against each other, when the king interposed, to prevent the effusion of noble blood, and commanded them to depart the kingdom; but their sentences were unequal; the exile of Norfolk was for life; but Hereford only for ten years. Both, however, obeyed the royal mandate. Norfolk, who knew he had nothing to expect from Richard, retired into Germany, and afterwards to Venice, where he soon after paid the debt of nature: he did not live to see the revolution which soon happened in his country. The duke of Hereford was more resigned to his fate; he waited on the king to take his leave before he quitted the kingdom, and this submissive



missive and respectful behaviour had such an effect upon Richard, that he remitted four years of the time assigned for his banishment; and also empowered him, by letters patent, to enter into immediate possession of any estates that might fall to him during his exile, and to postpone the homage till his return.

A.D. 1399. Hereford had left the kingdom only a few months, when his father, John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster, paid the debt of nature; and his son, in consequence of his rights, and the letters patent he had received, desired to be put in possession of the estate and jurisdiction of his father. But Richard, to the eternal stain of his memory, denied this request, revoked the letters patent he had given to Hereford, decreed his banishment should be perpetual, and confiscated all his paternal estate.

Hereford was highly exasperated at this scene of complicated iniquities. He was of a bold and enterprising spirit; he had signalized his courage and intrepidity both at home and abroad: he was beloved by the people, and adored by the soldiers. He was always cool, sedate, and prudent; and was considered as the only English prince that deserved the public confidence and esteem. His misfortunes were lamented, and the injuries he had received complained of by all ranks of people. He was secretly invited to return to England, and assured of being sufficiently supported in the recovery of his lawful inheritance. Hereford, now duke of Lancaster, determined to embrace the generous offer; and an event soon happened which gave him all the advantage he could desire.

Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had been lately killed in a rencounter with a small party of the Irish; and Richard, in order to reduce the rebels to subjection, and revenge the death of the presumptive heir to his crown, resolved to pass over into that island, and head his army in person. He accordingly embarked at Bristol; and, after a short passage, landed at Waterford, at the head of two thousand men at arms, and ten thousand archers. Struck with consternation at seeing the king of England at the head of so powerful an army, the most considerable part of the rebels submitted, and the rest were soon reduced to obedience.

Lancaster embraced this opportunity of returning to England. He embarked at Nantz with a retinue of sixty persons, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, where he was immediately joined by the lords Willoughby, Roos, D'Arcy, and Beaumont, and several gentlemen of distinction, attended by a numerous body of vassals and adherents. A few days after, his party was increased by the arrival of the earl of Northumberland, with his son Hotspur Percy, and his brother the earl of Westmoreland, at the head of such a numerous body of forces, that Henry's small retinue was increased to an army of sixty thousand men. Lancaster now took a solemn oath, that his sole design in this invasion was that of recovering the duchy of Lancaster, unjustly detained from him. At the same time, he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of equity and their country, to second him in this reasonable and moderate pretension. The duke of York, who was left guardian of the realm during the king's absence, assembled an army of forty thousand men, and marched at their head to St. Albans; but upon reviewing his forces, the soldiers declared to a man, that they would not draw a sword against Henry of Lancaster. The guardian himself did not, indeed, seem to be well affected to the cause he had undertaken to defend: he made no difficulty of declaring, that he would second his nephew in recovering his just rights. It is, therefore, no wonder that he listened to a message sent him by Henry, who intreated him not to oppose a loyal and humble supplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony. The guardian was so far from opposing, that he joined the party of Henry; and his soldiers followed the example of their leader with the utmost acclamations of joy.

Lancaster was now master of the kingdom, and marched directly to Bristol, where some of Richard's ministers had shut themselves up, in order to defend the fortress against the attempts of an enemy whose favour they had no hopes of obtaining. The garrison, however, made but a poor defence; they soon surrendered; and Henry, yielding to the request of the people, ordered the earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Busby, and Sir John Green, who were taken prisoners, to be executed immediately, without even the form of a trial. An act of barbarity which at once sufficiently displays the ferocious manners of the times, and the injustice of Henry's proceedings.

Richard no sooner received intelligence of this invasion, than he hastened over from Ireland, and landed in Milford-haven with a body of twenty thousand men. But his soldiers, like the rest of their brethren, were so strongly attached to the fortunes of Henry of Lancaster, that his army melted away like snow before the sun; and Richard soon perceived that he was in no condition of meeting the enemy. Distracted with a variety of thoughts, he knew not what course to pursue. Wavering and irresolute, he knew not whom to trust, or whom to fear. At length he determined to desert his forces, and take refuge in Wales. Accordingly he retired, with the dukes of Exeter and Surry, the bishop of Carlisle, and a few other attendants, to Conway-castle, proposing to take the first opportunity of embarking for Ireland or France, and there wait for some favourable crisis of recovering his crown, which he was now incapable of defending.

Sensible of his danger, should Richard find means to execute his design, Henry dispatched the earl of Northumberland, with the strongest professions of loyalty and submission; and that nobleman, by the most infamous treachery and false oaths, made himself master of the king's person, and carried him to his enemy at Flint castle. Lancaster lost no time in conveying his royal captive to London, where he was received with the most barbarous insults, and committed to the Tower. But though Lancaster had acquired possession of the person of his sovereign, he was very uneasy with regard to the best method of disposing of that unfortunate monarch, and several councils were held on that subject. At last it was resolved to persuade Richard to make a formal resignation of his power, and to procure an authentic confirmation of the deed by the parliament. For some time Richard refused to submit to so humiliating a circumstance; but at last, finding himself abandoned by all his friends, and sensible of his incapacity to resist the torrent of popular hatred, or, perhaps, desirous of gaining time to save his life, and procure assistance from France, Richard submitted; and, in the presence of a great number of lords assembled on the occasion, the king surrendered up the crown, sceptre, and other ensigns of royalty; and then taking the signet-ring from his finger, he presented it to the duke of Lancaster. At the same time, he desired the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Hereford, to notify to the parliament his resignation of the crown; and to acquaint them, that he wished his cousin, the duke of Lancaster, might be chosen his successor.

But Henry, well knowing that this resignation would plainly appear the result of force, he proposed, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent to himself and his posterity, to have the king solemnly deposed in parliament, for his pretended tyranny and misconduct. Accordingly a charge, consisting of thirty-three articles; was drawn up against him, and presented to that assembly; who, without examining one of the articles, though many of them were false in fact, and though all of them turned chiefly on arbitrary acts, of which the late reign furnished many stronger examples; the barons, though guilty themselves of so many illegal violences, unanimously, and with the consent of the Commons, deposed their sovereign. Nor was there found more than



than one man who had courage and virtue sufficient to stand up, and plead in defence of his unhappy master. This was the bishop of Carlisle, who nobly sustained the cause of fallen majesty, amidst this universal disloyalty and violence. But his eloquence was exerted in vain; and Lancaster, exasperated at the bold truths he uttered, sent him prisoner to the Tower.

The crown was now declared vacant: upon which the duke of Lancaster arose from his seat; and after crossing himself on his forehead and breast, and calling upon the name of Christ, he declared, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," that the vacant throne belonged to him, as the descendant of Henry III. and "through the right which God had sent him, with the assistance of his friends, to recover a kingdom which was on the point of being ruined by misconduct and oppression."

In order the better to conceive the meaning of these perplexed and obscure expressions, it must be observed, that Henry of Lancaster, supposing the throne really vacant, was not the immediate heir. The duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late duke of Lancaster, had left a grandson, whose title was therefore preferable to that of Henry. He therefore went back as far as Henry III. in order to avail himself of an absurd but popular tradition, which supposed that Edmund, earl of Lancaster, son to Henry III. was really the elder brother of Edward I. but that, by reason of some deformities in his person, he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed upon the nation in his stead. This pretence was, however, destitute of the least foundation; but the parliament made no

inquiry; the most palpable absurdities would have passed for truths; and Henry was placed on the throne of England.

The unfortunate Richard did not long survive the loss of his crown; he soon fell a victim to the lawless ambition of his enemies; but the manner of his death is uncertain. Fabian tells us, that Sir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell upon him in the castle of Pontefract, where he was confined; and that Richard, wresting a pole-axe out of the hand of one of the assassins, defended himself so nobly, that he put four of them to death before they could finish their bloody purpose. But it is more probable, that he was starved to death in prison; because his body was exposed in public, and no marks of violence were observed upon it. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

Richard was a very weak prince, and entirely incapable of holding the reins of government in these ferocious times, when the utmost disorder and licentiousness had spread themselves through the whole kingdom. In more peaceable ages, he might have swayed the sceptre without incurring the hatred, perhaps with the applause of his people. But every thing was hostile during this period; and the genius and abilities of his father were scarce sufficient to curb the licentiousness of his ferocious nobility. Richard sunk in the unequal contest. But all the evils which have been imputed to his government, seem to have proceeded less from a settled design of establishing arbitrary power, than from the insolence of victory, and the necessities of the king's situation. Richard left no posterity, either legitimate or illegitimate.

## HENRY IV. surnamed of BOLINGBROKE.

The first of the LANCASTER LINE that filled the English throne.

A. D. 1399. **T**HE usurpation of Henry was so palpable, and the right of Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, so clear and evident, that all the courage, capacity, and discernment of the new monarch, were necessary to prevent the disorders that attended the commencement of his reign. The session of parliament, which met on the sixth of October, had hardly finished the business of settling the kingdom, before a conspiracy was formed to deprive Henry of a crown to which he had no legal claim. Several of the principal nobility of the kingdom were engaged in this design; and in order to render their undertaking successful, they prevailed on one Maudlin, a priest, who greatly resembled Richard both in shape and features, to personate that unfortunate prince, when their scheme was ripe for execution.

The conspirators were persuaded, that it would not be difficult to surprize Henry, who was then in a bad state of health at Windsor, attended by a few of his nobility. It was therefore agreed, in order to assemble a sufficient number of persons without suspicion, to propose a tilting-match of twenty on a side, to be held at Oxford. Henry was to be invited to be a spectator of this manly exercise. If he accepted the invitation, they imagined it would be very easy to seize his person: if he refused it, they were to march secretly to Windsor-castle, where they flattered themselves with obtaining an easy admittance.

A. D. 1400. Every particular was conducted with the utmost precaution, and on the point of being carried into execution, when Henry discovered the whole design by the treachery of the earl of Rutland. The king perceived his danger, and sud-

denly withdrew to London; and the conspirators, who came to Windsor with a body of five hundred horse, found that they were betrayed. The insurgents were seized, and executed without any trial, conformable to the practices of these ferocious times, and which will always be the custom when violence stifles the voice of law and equity. The earl of Rutland now exhibited the most shocking spectacle to every one who was not totally destitute of the common feelings of humanity. He presented to Henry, as a testimony of his return to loyalty, the head of lord Spencer, his brother-in-law. The infamous Rutland, who thus dishonoured his birth by so base an action, had been instrumental in the death of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester; and had deserted Richard, by whom he had been trusted, and from whom he had received the greatest marks of friendship and esteem. The most detestable perfidies are constantly committed by those who have no other rule of conduct than their own interest.

Henry saw all the danger of his situation; and well knew, that the late executions must give rise to animosities that are always dangerous to the royal authority; and therefore determined, if possible, to gain the clergy over to his party. It was suspected that he had imbibed all the principles of his father in favour of the Lollards; but he now made no difficulty of sacrificing his principles to his interest. He caused a law to be passed by the parliament, whereby it was enacted, that when any heretic, who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by





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by the civil magistrate, before the whole people. This sanguinary statute was the source of additional distress to the people, who were already sufficiently acquainted with misfortunes. Nor was it long before so execrable a law was carried into execution. William Soutre, rector of St. Osithes, in London, having embraced the doctrines of Wickliff, was condemned by the synod of Canterbury, and the unhappy man perished in the flames for his opinions.

The unsettled state of the English government encouraged Glendour, a descendant of the ancient princes of Wales, to make incursions into the English territories. A troublesome and tedious war was kindled, which the Welsh prince long sustained by his valour and activity, assisted by the natural strength of that country, and the untamed spirit of the inhabitants. In one of these encounters, the earl of Marche, who had armed his followers in defence of Henry, was taken prisoner. But notwithstanding his loyalty, Henry suffered him to remain in captivity; nor would he permit the earl of Northumberland to ransom him, though he owed his crown to the assistance of that powerful family.

A. D. 1401. The Scots also took advantage of the disorders of England, and committed dreadful ravages in the northern counties. The largest division of the enemy, consisting of twelve thousand men, was headed by Archibald, earl of Douglas. Hotspur Percy attacked the invaders at Homeldon, or Halydown-hill; and after a furious engagement, obtained a complete victory. Above seven thousand Scots were killed on the field of battle; and the earls of Douglas, Fife, Angus, Athol, and Montieth, with a great number of other officers of distinction, were taken prisoners. Henry no sooner received intelligence of this victory, than he wrote a letter, full of the warmest expressions of gratitude, to the earl and his son; but at the same time, strictly enjoined them not to ransom any of their prisoners. This was regarded as an arbitrary usurpation of power; all prisoners being, by the laws of war, which then prevailed, the sole property of the victors.

A. D. 1403. The family of Northumberland were highly exasperated at this command of Henry, who owed his crown chiefly to their power. Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, brother to the earl of Northumberland, had other causes to excite his resentment. He had been made vice-chamberlain and admiral by Richard: he loved the person of his old master and benefactor while living, retained a grateful sense of his benefits after his death, and could not but detest Henry, as the author of his murder, and the usurper of his crown. He therefore joined his brother, to drive from the throne a person who had no title to fill it, and whose power was founded on the blood of his master. Preparations were accordingly made by the powerful family of the Percies for wresting the sceptre from the hands of Henry. An alliance was concluded with Glendour; and Hotspur offered earl Douglas his liberty without ransom, if he would join the Northumberland army; a proposal which that martial nobleman very readily accepted, as he had long borne an inveterate hatred to the whole house of Lancaster.

An army was soon assembled; but before the troops were ready to take the field, the earl of Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick, and the chief command devolved upon Hotspur Percy, who led his forces to Shrewsbury, in order to join the troops of Glendour. Percy now sent a manifesto to Henry; in which he renounced his allegiance, and set that prince at defiance. He likewise enumerated all the grievances of which the nation so loudly complained, and which he was now determined to redress. He accused Henry of perjury: for soon after his landing at Ravenspur, he had sworn upon the gospels, in presence of the earl of Northumberland, that his sole intention was that of recovering possession of the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to king

Richard. He aggravated his guilt in first dethroning; and then murdering that prince; and in usurping upon the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom the crown justly belonged; both by lineal descent, and the declaration of parliament. He complained loudly of the cruelty exercised against the earl of Marche, who was suffered to remain a captive in the hands of the enemy, nor were any of his friends permitted to treat for his ransom. He charged him with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes; after having sworn, that, without the utmost necessity, he would never levy any impositions upon his people.

Henry answered this manifesto, in order to exculpate himself from the crimes with which he was charged; and accused the Percies, in his turn, of having excited an unnatural rebellion against the established government; and against him, who had, on all occasions, distinguished them from the rest of his subjects by every act of munificence and friendship that a sovereign could bestow upon his most favourite counsellors. He offered to lay aside every privilege of prerogative, to grant the Percies a safe conduct, and suffer them to lay all their complaints before their peers, where they should be candidly heard, and, if well founded, both theirs and the public grievances redressed.

But Henry was not to learn, that remonstrances were of very little use among his ferocious nobility; and fortunately for him, he had, at that time, an army which had been assembled against the Scots, ready to take the field. Percy, who did not so soon expect to be opposed by a royal army, was obliged to abandon the siege of Shrewsbury, which he had just invested, and prepare for an engagement. He encamped at Hartlefield, where he resolved to hazard a battle, though he had not yet been joined by Glendour's forces. The great bravery of the two leaders promised an obstinate contest for the palm of victory; and the equality of the two armies, each being about twelve thousand men, a number which rendered them not unmanageable by the commanders, gave sufficient reason to expect, that the field of battle would be deluged with the blood of the contending parties.

The shock was at once both dreadful and constant. Henry's infantry at first gave ground, and the whole army would have been thrown into confusion, had not the impetuous valour of Percy and Douglas given the royalists an opportunity of rallying. These two chiefs fought side by side, and opened themselves a passage to the spot where the royal standard was erected, and where they knew Henry fought in person, both contending who should have the honour of encountering the royal warrior. Percy supported that renown which he had acquired in so many bloody combats; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival amidst the horrors and confusion of the battle. Their ardour, however, proved fatal to their cause: they charged with such desperate fury, and pierced with such rapidity the ranks of the enemy, that few of their men could follow them. They were soon surrounded by heaps of dead bodies, and the royal standard was thrown to the ground. Nor did Henry flinch from the storm of battle; he exposed his person in the thickest of the fight. His gallant son, whose military achievements afterwards became so famous, and who here performed his apprenticeship in arms, followed the example of his father; and even a wound, which he received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field. Henry, however, in order either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his person, or to encourage his own men by the belief that he was present every where, had dressed several persons in the royal garb; and the sword of Douglas, who seemed determined that the king of England should fall by his arm, rendered that honour fatal to many. But while both armies were contending in this furious manner, Percy fell by an unknown hand. This accident decided the victory in favour of the royalists. Above two thousand five hundred gentle-



men are said to have perished in that sanguinary contest; but the persons of the most distinction in the royal army were the earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Gansel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Mafsey, and Sir John Caverly. About six thousand private men perished, of whom two thirds belonged to Piercy's army. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners; the former was beheaded at Shrewsbury, but the latter dismissed without ransom, on account of his valour.

During these transactions the earl of Northumberland, being recovered from his illness, was advancing at the head of a very considerable body of troops to reinforce his son's army; but hearing of the total defeat of Piercy's forces, and that the king was advancing against him at the head of his victorious troops, he shut himself up in Warkworth castle. He afterwards dismissed his army, and came to the king at York. Northumberland pretended that his sole intention of raising an army was to mediate a peace between the two parties, and Henry, unwilling to drive so powerful a nobleman to despair, admitted his apology, and granted him a pardon. At the same time he published a proclamation, requiring all his subjects to desist from plundering the estates and houses of the rebels, and even to restore what they had forcibly carried away.

A. D. 1405. Notwithstanding the defeat of the army of the Piercies, and the death of the earl of Worcester and Henry Hotspur, that family were still in great credit with the public, their sufferings acquired them an additional esteem. Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, son to the duke of Norfolk, whom Henry, while only duke of Hereford, had accused of high-treason, and by that means procured his perpetual banishment, and Richard Scroope, archbishop of York, still continued to harbour an implacable rancour against Henry. The duke of Northumberland also, who well knew that he should never be cordially forgiven, was still determined to procure redress for the wrongs his family had received. Accordingly he joined these malecontents, and a plan was concerted for taking the field against Henry. The conspiracy soon after received an additional strength by the junction of the lords Bardolf, Hastings, and Fauconbridge, and a great number of gentlemen of figure and fortune in their respective counties. The earl of Northumberland visited the courts of France and Scotland, in order to prevail upon those powers to support the confederates and wrest from the hand of Henry the sceptre of England. He was received with the utmost respect, and met with great encouragement in his negotiation. The hopes of foreign assistance gave new life to the conspiracy, and a plan was formed for making an insurrection in the north, while the French, not only made a descent in Wales, but also laid siege to the most important places belonging to the English on the continent. Glendour also joined the confederacy, which now became truly alarming.

Henry was not idle in endeavouring to break the force of the gathering storm. He sent an army into Wales, under the command of his son, who attacked one of Glendour's detachments, and obtained a complete victory. The conspirators now perceived that Henry was no stranger to their intentions, and precipitately took the field, before the earl of Northumberland was ready to join their army. A manifesto was also published by the archbishop of York against Henry, in which he reproached that prince with his usurpation of the crown, and the murder of the late king; requiring that the right line should be restored, and all the public grievances redressed.

The earl of Westmoreland, assisted by several noblemen of considerable power in the north, having been appointed to watch the Scottish marches, no sooner heard of this insurrection, than he advanced at the head of his forces, hoping to surpriſe the rebels before they were prepared for defence. He was deceived; for on his reaching Shipton-Moor, he per-

ceived the insurgents, amounting to seventeen thousand men, drawn up in excellent order; and ready to engage. Westmorland, not being able to give the enemy battle, had recourse to negotiation, and prevailed upon the archbishop and the earl of Nottingham to lay down their arms, and submit themselves to the government. The insurgents, who had just received advice that Henry himself was within three days march, at the head of a powerful army, and that it would be impossible for the earl of Northumberland to join them before the royal body of forces arrived, agreed to the proposals, and disbanded their troops.

But Henry refused to confirm the terms offered by Westmorland; he determined to make these mutinous leaders feel the weight of his resentment. But knowing that the trial of the archbishop, if conducted in the usual form, would prove both troublesome and tedious, and that the celerity of the execution alone could render it safe and prudent, he determined to follow the ferocious customs of the age, and put the prelate to death, without the form of a trial. He accordingly applied to Sir William Gascoigne, the chief justice, to pass the sentence of high-treason on the archbishop. But Gascoigne refused to act contrary to the laws of his country. Sir William Fulthorpe was therefore appointed a judge on this occasion; who, without any indictment, trial or defence, condemned the prelate to suffer death. Nor was the execution of the sentence delayed; the archbishop immediately suffered in a very ignominious manner. This was the first instance in England of a capital sentence being inflicted on a dignitary of the church. The earl of Nottingham, Sir John Lamplugh, and Sir Robert Plumpton, suffered at the same time. The pope was so highly incensed at this alarming attack on the privileges of the church, that he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all who were concerned in the death of the archbishop; and it was with great difficulty that Henry, by the prevailing eloquence of large sums of money, procured absolution.

The news of this defeat no sooner reached the ears of the earl of Northumberland, than he fled into Scotland, together with lord Bardolf; and Henry soon reduced all the castles belonging to these noblemen. But the unfortunate earl did not long enjoy the benefit of this asylum; an event soon after happened which obliged him to seek his safety on the continent. Robert III. king of Scotland, was by no means qualified to hold the sceptre in these ferocious times. He was a prince of a slender capacity, but extremely innocent and inoffensive; virtues which were then so far from being admired, that they rendered him contemptible. His brother, the duke of Albany, a prince of a more violent and boisterous disposition, assumed the reins of government; and desirous of rendering his power perpetual, he threw David, the eldest son of Robert, into prison, where he was inhumanly starved to death. James, a younger brother of David, was now the only obstacle that opposed the tyrant from mounting the throne on the death of his brother. Sensible of his son's danger, Robert embarked him on board a ship, in order to send him into France, not doubting but he would there find sufficient protection from that friendly power. But Robert was destined to misfortunes: the ship was taken by the English, and Henry, notwithstanding the truce which subsisted between the two crowns, refused to restore the young prince to liberty. Worn out with grief and infirmities Robert was unable to support this last misfortune. He sunk under the weight of his distress, and left the government in the hands of his brother. Henry now saw all the importance of his acquisition: the duke of Albany was entirely dependent on the English monarchy; because a single attempt to prejudice the interest of Henry would be sufficient to pull him from throne. James was about nine years of age when he was first brought to London; and if any thing could atone





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*HENRY Prince of Wales taking the CROWN  
from off the PILLOW of his Father HENRY IV.*



atone for this breach of faith, it was the excellent education which Henry bestowed upon him, and which afterwards fitted him for filling the throne of his ancestors with great applause. It is not natural to think, that the duke of Albany would, in these circumstances, venture to protect a nobleman so obnoxious to Henry as the earl of Northumberland, and he accordingly retired to France.

A.D. 1407. But that nobleman, impatient of exile, landed in the north of England with lord Bardolf, hoping his presence would be sufficient to rouse the English to arms. He was not wholly mistaken; he was joined by a party of Scottish free-booters, and as he advanced his little army considerably increased. Pleased to find the inhabitants had not yet lost their affections for his family, he continued his march, made himself master of several castles which had been reduced after the fatal battle of Shrewsbury, and appointed Thirsk in Yorkshire, the general rendezvous of his army. The government was alarmed at the great success which had attended the beginning of Northumberland's insurrection; but there was now no royal army ready to march against the rebels. Sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriff of Yorkshire, thought it his duty to stop the progress of the insurgents, and accordingly raised a considerable body of forces, and advanced to meet them. The earl of Northumberland was equally desirous of coming to an action with the sheriff, persuaded that if he could defeat Rokesby's forces, he should not only disappoint Henry of so essential a reinforcement, but also, by this success, engage the city and county of York to declare in his favour. Accordingly he put his army in motion, and met Rokesby on Beaham-Moor, where a bloody engagement ensued, in which the rebels, after an obstinate resistance, were totally routed, and both the earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolf fell in the contest. This fortunate event, together with the death of Glendour, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all his domestic enemies. No more attempts were made to tear the laurel from his brow; he enjoyed the crown he had usurped without any farther opposition from the friends of the late unfortunate Richard.

But though Henry had no domestic enemy to contend with, his days were embittered as a parent by the irregular courses of the prince of Wales. He was now in the full vigour of youth, and of an active, sprightly spirit. While he was employed in the field, no actions of an immoral tendency stained his character. But a life of indolence was not at all agreeable to his nature. The distrust and jealousy of his father having removed him from all share in the public business, he plunged himself, with the utmost violence, into all the extravagances of debauchery, and blushed not for a conduct the most disorderly and licentious. But his outrages proceeded less from a depraved disposition, than the violence of his temper, which being not directed to useful objects, induced him to give full scope to his passions. But many gleams of spirit and magnanimity were observed to break through the cloud which a wild conduct had thrown over his character.

A.D. 1412. One of young Henry's favourites having been indicted for some misdemeanor, was condemned, notwithstanding all the interest the prince, who was present at the trial, could make in his favour. Young Henry was so incensed at the issue, that he struck Sir William Gascoigne, the judge, as he sat upon the bench. But the magistrate was not to be intimidated; he acted with a spirit suitable to his character, and instantly ordered the prince into custody. This fall of passion in the prince was immediately succeeded by a noble return of reason; he suffered himself, with the utmost resignation, to be conducted to prison by the officers of justice. When the king was informed of this transaction, he said, "I thank God I have a judge possessed of so much courage to execute the laws, and of a son endowed with

so much obedience; as to submit to such chastisement."

During the reign of Henry the parliamentary proceedings deserve more attention than those relating either to military or foreign transactions. The commons had now attained a very considerable share of importance; and it became an object of policy to direct their election. This circumstance had been complained of during the preceding reign; and was made one of the articles of the charge against Richard; but it continued still unredressed: Henry pursued the same measures he had so severely censured in his predecessor. He was, however, obliged to court popularity, and this gave the commons an opportunity of assuming powers they had not hitherto ventured to exercise. They required the king to dismiss from his household four officers who had displeased them, among whom was his own confessor. Henry complied with their request, but declared he knew no crime these officers had committed. They appointed treasurers to attend to the disbursement of a subsidy which they had granted to the king, and ordered them to deliver in their accounts to the house. They proposed regulations for the government; and obliged the judges, and all the officers of the council, to swear to the observance of them. But their attempts with regard to the church were still more important. They advised the king to seize all the temporalities of the clergy, and apply the money to the exigencies of the state. The archbishop of Canterbury, who attended the king when this address was presented, remonstrated against it in the strongest manner. He asserted that the clergy were the principal support of the state; that though they went not in person to the wars, they sent their vassals and tenants in all cases of necessity; while, at the same time, they themselves who staid at home, were employed night and day, in offering up their prayers for the happiness and prosperity of the state. The speaker smiled, and replied without reserve, that he thought the prayers of the church but a slender supply. The king, however, unwilling to offend so powerful a body of men as the clergy, refused the petition. According to a calculation made by the commons, the clergy possessed a third of the lands in England, and their yearly revenue amounted to no less than four hundred eighty-five thousand marks a year. This address, though refused, alarmed both the king and the clergy. It was sufficiently evident that the doctrines of Wickliffe had spread prodigiously among the people, and it was therefore thought necessary to put the laws in execution against the Lollards. Accordingly several of them were sent to prison, and one committed to the flames even while the parliament were sitting. But these rigorous measures answered not the intention of the clergy. Persecution always tends to increase the numbers of any religious sect; and the sufferings of the Lollards augmented their disciples: the ashes of one victim, scattered by the breath of reformation, became the seeds of thousands.

A.D. 1413. Henry had for some time employed himself in fomenting the divisions which prevailed between the families of Burgundy and Orleans, by which the government of France was then so much distracted. He even meditated important designs against that kingdom; but he lived not to carry his designs into execution. His health had, for some months, been visibly declining: he was subject to fits, which for a time bereaved him of his senses: and though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was visibly approaching. He was naturally of a peevish and jealous disposition, which was now greatly increased, and he too readily listened to the vile suggestions of his courtiers, who insinuated that his eldest son had formed unnatural designs upon his life and crown. The breast of Henry was now filled with the most anxious fears and apprehensions; he even removed the prince from his post of president of the council. Young Henry was greatly alarmed, and,



and, fond as he was of pleasure and dissipation, he was still very susceptible of the nobler passions; and could not, without the most piercing anguish, reflect, that his own conduct had given too much reason for his enemies to asperse his character. But still he knew himself innocent with regard to his having formed even a wish to the prejudice of his father's authority; and determined to pursue every method in his power to convince the king of his duty and loyalty.

He first received the eucharist, dressed himself in a mourning habit, and repaired to court, in order to request a private audience of the king. He was immediately admitted; and falling at his father's feet, expressed himself in the following manner;

"Most dread sovereign, and honoured father, it gives me the most sincere concern to find that I am suspected by your highness of an unnatural design against your crown and person; which I, more than any other subject of your majesty, am bound to reverence and defend. I confess, indeed, with shame and contrition, that my irregularities and excesses have given sufficient cause for your displeasure. But I call the Almighty, who knows the inmost secrets of the heart, and never fails to punish those who dare to invoke him to sanctify a falsehood, to witness, that I never harboured a single thought inconsistent with that duty I owe your majesty as my sovereign and my father. Those who charge me with contrary intentions, seek only to disturb your tranquillity, and to alienate your affections from your son and successor. I would willingly remove these anxieties from your mind; I came for no other purpose. Let me beseech you, therefore, to let my actions be tried by the utmost rigour, with the same severity as if I was the meanest of your subjects; and if I am found guilty, in any respect, of the atrocious crime laid to my charge; if I have ever used an expression that indicated disloyalty or want of affection, let me be punished as the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the name of son or subject. I will readily submit to any punishment you may think proper to inflict. I again, therefore, beseech you, with the utmost humility, both for the ease of your own mind, and the vindication of your injured son, to issue the necessary orders for making the rigorous scrutiny I now demand."

The king was greatly affected with this free, ingenuous, and pathetic address. He took the prince in his arms, embraced him with tears, assured him, that all his suspicions were entirely removed, and that he would never, for the future, harbour a thought prejudicial to his loyalty and honour. He even promised, that in order to remove every suspicion from the minds of all ingenuous persons, he would give him the names of his accusers, that they might be brought to justice in the ensuing parliament. But the return of his disorder put a final period to the enquiry.

The dreadful fits by which he was so often attacked, soon impaired his senses; and he had been so frequently in danger of losing his crown, that his imagination seems to have been strongly impressed with that idea, which increased as his strength and reasoning faculties decayed, even to a degree of childish anxiety. He would not sleep unless the royal diadem was laid on his pillow. One day he remained so long in a swoon, that his servants thought him actually dead; and the prince took the crown from his pillow, and carried it into his own apartment. The king recovering the use of his senses, and observing the diadem was removed, asked who had dared to take it from his pillow? and being told that the prince had carried it away, he ordered him to be brought into his presence. When young Henry appeared, the king, with an angry countenance, said, "What! would you deprive me of my crown before my death?" "No," replied the prince, "I took it, thinking your majesty was really dead, as my lawful inheritance; but now happily perceiving my mistake, I return the diadem with far greater pleasure than I

took it." He accordingly re-placed the crown on the king's pillow; and having received his father's blessing, retired. A short interval between the attacks of this dreadful disease inspired Henry with the pleasing hopes of recovery; and, agreeable to the custom of that age of bigotry, he assumed the cross, and made a solemn vow to heaven, to spend the remainder of his days in a war against the infidels, in order, if possible, to recover the Holy City from the enemies of the Christian name. But he lived not to put his design in execution. He was seized with his last fit as he was paying his devotions before the shrine of St. Edward; and being carried into the Jerusalem Chamber, belonging to the abbot of Westminster, he expired, on the twentieth of March, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

The crimes committed by Henry, in order to usurp the seat of power, must be considered as perpetual stains on his memory by every man who makes the least pretensions to follow the dictates of conscience, or the eternal precepts of the moral law. It may, indeed, be said, that the injustice with which he had been treated by Richard, gave occasion to his crimes: for, in all probability, he never would have usurped the crown, if that monarch had not deprived him of his patrimony. But one crime cannot justify another. The murder of a king, his near relation, and the exclusion of the true heir from the throne, will always render the name of Henry of Lancaster obnoxious to the virtuous and the good. He seemed, indeed, himself, to be sufficiently conscious of the turpitude of his crimes; and the uneasiness with which he possessed his envied greatness, and the stings of conscience which he perpetually felt, cannot fail of rendering him an object of our pity, even when seated upon the throne. At the same time, it must be confessed, that he was endowed with many great and amiable qualities, which would have rendered him one of the greatest monarchs that ever wore the diadem of England, had he not waded to the throne through the blood of his sovereign. His prudence, his vigilance, and his foresight, were admirable; his command of temper and presence of mind remarkable; his courage, both military and political, free from fault. In a word, it was the flame of ambition that rendered Henry a tyrant, and the commission of one crime made way for that of another.

Henry was twice married: first, while earl of Derby, to Mary, daughter of the earl of Hereford, by whom he had four sons and two daughters.

1. Henry, surnamed of Monmouth, from the place of his birth, who succeeded his father in the throne.
2. Thomas, duke of Clarence.
3. John, duke of Bedford, afterwards regent of France.
4. Humphry, duke of Gloucester, afterwards protector of England.

His daughters were,

1. Blanche, who married first the elector Palatine; secondly, the king of Arragon; and thirdly, the duke of Barr.
2. Philippa, married to Eric, king of Denmark and Norway.

Henry's second wife was Joan, daughter to Charles I. king of Navarre, and widow of John Montfort, duke of Brittany. By this princess he had no issue.

This period, like all the preceding, that of the great Alfred only excepted, furnishes us with very few particulars relative to learning, and the arts adapted to excite either our curiosity or our admiration. It is, indeed, no wonder, that a proud, warlike, and ignorant nobility, encouraged only those arts which proclaimed their dignity, displayed their wealth, or contributed to their security. They were magnificent without luxury, and pompous without elegance. Rich plate, even to the enamelling on gold, rich stuffs, and curious armour, were carried to excess; while their chairs were mere pedestals, their clothes incumbrances;



incumbrances; and they knew no use of steel, but as it served for safety or destruction. Their houses (for there was no medium between castles and houses) implied the dangers, not the sweets of society; and whenever peace left them at leisure to think of modes; they seemed to imagine, that fashion consisted in disfiguring the human body, instead of augmenting its graces. While the men wore shoes so long and pecked, that they were forced to support the points by chains from their middle; the ladies erected such pyramids on their heads, that the face became the center of the body. It is, therefore, more amazing, that the arts existed at all in these times of Gothic barbarity, than that they attained no greater degree of perfection.

Some discoveries were, however, made during this period. We have, at the conclusion of the preceding book, mentioned the discovery of gunpowder by our learned countryman, friar Bacon. It was, however, applied to no farther use than that of exhibiting an uncommon natural phenomenon, till about the year 1330, when Schwartz, a German monk of Cologne, either revived the invention of Bacon, or made this same discovery himself by accident; and imparted it immediately to the Venetians, who are said to have first made use of it in a sea-fight against the Genoese, in the year 1376. But if what many historians have asserted be true, namely, that Edward III. had a few pieces of cannon in his army at the battle of Crecy, in the year 1346, it will follow, that the English knew the use of gunpowder before the Genoese. But however that be, the making of gunpowder may be considered as one of the most singular discoveries that has ever been made in any age or country. It changed, by degrees, the whole art of war; and, in consequence, many circumstances in the political government of Europe. But the ignorance of that age in the mechanic arts greatly impeded the progress of this new invention. The artillery first framed were so clumsy, and of such difficult management, that men were not immediately sensible of their use and efficacy; and even to the present times improvements have been continually making on this furious engine; which, though it seemed contrived for the destruction of mankind, and the overthrow of empires, has, in the issue, rendered war much less bloody, and, at the same time, given greater stability to civil societies. Nations, by this means, have been brought more on a level; conquest has become less frequent and rapid; success in war has been reduced nearly to be a matter of calculation; and any nation over-matched by its enemy, either yields to their demands, or secures itself by alliances against their violence and invasion.

The art of weaving received very considerable improvements during this period, by the great encouragement given to our woollen and linen manufactures by Edward III. and the two succeeding kings. The art of painting also began to be esteemed; it was chiefly performed on board or glass.

In the year 1344, the first regular gold coins were struck in England, and were of three different kinds; one of six shillings value; a second of three shillings; and a third of eighteen pence. About the same time also, the art of gauging, or the method of finding the contents of all kinds of vessels, was invented. The first mention of clocks in England was in the year 1368, though they had been invented in the ninth century by Pacificus, archdeacon of Verona.

Few persons remarkable for their learning flourished during this period. The most remarkable, besides the few historians, were John Wickliffe and William of Wickham.

Wickliffe may be justly regarded as the father of the reformation, as he was the first in Europe who ventured to bring religion to the test of scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity. The austerity of his life, and the sanctity of his manners, added great weight to his doctrine. He was indefatigable in his labours, and generally went about bare-footed, in the habit of a pilgrim. He translated the New Testament from the vulgate. Calmet says he translated the whole Bible; and that there were several manuscripts of this translation, but that it was never printed. He died at his rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, in 1385.

William of Wickham was considered as one of the most learned persons of his age; and it appears, that his great and useful talents, especially his skill in architecture, recommended him to the favour of Edward III. He persuaded that prince to pull down a great part of Windsor-castle, and rebuild it from his plan, in that plain magnificence in which it appears at present. He also drew the plan, and superintended the building of Queenborough castle. He was afterwards made secretary of state, and lord privy-seal, and enjoyed other accumulated preferments before he was promoted to the see of Winchester. He died on the twenty-seventh of September, 1404.

The most noted historians of this period were,

Thomas Wikes. His history begins at the Conquest, and ends with the death of Edward I. He was a canon regular of Osney, near Oxford; and the part of his work which relates to the barons wars is clear and explicit. His history was published by Dr. Gale, in his Hist. Angl. vol. 2.

John Brompton, abbot of Joreval, in Yorkshire, wrote a chronicle of the principal transactions of England. It was published among the Decem Scriptores. It begins with the coming of Augustine the monk, and ends with the death of Richard I.

Matthew, a Benedictine monk of Westminster, finished his history with the year 1307, and died soon after. But the work has been continued by several hands, especially by Adam Merimath, a canon regular of St. Paul's; who devoted the latter part of his life to the study of English history.





## B O O K IX.

From the accession of Henry V. to the death of Henry VII.

## H E N R Y V. surnamed of MONMOUTH.

A.D. 1413. **T**HOUGH this prince, during the last years of his father's reign, had given a loose to his passions, the people formed great expectations of happiness under his administration. They had perceived many indications of a generous and noble spirit often darting with uncommon lustre through the mist of dissipation. They were not deceived. He was hardly seated on the throne before his vices were changed into virtues. He called together his former associates, and after exhorting them to imitate his example, and inhibiting them from appearing any more in his presence if they continued their licentious conduct, he dismissed them with liberal presents. He published a general amnesty for all crimes already committed, except rape and murder. His new council was composed of the wisest and most virtuous persons in the kingdom: he made no distinction between those who had adhered to Richard, and those who had joined his father; he was desirous of extinguishing all parties. He shewed a noble resolution of restoring purity to the courts of justice, by displacing all those who had not filled their posts with integrity. Gascoigne, the chief justice, who trembled to approach the royal presence, was received with the utmost marks of esteem; his strict and impartial execution of the laws was applauded, and instead of reproaches he was loaded with favours. "Persevere," said Henry, "in the same noble conduct, and support the dignity of the laws of your country against all opposition." He treated the earl of Marche with so much attention and respect, that he forgot his right to the sceptre of England, to which he had, by birth, an undoubted title. He restored the noble family of Piercy to their former honours and estates, and laboured sincerely to bury all animosities in the grave of oblivion.

But the party distinction with regard to religion continued to increase; all the abilities of Henry to restore the tranquillity of the church were exerted in vain. The sect of the Lollards were every day increasing in the kingdom, and seemed extremely dangerous to the church, and even formidable to the civil power. Sir John Oldcastle, styled, in right of his wife, lord Cobham, was considered as the head of the Lollards. He was a person of great parts, invincible courage, and eminently distinguished for his experience in military affairs; virtues which had greatly recommended him to the favour of Henry. The archbishop of Canterbury, who was highly incensed against the Lollards, was desirous of indicting lord Cobham, persuaded that the leader of the party was the most proper victim of ecclesiastical severity. But Cobham was too great a favourite with the king for the archbishop to proceed without his leave. He therefore waited upon Henry, and requested permission to proceed against Sir John Oldcastle. The king, who was no friend to ecclesiastical severity, represented to the primate, that reason and persuasion were the best means of supporting truth, and correcting error; that every gentle method should be used in order to bring back these deluded people to the bosom of the church; and that he himself would endeavour to reconcile Cobham to the catholic faith.

But Henry found that all his arguments were in vain; Cobham, though greatly attached to Henry, refused to sacrifice truths of the utmost importance to conciliate the favour of majesty; and the king gave the primate leave to proceed against him to the utmost extremity of the laws. The violence of ecclesiastical authority was now exerted, and the primate, assisted by his three suffragans, the bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, condemned Cobham to the flames; but he made his escape from the Tower, before the day appointed for his execution arrived.

A. D. 1414. Provoked by persecution, and stimulated by zeal, Cobham formed a design for taking a severe revenge. He assembled his partisans, and began an open rebellion against the government. But the vigilance of Henry prevented the consequences. Great numbers of the Lollards were seized, several of them executed, and the whole conspiracy rendered abortive. Sir John Oldcastle himself made his escape, and was not brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body burnt on the gibbet, conformable to the sentence pronounced against him as a heretic. This revolt discredited the party, and checked their progress. The parliament increased the rigours of the penal laws; but, at the same time, petitioned the king to seize the revenues of the clergy for the use of the crown. So great an effect had the principles of Wickliffe made on the minds of persons, who were far from being friends to the enthusiasm of the Lollards. The clergy were sufficiently alarmed; they offered the king all the revenues of the alien priories; but this, in all probability, would not have been sufficient to divert the storm, if the primate had not fortunately directed the attention of Henry to a very different object. He persuaded him to undertake a war against France, in order to recover the provinces that had been wrested from his ancestors.

That kingdom was indeed now reduced to the most deplorable condition. Charles VI. had been seized with a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority; and though he recovered from this disorder, he was so subject to relapses, that his senses were gradually but insensibly impaired; so that he was incapable of pursuing any settled plan of government. This misfortune gave a full career to the rage of parties. The duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and the duke of Burgundy, his cousin-german, after sustaining the most violent quarrels, by which the country had been deluged with the blood of its inhabitants, agreed to enter into a strict friendship, and swore at the altar to the sincerity of their intentions. But notwithstanding they had invoked heaven as a witness between them, very little regard was paid to the sacredness of their promise; the duke of Orleans was soon after assassinated in the streets of Paris by order of the duke of Burgundy, who had the insolence to avow openly and defend the justice of the action, which he termed tyrannicide. The dreadful consequences of so vile a tenet were soon displayed. A reconciliation between the two parties was now impossible; the whole kingdom in general, and the capital





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The first, besides a great number of other troops, was composed of eight thousand gentlemen, commanded by the constable d'Albret, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, the famous marshal Boucicaut, David Rambure, grand-master of the cross-bow-men, and several other officers of distinction. The second line was led by the duke of Alençon, assisted by the duke of Barre, the counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, and Grand Pré. The third body was under the command of the counts of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauquenbergh, and the sieur de Lannoy.

Henry, while the French officers were employed in drawing up their troops, detached four hundred lances, to take post in a wood on the right; and also a party of two hundred and fifty archers to lay in ambush on the left, in a low meadow covered with bushes. The right wing of Henry's army was commanded by the duke of York, assisted by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope. The center was commanded by Henry in person, attended by his brother the duke of Gloucester, the earl-marshal, the earl of Oxford, and the young earl of Suffolk. The rear, which consisted wholly of archers, and such as were armed with spears, halberts, and bills, was led by the earl of Dorset. The chief strength of the English army consisted of infantry; and Henry, fearing that the French horse would break them by the fury of the first charge, ordered the archers to fix into the ground piles, or stakes, pointed at both ends with iron, and six or seven feet long, in their front, and also on their flanks, or intervals between the horse and foot. These formed a kind of temporary fortification, behind which the archers were secure from the violent charge of the enemy's cavalry.

The two armies, ranged in order of battle, stood facing each other the greater part of the day; the English not caring to advance, lest they should lose the advantage of the ground; nor the French, for fear of being more crowded together than they were already. At length Henry advanced at the head of his main division, the two wings moving at the same time, till he came very near the village of Agincourt; when the French horse moved forwards to attack the English archers. Upon which the latter halted, pitched their stakes, interweaving them together, and bending them a little towards the enemy. Guarded by this fence, they discharged a shower of arrows which nothing could resist: the ranks were thinned, and the line thrown into great disorder. The archers who lay in ambush among the bushes of the meadow, charged the French in flank, and made a dreadful slaughter. The English took advantage of the enemy's disorder, fell upon them with their battle-axes, and cut them to pieces, almost without resistance. The constable perceiving the distress of his advanced party, hastened to their assistance, but under terrible disadvantages; for the soil being wet and miry, both horse and foot moved with the greatest difficulty; and continuing still to press more closely upon one another, presented a defenceless front to the English, who soon threw the whole line into irretrievable disorder: their business was rather that of executioners than soldiers. The field was now covered with the dismounted, the slain, and the wounded; men and horses were blended in one dreadful confusion. The constable himself, together with the principal commanders of the first line, were left dead on the field of battle. The whole body was totally defeated, and a general flight ensued.

The duke d'Alençon, at the head of the second line, stood firm in an adjacent field; and, on perceiving the route of the first division, advanced to repair the disgrace of his countrymen. Henry met him at the head of his center, and a dreadful contest ensued, especially round the king's person. D'Alençon, in order to snatch, if possible, the victory from the enemy, commanded eighteen French knights of approved valour to watch attentively the motions of

the English monarch, and use their utmost efforts either to kill, or take him prisoner. But the genius of Henry saved him from this imminent danger. Animated with the amazing success of his archers, and desirous of distinguishing himself by actions worthy of an English monarch, the king alighted from his horse, and advanced, at the head of his division, with a confidence which seemed to insure the victory. He charged the enemy with such fury as was almost irresistible, and was met by d'Alençon with a spirit worthy of his rank. He received the attack with a firmness that deserved a better fate. The French knights, who had never lost sight of Henry, cut themselves a passage to the spot where he fought in person; and rushing upon him with the utmost violence, would, probably, have made themselves masters of his person, had not David Gam, a Welsh captain, and two other officers, perceiving the danger that threatened their sovereign, flown to his assistance; and all the eighteen knights soon fell, breathless, on the field; but Gam, and his two gallant countrymen, were also mortally wounded. Henry, to shew his gratitude for their generous assistance, knighted them all as they lay on the field. Having paid this generous tribute of acknowledgment to merit and loyalty, Henry darted into the thickest part of the battle, to revenge the late attempt against his life; but his ardour and impetuosity again involved him in the most imminent danger. His brother, the duke of Gloucester, who had fought by his side, was struck to the ground, and the enemy pressed in crowds to avail themselves of the incident. Henry was again surrounded by a host of foes, but he was a stranger to fear: he covered the body of his brother with his shield, and defended him with his sword. In this situation he received so violent a blow on his helmet with a battle-axe, that he fell on his knees, and would, possibly, have been seized by the enemy, had not the duke of York advanced to his assistance, at the head of the fresh body of troops. This intimidated the enemy; they fell back, and Henry and his brother had time to recover from their alarming situation. Another reinforcement immediately followed that led by the duke of York; and Henry again attacked the French with such fury, that they were unable to support the shock; they fell into disorder, and a dreadful slaughter ensued.

Driven to despair at seeing the defeat of his division, d'Alençon made one furious effort, determined either to retrieve the battle, or spare himself the mortification of surviving the disgrace of his country. He put himself at the head of a chosen band of volunteers; and cutting his way to the spot where Henry fought in person, rushed upon the monarch, killed the duke of York by his side, and, with a furious stroke of his sword, cleft the crown on Henry's helmet. The monarch returned the salutation with such violence, that he fell to the ground, and was immediately dispatched by his followers. The death of D'Alençon completed the rout of his division: they consulted their safety in a precipitate and disorderly flight.

All resistance was now over. The third line of the French, indeed, still stood firm, were more numerous than the whole English army, and might have renewed the battle with some prospect of success, had they not been seized with a general panic. But the destruction of their countrymen had deprived them of all thoughts of resistance, and they retired from the field of battle without having exchanged a single blow with the English. But the first line had now rallied themselves, and seemed to advance with a resolution of making another effort for the palm of victory. At the same time, some gentlemen of Picardy having collected about six hundred peasants, had fallen on the English baggage, and were destroying the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, on seeing the enemy both in his front and rear, began to entertain apprehensions lest his prisoners should also join in the attempt to





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*W. P. del.*

*Virginius sculp.*

*The Battle of Agincourt named by HENRY V*



tear the wreath of laurel from his brow; and therefore thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death; but, on discovering the real cause, he put a stop to the slaughter, and the greater part of them were preserved.

This battle was fatal to France, on account of the great number of princes and nobility either slain or taken prisoners. Among the former was the constable d'Albret, the dukes of Brabant, Barre, and Alençon; the count of Marle, and the archbishop of Sens. Among the prisoners, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont; and the marshal de Boucicaut, were the most remarkable. Henry was master of fourteen thousand prisoners. Ten thousand men are said to have fallen in this battle; and as the slaughter fell chiefly on the cavalry, it was computed that eight thousand of them were gentlemen. The English lost only forty men; among whom the person of the greatest note was the duke of York; whose death was more honourable than his life.

A public thanksgiving was now held in the English army for this signal and unexpected victory; and as soon as that decent tribute of gratitude was performed, Henry sent for Montjoy, a French herald, who had been dispatched from the dauphin to obtain permission to bury the dead, and asked him to whom he thought the victory belonged; the herald replied, to the English. Henry then desired to know the name of a village to which he pointed with his hand; and being told it was called the Castle of Agincourt; "Let this action" said the king, "be hereafter known by the appellation of The Battle of Agincourt."

Had Henry known how to have made a proper advantage of his victory, and the dreadful consternation of the enemy, every thing must, in all probability, have submitted to his arms. But the poverty of the princes of Europe in these times; and the small resources of their kingdoms, rendered it impossible for them to maintain an army, for any length of time, in the field; and this, perhaps, was the true reason why Henry attempted not to profit any farther from his victory. He pursued his route, by easy marches, to Calais; and, after resting his forces, embarked for Dover, where he landed on the sixteenth of November.

But the distress occasioned by the battle of Agincourt was so far from being sufficient to put a period to the fury of factions in France, that they continued to rage with still greater violence. All the principles of honour, and all the motives of interest, were sacrificed at the altars of ambition and revenge. The duke of Burgundy redoubled his efforts to reinstate himself in the possession of the government. Isabella of Bavaria, the wife of the unfortunate Charles VI. detestable in her character, and capable of the greatest crimes, having been banished to Tours, entered into a strict alliance with him against the dauphin, who was attached to the opposite party. The duke of Burgundy now entered France at the head of an army, reduced several strong places, released the queen from her confinement, and made himself master of the king's person. Paris was a second time deluged with blood; and nothing but an invasion from England was wanting to complete the ruin of that divided kingdom.

A. D. 1418. Nor was that additional scourge of heaven long delayed. Henry landed at Beville, in Normandy, on the first of August; at the head of an army of twenty-eight thousand men. Falaise, Cherbourg, Evreux, and Caen, submitted to him, and he invested the city of Rouen; but the place being defended by a numerous garrison, Henry was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade; and several negotiations for a peace were carried on between the king of England and the leaders of both factions, but without success.

A. D. 1419. The garrison of Rouen was now reduced to extremity by famine, and desired to capitulate. Henry very readily listened to their propo-

sals; and it was agreed, that on paying a stipulated contribution, the city should be preserved from plunder. The surrender of Rouen was followed by that of all the towns and fortresses in Upper Normandy. But a sudden reconciliation taking place between the dauphin and the Burgundian faction, greatly contributed to diminish Henry's expectations of success. This reconciliation was, however, blasted, even in the bud. The duke and the dauphin having agreed to an interview on the bridge of Montreuil, the former was there assassinated by some noblemen in the train of the latter. They had seized this opportunity of revenging the assassination of the duke of Orleans. The most dreadful consequences followed this desperate act. The dauphin was accused of the crime, because it was perpetrated in his presence, and by his most intimate friends. The new duke of Burgundy and the queen threatened the prince with destruction, and conspired the ruin of the kingdom. Every sentiment of honour, of patriotism, and even of personal interest, gave way to the transports of revenge. During these transactions, Henry had made himself master of Pontoise and Gisors, advanced to the gates of Paris, and obliged the court to remove to Troye. His enemies, instead of combining against him, abandoned to him the kingdom.

A. D. 1420. Proposals for a general peace were now made to Henry by the queen and duke of Burgundy; and the terms being agreed upon, Henry, accompanied by his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, repaired to Troye, in order to conclude that famous treaty, by which a weak monarch, a furious woman, and a prince of the blood, enraged against his country, gave the crown of France to a stranger.

This treaty consisted of a great number of articles; but the following are the principal: That Henry should espouse the princess Catharine: That Charles, during his life, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France: That Henry should be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entrusted with the present administration of the government: That the crown of France should descend to his heirs: That France and England should be forever united under one king; but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges: That all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France, should swear, both that they would adhere to the future succession of Henry, and also pay him present obedience as regent: That Henry should unite his arms to those of Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of the pretended dauphin; and that those princes should make neither peace nor truce with him, but by common consent and agreement.

This treaty was followed by the marriage of Henry with the princess Catharine, esteemed the greatest fortune and the finest woman of her time. The states of the kingdom and the parliament of Paris swore obedience to the king of England, who now assumed the reins of government as regent of the kingdom. The dauphin, in the mean time, behaved with surprising spirit and intrepidity. He had dispatched the count de Vendôme to solicit a supply of men from the Scots, whose king still remained a prisoner in England. The regent, however, reflecting, that if Henry became absolute master of France, his country must be the next victim to his ambition, resolved to assist the dauphin; and accordingly a supply of seven thousand men was sent him, under the command of the earl of Buchan. Assisted by these forces, the dauphin made himself master of Pont de l'Esprit and Nîmes; in Languedoc; and threw strong garrisons into Melun, Montreuil, Montargis, Meaux, and Compeigne.

Henry perceived that it was now necessary to take the field, in order to check the progress of the dauphin. He first marched against Sens, which submitted; after a very faint opposition. Montreuil opened its gates at the first summons, and several



small towns followed its example. But the reduction of Melun was attended with more difficulty. Great part of that city was encompassed with the river Seine, and the whole defended by a strong wall, flanked with bulwarks and towers. De Barbason, one of the best officers in France, commanded the garrison, and made a noble defence. The place was invested on the twelfth of July, and did not surrender till the eighteenth of November, when famine forced the garrison to submit; but not without capitulating for their lives; it being agreed that none of the garrison or inhabitants should be put to death, except such as had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy. Barbason himself was suspected of being one of the assassins; but by the intercession of Henry his punishment was changed into perpetual imprisonment.

A. D. 1421. The supplies granted by the states of France not being sufficient to answer the complicated exigencies of the state, Henry found it necessary to pass over into England in order to procure a subsidy from the parliament. The supply was granted; but the parliament presented an address, in which they observed, that the conquest of France might, in all probability, prove the ruin of England, which would be in the utmost danger of becoming a province of that kingdom: they already perceived that the interest of the monarch and that of the nation, were no longer the same.

During the absence of Henry, the dauphin, assisted by a body of seven thousand Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, defeated the duke of Clarence at Baugé in Anjou. The duke was slain in the action, and the earls of Somerset, Huntingdon and Suffolk were taken prisoners. Upwards of eleven hundred men fell in the action. The earl of Buchan, as a reward for his conduct and courage, was honoured with the office of constable of France.

These advantages alarmed Henry, and he passed over to Calais at the head of four thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers. The dauphin, knowing it would be madness for him to meet the English monarch in the open field, retired beyond the Loire, and determined to act wholly on the defensive. Henry soon recovered the places he had lost, and made himself master of Dreux, Tilliers, Nogent, Gallorden, and several other castles. The garrison of Meaux had for some time greatly harassed the inhabitants of Paris, at whose particular request Henry invested the place, which was strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, commanded by the bastard of Vaurus, who had distinguished himself both by his courage and cruelty against the English.

A. D. 1421. After a siege of seven months, the garrison, being reduced to the utmost extremity desired to capitulate; their request was granted, and it was agreed that all the inhabitants and soldiers should have their lives preserved: but that all the English, Welsh, Irish, and Scotch, who carried arms in the place, should be entirely at the king's mercy, together with the bastard of Vaurus, and three other officers of the garrison. These terms were agreed to, and all the English, Scotch, and Irish, found among the garrison, together with all those who had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy, were immediately put to death. The governor Vaurus, underwent an exemplary fate; the bravery of that officer could be exceeded by nothing but his cruelty; he used to hang, without any distinction of age or quality, all the English and Burgundians that fell into his hands: Henry, highly incensed at such a barbarous and shocking practice, caused him to be hanged on the same tree, which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions.

The reduction of Meaux was followed by that of Compeigne, Gamaches, and St. Valery. By these acquisitions Henry saw himself master of all France on this side the Loire, except Anjou and Maine, and the castles of Guise and Crottoy, in Picardy. And

to crown all the other prosperities of Henry, his queen was delivered at Windsor of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by rejoicings equally pompous and equally sincere, at Paris and at London.

A. D. 1422. But the glory of Henry had now nearly reached its summit; his career of glory was arrested by the king of terrors, and all his mighty projects vanished like the mist of the morning. He was seized with a fistula, which the surgeons at that time knew not how to cure, and was soon convinced that his disease was mortal. He sent for his brother the duke of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, and the English nobility who happened to be near him, and delivered to them, with great tranquillity, his last instructions, which were to the following effect:

He began with observing that though his life had been short, it had been replete with glory, and employed in promoting the happiness of his people; that though his pretensions to the crown of France had proved the destruction of many thousands, yet these calamities ought not to be imputed to him, but to those whose obstinacy and injustice had forced him to have recourse to arms, by refusing to accept of a reasonable peace: that he should have beheld the approach of death without concern, had not his last moments been somewhat embittered by the reflection, that he had not been able to finish a war he had so happily begun; but hoped they would continue towards his infant son the same fidelity and attachment which they had professed during his life, and which had been cemented by so many mutual good offices. He added, as his last advice, that if they found themselves unable to place his son on the throne of France, they would never at least make peace with that kingdom, unless the duchy of Normandy was for ever annexed to the crown of England; and earnestly requested that they would assiduously cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and never give liberty to the French princes taken at the battle of Agincourt, till his son was of age, and able to hold the reins of government. He left the regency of France to his eldest brother the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger the duke of Gloucester, and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick.

All the noblemen promised to observe faithfully his dying instructions, and to pay the same obedience to his infant son as they had done to himself. Comforted with these assurances, Henry made preparations for his approaching dissolution; and declared, in his last moments, that he seriously intended to have made a crusade against the infidels, as soon as he had finished the conquest of France; an enterprize which he vainly imagined would have expiated all the calamities occasioned by his wars. He paid the debt of nature on the thirty-first of August, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

Henry possessed many great and noble qualities. He was affable, polite, generous, and magnanimous; sincere in his attachments, a friend to justice, a friend to merit, and a friend to his country. He excelled all his contemporaries in personal courage, and military achievements. His abilities were great, his judgment sound, his genius extensive; he was equally qualified to shine both in the cabinet and the field. He enjoyed the singular talent of attaching his friends by affability, and gaining his enemies by clemency and address. In a word, he would have merited all the encomiums to which a great hero, and a great king are entitled, if he had not sullied his glory by the injustice of usurpation; though those who are willing to give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, will not consider this as a fault; perhaps they will rank it among his virtues.

Henry left only one son, who was not full nine months old at the death of his father. His widow, Catherine of France, married, soon after his death, a Welsh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, supposed to be descended from the ancient princes of that country.



*( Engraved for Sydney's History of England. )*



**THE GOVERNOR OF MEAUX**  
*( Executed on the Tree whereon he used to hang his English Prisoners )*









*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



She bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, the elder of whom was created earl of Richmond, and the younger earl of Pembroke. By this alliance the family of Tudor was first raised to distinction, and afterwards mounted the throne of England.

During this reign the dreadful schism which had so long divided the Latin church was terminated by the council of Constance, who deposed John XXIII. for his crimes, and elected Martin V. in his place.

The authority of a general council over the pope was established in this assembly; and John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who had adopted the opinions of Wickliffe, were burnt alive as heretics, notwithstanding the safe conduct they had received from the emperor of Germany. This act of cruelty and treachery, occasioned a bloody war in Germany, where Zisca, general of the Hussites, rendered his name immortal by his victories.

## H E N R Y VI. furnamed of WINDSOR.

A. D. 1422. **T**HE parliament of England had greatly increased their power during the two last reigns. The deficiency of the Laneaster family in their title to the crown was of use in establishing the freedom and importance of the commons. The princes of that house never ventured to impose taxes without the consent of parliament, and the English constitution was by that means founded on a basis, that could not be removed, even by the power of absolute princes. Conscious of their own authority, and determined to support the power they had acquired, the parliament paid very little regard to the verbal will of their late monarch; they changed the name of regent into that of protector, from a persuasion that the latter implied less authority than the former. They advanced the duke of Bedford to that office, but permitted the duke of Gloucester to discharge its duties during his absence. Nor did they think it prudent to trust this power wholly in the hands of either; they named a council, without whose advice and concurrence no measures of importance could be determined. They refused to confirm that part of Henry's will which appointed the earl of Warwick the guardian of his son's person: and entrusted the care of their infant king to the bishop of Winchester. The two princes, Bedford and Gloucester, made no opposition to this change in the plan of government: they were unwilling to raise the least disturbance in their country; they chose to cultivate peace and harmony in the kingdom, and made no scruple of sacrificing some part of their own power to make so valuable an acquisition.

The unfortunate Charles VI. did not survive Henry above two months. He had indeed for several years possessed only the appearance of royal authority; but even this shadow of superior power was of great consequence to the English; it divided the duty and affection of the French, between them and the dauphin. That prince, on the death of his father, was proclaimed and crowned king at Poitiers, under the name of Charles VII. the city of Rheims, where that ceremony was usually performed, being then in the hands of the English. Charles VII. was a prince of a mild and generous disposition, but indolent, irresolute, and addicted to pleasure. He, however, gave the pleasing expectation of one day correcting the faults of his youth, and was able to gain over to his cause a great number of partisans. The French renounced not wholly their attachment to their natural sovereign; it was impossible for them not to see the disadvantage of being governed by a foreign prince. This was soon perceived by the duke of Bedford, and every method that human prudence could suggest, taken to prevent the consequence. He immediately proclaimed Henry VI. king of France, and assumed himself the title of regent of that kingdom. He assembled at Paris all the nobility attached to the English interest, and exhorted them to acknowledge young Henry for their sovereign. They immediately complied with his request; they swore allegiance to Henry as king of France, and did homage to him, in the person of the regent, for the lands they held from that crown.

Charles, though now reduced to a very low ebb of fortune, was still master of the counties of Berry, Bourbon, Languedoc, Lyonnois, Forrez, Auvergne, a great part of Xaintonge, and Poictou, together with the earldoms of Comminges and Armagnac, bordering on the Pyrenees. So that his power was still respectable, especially as both his officers and ministers were men of great parts and integrity.

Henry was in possession of Normandy and Guienne, Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, the Isle of France, and the city of Paris; besides the provinces belonging to the duke of Burgundy, his vassal and ally. The duke of Bedford was one of the most accomplished princes in Europe, whether we consider him as a soldier or a statesman. He was assisted by officers equally distinguished for their personal courage and military talents; particularly the duke of Somerset, the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Arundel, Sir John Fastolf, and Sir John Talbot. But Bedford well knew that every foreign assistance would be necessary, before an English regent could hope to complete the conquest of France. Accordingly he applied himself assiduously to increase the number of his friends on the continent, and had the good fortune to form an alliance with the duke of Britany, and his brother the count of Richemont. He also prevailed upon the English council to release James king of Scotland, who had continued a prisoner in England ever since his having been taken by Henry IV. It had been supposed that the Scots would never attempt any thing to disturb the peace of England, while their king was a prisoner in that court; but the late assistance sent to Charles, sufficiently proved that this opinion was founded on a chimerical basis; and that a much greater advantage might be procured from releasing James, who having contracted a natural friendship for the English, would still continue their firm ally, especially as his obligations would be so greatly increased by restoring to him at once his liberty and his crown.

But notwithstanding these alliances, Bedford perceived that the utmost circumspection would be necessary to render the advantages the English had gained in France permanent. He perceived, that the French in general were impatient under the new government; and that the sufferings of a young prince expelled his native throne by the rebellion of his own subjects and the arms of strangers, could not long fail of exciting the compassion of all his people, whose hearts were unbiassed by faction; especially as the present situation of France naturally engaged the attention even of the meanest persons, and was become the common topic of conversation.

A. D. 1424. The war had, since the death of Henry V. been carried on with various success; sometimes fortune was favourable to the French, and sometimes to the English; places were taken and retaken successively, without any remarkable advantage. The duke of Milan sent Charles a reinforcement of a thousand men at arms, and five hundred lances; but his chief reliance was upon the Scottish auxiliaries, whom he called his guardians; and of whom he had now no less than fifteen thousand in his service.

He



He had already created the earl of Buchan constable of France; and he now conferred the title of earl of Evreux on general Stuart; and that of duke of Terouranne on the earl of Douglas, who was considered as one of the first generals of his time.

One of Charles's partisans having reduced Yvri, on the frontiers of Picardy, a place of great importance, the regent determined to retake it; and accordingly marched at the head of his army, and invested the place. The governor perceiving that it would be impossible to defend the town for any length of time, agreed to capitulate, if not relieved by a certain day. The proposal was accepted; and no army appearing within the limited time, the place was delivered up to the besiegers. Charles had not, however, neglected the necessary means for succouring a place of so much importance. He had dispatched the earl of Buchan, constable of France, assisted by the earl of Douglas and several French noblemen, at the head of a detachment of twenty thousand men, being the flower of his whole army, to relieve Yvri; but before they reached the neighbourhood of that place, the term had been, for some days, expired, and the town was in possession of the enemy.

As it was now impossible to retake the place, Buchan led his army to Vernueil, which the inhabitants delivered up to him in spite of the garrison. The constable might now have retired in safety, with the glory of having made an acquisition, equal, in point of utility, with that he was sent to relieve; but that impetuosity which had so often been destructive to France, proved fatal to Buchan. He called a council of war, in order to deliberate on the measures necessary to be pursued in this dangerous crisis. The wiser part of the council declared unanimously for a retreat; and used such reasons as nothing but a mind determined to listen to no argument could oppose. It was urged, that all the misfortunes of the French had proceeded from their rashness in giving battle, when no necessity obliged them to risk a decisive action: that this army was the last resource of the king, and the only defence of the few provinces he still possessed; and that every reason invited him to embrace cautious counsels, which allowed time for his subjects to return to their duty, and gave leisure for discord to arise among his enemies, who not being united by any band of common interest, could not long preserve the animosity they now cherished against the true heir of France. But a vain point of honour had more weight than all these prudential reasons. It was thought derogatory to their reputation to turn their back to the enemy, as their forces were more numerous than those of the English; and it was therefore determined to wait their arrival. The experience of former misfortunes could not restrain the impetuosity of the French.

During these debates, the duke of Bedford was advancing towards the French, at the head of fifteen thousand men; and on his arrival near the camp of the enemy, under the walls of Vernueil, he took possession of an advantageous spot of ground, flanked by a hill, on which he posted a body of two thousand archers, and furnished all his infantry with sharp stakes, like those used with so much success at the battle of Agincourt, to check the fury of the French cavalry. The earl of Douglas having surveyed the position of the English camp, declared that, in his opinion, the French army should stand upon the defence, and not begin the battle, as the enemy had chosen their own ground, where they could not be attacked without great disadvantage. This prudent advice, which was seconded by the constable, and every officer of experience in the army, appeared to Aymer, viscount of Narbonne, a headstrong, imprudent man, as the effect of timidity; nor did he fail to upbraid the commanders, in express terms, with pusillanimity, and of dishonouring, by their meanness, the arms of France. No answer was, however, made to his invective; which so highly exasperated him, that, snatching up one of the stan-

dards of the division, he exclaimed, "Let all who love their sovereign follow me;" and rushing immediately out of the line, he advanced to the charge with the most irregular impetuosity. Douglas and the constable seeing the confusion that now prevailed in their army, and finding their authority despised, determined to perish like soldiers in the inevitable destruction which they knew must be the consequence of this headlong rashness.

The regent had ordered all his cavalry to dismount, and to place their horses in the rear of the army, forming round them a kind of barricade with the carriages of the army. The attack, though made in the utmost disorder, was so furious, that a body of their horse on the right wing broke the opposite wing of the English, and advanced to the barricade which surrounded the horses, and behind which a body of archers were placed. These received them with such a dreadful shower of arrows, as obliged them to fall back. At the same time, those who were posted on the hill so galled the Italians, who were marching up in another line, that they fled with great precipitation. This gave the body of reserve an opportunity of forming themselves, and marching to the support of the main body, where the fight had continued for three hours with great obstinacy, without any perceivable advantage; but this seasonable reinforcement turned the scale of victory in favour of the English. The French horse were driven back upon their foot by the arrows of the English, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. Douglas and the constable perceiving the total rout of their army inevitable, and determined not to survive the disgrace, rushed into the thickest part of the battle, and fell among a heap of foes. Besides these two great generals, the headstrong Narbonne, the son of the earl of Douglas, the counts Aumale, Ventadour, and de Tonnerre, the lords Grandville, Manni, Gamaches, and Guitri, with many other persons of distinction, perished in the action. The duke of Alençon, the marshal de la Fayette, the lords of Goucour and Mortemar, were taken prisoners. About four thousand French, and sixteen hundred of the English, were slain on the field of battle. Vernueil surrendered the next day to the victors.

The situation of Charles was now truly deplorable. He had lost the bravest of his troops, and the flower of his nobility, in the late fatal engagement. His party was dispirited; he had hardly money sufficient to purchase the necessaries of life, much less to pay an army; nor could he raise any among his subjects without exciting a general discontent, which, in his present circumstances, it was necessary to avoid. But in the midst of his distress, when scarce the least ray of hope appeared, the intrigues of a woman sowed the seeds of dissension among his enemies. Jaqueline, countess of Hainault, animated by violent antipathy to her husband, the duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy, determined to dissolve her marriage, where nothing but the ceremony had probably as yet intervened. She was a princess of a masculine spirit, and uncommon understanding; and her husband of a sickly constitution, and weak intellects. She, however, knew her husband's family would exert all their power to prevent the pope from dissolving the marriage; and therefore, in order to effect her purpose with more facility, she made her escape to England, and put herself under the protection of the duke of Gloucester, who being enamoured of her person and fortune, ventured to marry her without waiting for the papal dispensation. Gloucester was endowed with many noble qualities, but at the same time of an impetuous temper, and violent passions. He considered not the consequences of an action he was determined to perform. Soon after his marriage, he repaired into the Low Countries, to take possession of her dominions. The duke of Burgundy exclaimed loudly against this conduct; and considering himself as insulted by it, marched in person to the assistance of the duke of Brabant. A sharp



sharp war was now kindled in the Low Countries. The labours of the duke of Bedford to restrain the impetuous temper of his brother were in vain; nor was he able to soften the resentment of the duke of Burgundy. He now found it would be useless to push the consequences of his victory at Vernueil, and took a journey to England, where the departure of his brother had excited troubles in the administration. This cessation of hostilities gave Charles leisure to recover from his defeat. He laboured assiduously to gain the friendship of the princes of the blood, whose revolt had almost occasioned the total ruin of the monarchy. The duke of Burgundy was disgusted with the English, but he had not yet overcome his hatred to Charles; the murder of his father still filled his breast with resentment. The duke of Brittany had received no such injury, and therefore listened to the proposals made by Charles for an accommodation; and the count of Richemont accepted of the dignity of constable. That great general, who was an excellent subject, but a bad courtier, had been disgraced for the violence he exercised against the ministers and favourites of Charles; but he soon regained, by his services, the favour and friendship of his master.

A. D. 1426. The defection of the duke of Brittany alarmed the regent, and war was declared in form against the Bretons. The earl of Warwick immediately took the field; and laying siege to Pont Orson, carried the town by assault. He afterwards took and fortified Beauvron, where he fixed his head-quarters, and thence extended his ravages over the adjacent country, to the very gates of Rennes. The constable Richemont exerted all his power to raise a sufficient number of troops to put a stop to these incursions, and was fortunate enough to succeed. He soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand men, and marched immediately against the enemy. Warwick, whose whole corps did not amount to more than eight thousand, shut himself up in Beauvron. The constable immediately invested the town, and proposed to reduce it by famine. But Giac, prime minister to Charles, and who hated the constable, neglected to send him the necessary supplies of men and money, so that Richemont despaired of being able to effect his purpose; but exasperated to find himself baffled in his first attempt, he rashly resolved to make a general assault. The garrison behaved with the utmost intrepidity; the besiegers were every where beaten off; and Warwick perceiving a great disorder in the ranks of the enemy, sallied out, and falling upon their rear, put them to flight with great slaughter, and made himself master of all their baggage and artillery.

The defeat of the constable's army, the great defection of his troops, and the dissensions which prevailed in Charles's councils, encouraged the earl of Warwick to undertake the siege of Montargis, as a place of the utmost importance for facilitating the regent's intention of carrying the war beyond the Loire. He accordingly invested the town, and soon reduced the garrison to the last extremity. The bastard of Orleans, afterwards the famous count de Dunois, resolved to march to the relief of Montargis. He was then only twenty-three years of age, but had served with great reputation in eight campaigns. He was natural son to that duke of Orleans who had been assassinated by the duke of Burgundy, and had been educated for the church, but thought proper to exchange his ecclesiastical for a military habit. This gallant leader, at the head of no more than sixteen hundred men, attacked the English camp with so much fury, that the earl of Warwick, who knew nothing of his approach, was obliged to raise the siege. This advantage raised the hopes of Charles's party, and established the military character of Dunois.

A. D. 1427. The duke of Bedford, having settled affairs in England, returned to France; and after forming a numerous army on the frontiers of Brittany,

fell so unexpectedly into that province, that nothing could resist his progress. All the attempts of the duke of Brittany were in vain; so that after seeing the greater part of his territories wasted with fire and sword, he desired an interview with Bedford; and a treaty was signed between them, by which the duke of Brittany not only returned to his former engagements with the English, but also signed the treaty of Troye, acknowledging the duke of Bedford regent of France, and engaging to do homage for his duchy of Brittany to the king of England.

A. D. 1428. The regent having thus forced the duke of Brittany to submit, formed a project, the success of which would have secured to England the conquest of France. This was the taking of Orleans, a city of the utmost importance, and which was now the only barrier that opposed his entrance into the southern provinces. The conduct of this siege was committed to the earl of Salisbury, one of the most consummate generals of the age. He marched from Paris about the latter end of July, at the head of sixteen thousand men, assisted by the earl of Suffolk, the lord Talbot, Sir John Fastolf, and other excellent officers. He immediately advanced through the county of Beaufle, and made himself master of all the towns that lay in his route to Orleans. He passed the Loire at Beaugenci, and invested the place on the side of Sologni, on the twelfth of October.

Every motion of the English sufficiently indicated their intention of besieging Orleans, and every precaution was accordingly taken for its defence. The command of this important city was given to the count de Gaucourt, an officer of great courage and experience, and inviolably attached to the family of Orleans. Many other officers of distinction threw themselves into the place. The troops that formed the garrison were all veterans, and long familiar with danger. The citizens themselves had acquired the military turn, so common in that age, and were therefore extremely well qualified to assist the regulars in the defence of the place. Many new fortifications were raised, the old ones repaired, and the greater part of the buildings in the suburbs pulled down, that they might not be used by the English in carrying on the siege. The fate of this city engaged the attention of Europe; the fortune of the kingdom seemed to depend entirely upon it.

The first operation of this siege was against a bulwark erected to cover the castle of Tourelles, which defended the head of the bridge over the Loire. The English artillery soon demolished the parapets, and made a breach sufficiently large for storming it. Preparations were now made both by the French and English; the former for attacking, and the latter for defending the bulwark. The first attempt did not succeed; the English were obliged to retreat, leaving two hundred and fifty men dead in the breach. This repulse, however, served only to increase the ardour of the besiegers; they continued battering the work with such fury, that it was soon abandoned by the French, and the English took possession of it without any farther opposition. Forts were now erected both above and below the bridge, for battering the city. But still the place was invested only on the side of Sologni; that towards the Beaufle was entirely open, and the bastard of Orleans found means to throw himself into the city at the head of eight hundred men. It was easily perceived, that while the city could be supplied with troops and provisions, it would be impossible to reduce it. The earl of Salisbury therefore ordered sixty small forts or redoubts to be built at proper distances round the city; but while he was pointing out the proper spots where they should be erected, a stone discharged from a canon in the place put a period to his life. The loss of this great general was universally lamented by the army: the soldiers considered themselves as invincible while he was at their head.

The command of the English army now devolved on the earl of Suffolk, who, assisted by the famous



Talbot, one of the greatest captains of that age, pushed the siege with unremitting vigour. Sallics were frequently made by the garrison, and the most astonishing acts of valour were performed both by the besiegers and the besieged. On the twenty-first of December, a fresh reinforcement of English and Burgundian troops arrived; but still the number was not sufficient to invest the place; and the forts which had been erected in consequence of the orders issued by the earl of Salisbury, were at too great a distance from each other to prevent the enemy from throwing into the place large quantities of ammunition and provisions.

A. D. 1429. Four months had already been spent in continual sallies and engagements, when the regent ordered a convoy to set out from Paris with salt-fish, herrings, and other provisions of a similar kind, for the use of the besiegers during the Lent. This convoy was escorted by a guard of seventeen hundred men, under the command of Sir John Fastolf, an officer of approved valour and great experience. Charles, who had advanced to Chinon, a town in Touraine, about twenty leagues distant from Orleans, receiving intelligence of the march of this convoy, sent the count de Clermont, at the head of three thousand men, to attack the English in their route. The count came up with the convoy at Rouvrai St. Denis on the twelfth of February. Fastolf, apprized of his approach, and knowing himself too weak to sustain the impetuous shock of the French in the open field, drew up his men behind a barricado of his waggons, and in this position received the first shock of the French, which was made with their usual fury; but they were not able to force the temporary fortification. At the same time, they met with so warm a reception, that they were thrown into confusion. Fastolf perceived his advantage, sallied from his barricado, and routed the enemy with prodigious slaughter. In this action, generally called The Battle of the Herrings, one hundred and twenty French noblemen and persons of distinction lost their lives, besides a great number of common soldiers. The count de Dunois, having received notice of the count of Clermont's march, found means to escape from Orleans, and advanced to support him at the head of a body of veterans; but he arrived too late. He, however, secured his retreat; and the convoy reached the English camp, without meeting with any farther opposition.

This defeat, together with the alarming aspect of Charles's affairs in general, filled that monarch and his whole court with confusion; and an offer was made, that Orleans should be sequestered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. But Bedford rejected the proposal with indignation; and observed, "That he was not in a humour to beat the bushes, while others ran away with the game." This sarcasm so disgusted the duke of Burgundy, that he recalled all his troops from the service of the English. But notwithstanding this defection, the place was every day more and more closely invested by the enemy. The utmost scarcity prevailed in the city; and Charles meditated an inglorious retreat into Dauphine. Mary, of Anjou, his queen, and the fair Agnes Sorrel, his mistress, found means, however, to inspire him with more noble sentiments. Love, which usually softens the heart, roused his courage; he determined to conquer or perish. At this dangerous crisis a country girl delivered him from the danger with which he was threatened, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors.

The name of this heroine was Joan d'Arc, afterwards much better known by the name of The Maid of Orleans. She was born at the village of Dom. Remi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine. At this time she was about twenty years of age, of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any singularity. She, indeed, possessed a genius superior to most in her class of life, but had been wholly employed in country business. A con-

tinual recital of the calamities of France had made so great an impression on her imagination, that losing sight of every other object, and abandoning herself to the transports of enthusiasm, she fancied that she heard heavenly voices, and doubted not but she was called upon by the Deity to undertake the defence of the kingdom. She communicated her visions to the governor of Vaucouleurs, who at first treated her with neglect; but her frequent returns prevailed upon him to send her to the king. She supported before the court the character of an inspired person with an astonishing candour and firmness. An assembly of divines, and the parliament of Poitiers, who examined her on the subject of her mission, pronounced that there was something supernatural in her. It was an object of policy to make her case be considered as miraculous; but in an age devoted to superstition, admiration and wonder, it was hardly necessary to employ art to effect this purpose. Her enthusiasm, therefore, joined to the extraordinary qualities she possessed, could not fail of making lively impressions on the vulgar. She promised to deliver Orleans, and conduct Charles to Rheims, in order to his coronation. She now wrote a letter to the duke of Bedford, commanding him, in the name of God, to raise the siege, and to evacuate France. Every method was taken to publish the predictions of the Maid of Orleans, and which were believed with the most implicit faith. It was pretended, that she had demanded of the king, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword which was preserved in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen, she described with so many particular circumstances, as plainly proved her supernatural knowledge. The English affected to speak of her with derision; but were struck with the opinion which every where prevailed of her heavenly mission. The French troops gave credit to all her predictions, and were ready to attempt the most daring actions from an assurance of victory.

This extraordinary engine being thus prepared, it was resolved to try its force upon the enemy. The Maid was armed cap-a-pie, and mounted on a fine horse richly caparisoned. The sword of St. Catherine was sent for, and delivered to her with great formality. It was now determined to send this inspired leader with a large convoy of provisions and ammunition to the besieged, who were by this time reduced to the last extremity. Joan accordingly marched at the head of twelve thousand chosen men destined to escort the convoy, with a consecrated banner in her hand. She was assisted by the lords of Gaucourt, Ray, and St. Severe, the admiral Crevant, and other excellent officers. The garrison of Orleans were informed of the design, and a great number of boats were prepared to carry the convoy over the Loire. As soon as the Maid appeared on the side of Sologne, the count de Dunois made a vigorous sally on the English on the side of Beausse, to prevent their sending troops to the other side of the river, while the boats were loading with the provisions and ammunition destined for the town. The English on that side were too weak to encounter so strong an escort; and their inaction being considered by the French as the effect of terror imprinted on their minds by heaven, to facilitate the enterprize of the Maid of Orleans, fell upon them with such enthusiastic fury, that they were defeated, after a long resistance, and the convoy passed into Orleans. A natural event served also to increase the superstition of the French. During the time of the action, there happened a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and hail. This, it may easily be supposed, was considered as the voice of heaven declaring in their favour. Had the attempt miscarried, it would have been interpreted in an opposite sense. Joan was received into Orleans as a tutelar angel, and the whole success attributed to her: her presence dispelled every thought of danger. The garrison believed themselves invincible under her sacred influence; and the frequent and successful sallies which they



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*The Maid of Orleans receiving the Sword of*  
**ST. CATHERINE.**







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Coronation of HENRY VI.<sup>th</sup> at Paris*



they made, completed the consternation of the enemy. The English ascribed to the operation of the devil what the French considered as the work of the Deity. They raised the siege of Orleans on the twelfth of May; and retired before an army who had so long trembled at the name of the English.

Charles now suffered his army to take the field, in order to improve the success that had so lately attended their efforts. At the same time, the English, by a strange mistake, after raising the siege of Orleans, instead of keeping their forces in a body to act powerfully against the enemy, distributed great part of them into places near the Loire, which they had subdued when they first passed that river. Being thus separated, the French met with little resistance in the places they attempted. The Maid of Orleans still headed their troops; and wherever she appeared, the English were struck with a panic, while the French believed themselves supported by an invisible hand. Gargeau, a small fortress, into which the earl of Suffolk had been so imprudent as to throw himself, with four hundred men only, was obliged to surrender at discretion, and the earl himself was taken prisoner. Melun suffered the same fate, with many other towns and castles garrisoned by the English. Beaugency only held out a regular siege, but was at last obliged to surrender.

Lord Talbot, who, on the imprisonment of the earl of Suffolk, took the command of the English army, found that his whole force amounted to no more than six thousand men. He therefore endeavoured to avoid an engagement with the enemy, who were at least double that number. But being overtaken at Patay, a battle became inevitable; and the event was what might be expected from a handful of men oppressed by the power of superstitious prepossession. They were totally defeated: above two thousand fell in the action, and about two hundred were taken prisoners; among whom were the lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, Sir Thomas Rempston, and several other officers of note.

The Maid of Orleans had now performed one part of her promise, the relief of that city; but the other, and more difficult task, remained still to be executed, the crowning of Charles at Rheims. Before this could be done, it was necessary to pass over a large tract of country occupied by the English; an enterprise which was rash, and, perhaps, impracticable in any other conjuncture than the present. Charles, who had hitherto never exposed his person, allowed himself to be carried away by the torrent of his success, and the instigation of the Maid of Orleans. This interval of enthusiasm secured his victories. Without provisions, without resources, he marched securely, at the head of twelve thousand men, through the midst of his enemies. Troye and Chalons opened their gates at his approach. The inhabitants of Rheims drove out the English garrison, and sent him the keys of their city, which he entered in triumph. The ceremony of his coronation was immediately performed in presence of the Maid of Orleans, who attended with her consecrated banner in her hand. Charles now appeared more venerable in the eyes of his subjects. Numbers immediately joined him; they returned from their prepossessions and errors, and conceived the utmost aversion to the shameful yoke of slavery they had so long endured. Loan, Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, and several other towns and fortresses, submitted to their lawful sovereign.

During this reverse of fortune, the duke of Bedford acted with the most consummate prudence. He retained Paris in subjection by his vigilance and severity. He also renewed his alliance with the duke of Burgundy; and being joined by five thousand men, which the bishop of Winchester was conducting on a crusade against the Hussites, he was once more in a condition of taking the field against the French, and checking their rapid success. The Maid of Orleans, after Charles was crowned at Rheims, considering her commission as accomplished, was solicitous to

return to the place of her nativity; but her influence was so great over the troops, that the count de Dunois prevailed upon her to continue in the army till the English were entirely driven out of France.

Bedford being advanced as far as Montereau, on the Yonne, sent an herald to Charles, offering to give him battle in any indifferent place he should name, in order to put a final period to the war by a general engagement. But Charles, who had learned wisdom in the school of adversity, refused to hazard his crown on the uncertain event of a battle. The regent, therefore, returned into the Ile of France, in order, by his presence, to prevent the towns from revolting; and also to give the French nobility an opportunity of retiring from the army, where they served at their own expence.

A. D. 1430. It having been determined in the English parliament to send young Henry into France, in order to his being crowned at Paris; he embarked at Dover with a splendid retinue, and landed at Calais on the nineteenth of May. But the army of Charles being then in the neighbourhood of Paris, it was thought prudent to carry the young king to Rouen, till the enemy was removed farther from the capital: and in order to effect that design, the regent laboured assiduously to induce the duke of Burgundy to act with more vigour than he had done since he recalled his troops from the siege of Orleans. Accordingly he ceded to him all the places the English possessed in Champagne and Brie; and the duke immediately entered France at the head of a powerful army. He reduced Troye and Soissons; and being joined by the earls of Suffolk and Arundel, he invested Compeigne. The place was well provided with every thing necessary for making a noble defence; and the garrison was commanded by Flavi, a brave and experienced officer.

But as Compeigne was considered as a city of the utmost importance, a detachment of about six hundred men, under the command of the Maid of Orleans, and Xaintrailles, a celebrated general, threw themselves into the place, which gave fresh spirits to the garrison. The next day the Maid of Orleans, at the head of a considerable party, made so desperate a sally upon the quarters of John of Luxembourg, the Burgundian general, that he was driven from his post. The fury of that enthusiastic leader carried her too far. Her retreat was cut off; and, after making the most desperate resistance, she was taken prisoner by the bastard of Vendome, who immediately delivered her up to the Burgundian general. The captivity of the Maid of Orleans was thought equal to a decisive victory. Te Deum was publicly sung at Paris, and the regent obtained from the duke of Burgundy the custody of that extraordinary woman. The garrison of Compeigne, however, continued to make a noble defence, till the siege was raised by a large detachment from Charles's army.

During these transactions, young Henry continued at Rouen; but it was now determined to perform the ceremony of his coronation. He accordingly repaired to Paris, attended by the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, and a splendid train of the nobility of both nations. Sunday, the seventeenth of December, was appointed for the ceremony, which was accordingly performed, with great magnificence, in the church of Notre Dame; where the cardinal of Winchester placed the crown on the head of Henry, and the nobility swore allegiance to him.

A. D. 1431. Though the conduct of the Maid of Orleans had been irreproachable, and she certainly was entitled to be treated as a prisoner of war, it was determined to try her as a sorceress and impostor. Religion was to be interested in this act of oppression. The bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese Joan was taken prisoner, demanded that she should be tried before an ecclesiastical court, affirming her guilty of heresy and magic. The university of Paris, a body destined for the instruction of mankind, meanly supported the absurd request of the prelate; and several clergymen



clergymen of rank, among whom was the cardinal of Winchester, were selected to pass sentence upon her. She appeared before the court in her military apparel, but loaded with irons. During four months they harassed her with captious questions, which she answered with wonderful art and intrepidity: she was not intimidated though before a tribunal of ecclesiastics, whose persons she had been always taught to revere. She boldly avowed the designs she had formed against the English; she told them, with an air of confidence, that it would not be long before they were driven out of France. Being interrogated about her pretended revelations, and whether she would submit to the judgment of the church with regard to their being real? she only answered, "That she was certain they came from heaven, to whose judgment she would leave the decision; determined not to give them up to any other authority, even though the church should declare them illusions." When asked, Why she assisted with a consecrated banner in her hand, at the coronation of Charles, "It is but just," said she, "that the person who had shared in the danger of the enterprise, should also partake of the glory." She, however, soon perceived she had gone too far, in refusing to submit to the decision of the church; she appealed to the pope; declared herself willing to recant; and acknowledged the illusion of those revelations which the church had rejected. In consequence of this recantation, her punishment was mitigated to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water.

But this sentence was not sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of Joan's enemies. Enough had indeed been done to convince both the French and the English, that the opinion of divine influence, which had so much encouraged the one and daunted the other, was wholly without foundation. Had they stopped here, their proceedings might have been vindicated upon political reasons; but her death was determined. Suspecting that the female dress, which she had since her sentence consented to wear, was not agreeable to her, they purposely placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel, and watched the effect of that temptation. The stratagem succeeded. Joan, at the sight of a dress in which she had acquired so much honour, and which she once believed the wore by the appointment of heaven, revived all her former enthusiastic notions: she ventured in her solitude to clothe herself again in the forbidden garment. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation: her fault was interpreted to be nothing less than a relapse into heresy: no recantation would now suffice, and no pardon could now be granted her. She was delivered over to the civil magistrate, on pretence of heresy and magic: this admirable heroine, the terror of the English, and the deliverer of France, was burnt alive in a slow fire, in the market-place of Rouen. Such was the end of the famous maid of Orleans, whose actions must excite surprize and admiration, whether they were owing to innate courage, or resulted from the effects of enthusiasm.

A. D. 1432. But the death of the maid of Orleans was far from restoring to the English the advantages they had lost. They were still unfortunate; and their affairs went every day more and more to decay. In this alarming crisis an event happened which gave a fatal blow to the hopes of the English. The dutchess of Bedford, sister to the duke of Burgundy, paid the debt of nature, and was buried in the church of the Celestines at Paris. This unfortunate event dissolved the close connection that had hitherto subsisted between her brother and the regent, and the marriage of the latter, about four months after her death, with Jaqueline of Luxemburg, occasioned a breach between them. The cardinal of Winchester mediated a reconciliation between these princes, and brought them both to St. Omers for that salutary purpose. But a point of honour rendered the whole abortive. The regent expected the first visit, as he had condescended to come into the

duke of Burgundy's territories, in order to have an interview with him. But Philip, proud of his great power, and independent dominions, refused to pay this compliment to the regent; and the two princes, unable to adjust the ceremonial, parted without seeing each other.

A. D. 1435. The duke of Burgundy had for some time seen his error, and began to repent of the wounds he had given to his country, and of the injury he had done to himself, by placing its crown upon the head of a foreigner. Time, reflection, and the public calamities, made an impression upon his heart, which was naturally disposed to generosity, and weakened that ardent desire of revenge, which had armed him against his sovereign. Charles disavowed the assassination of the duke's father; offered all the satisfaction and atonement that could be desired of him, and banished Tannegui du Chatel, the murderer of that prince, from his court. This proof of his desire to remove every difficulty which might oppose a reconciliation had the desired effect: a congress was appointed at Arras, under the mediation of the pope and the council of Basle. The French offered to cede Normandy and Guienne to the English, but on condition of doing homage to Charles, conformable to the ancient custom. This offer was rejected with disdain, and the English plenipotentiaries departed immediately from the congress. Nothing now remained but to discuss the pretensions of Charles and Philip; and this was soon performed, because the vassal was in a capacity of giving law to his sovereign. It was stipulated that Philip should receive reparations and acknowledgements for the murder of his father; that Charles should cede to him all the towns of Picardy situated between the Somme and the Low Countries, and several other territories, which, as well as the other territories in possession of Philip, should be held, during his life, without doing any homage, or swearing any fealty to the present king. At the same time Charles released his subjects from all obligations to allegiance if he ever infringed this treaty. So dishonourable were the conditions, by which France purchased the friendship of the duke of Burgundy.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, the duke of Bedford paid the debt of nature at Rouen. He was justly esteemed one of the greatest persons of the age; and it is difficult to say whether he shone most in the field or the cabinet, whether he was a greater general or politician, and whether he was most esteemed for his valour, his equity, or his moderation. About the same time Isabella, the widow of Charles VI. finished the period of her mortal existence. This monster of nature, who viewed with horror the progress and success of her own son, in recovering possession of his kingdom, may be considered as having expiated her crimes, if they could, indeed, be expiated, by the hatred of the French and the contempt of the English.

A. D. 1436. Though the death of the duke of Bedford greatly increased the misfortunes of the English in France, and gave Charles every advantage he could wish for extending his conquests, yet such parties were formed in the English council, that it was seven months before the commission of the duke of York, who was appointed regent of France, passed the seals. The French monarch wisely improved every moment, and made a rapid progress in establishing his authority, which he had nearly effected when the duke of York arrived. The capital had been some time reduced, so that the territories of the English now chiefly consisted of Guienne and Normandy. But Charles was unable to meet the English in the field; several places were taken, but no action of importance ensued. The French, grown wiser by experience, wisely avoided a general engagement.

The duke of Burgundy attempted to reduce Calais with an army of fifty thousand men, and made himself master of several small castles in the neighbourhood of that city. The Flemings, who were then



then much more famous for manufacture than war, vainly imagined that the appearance of their numerous army would be sufficient to intimidate the garrison, and that the gates would be opened at their approach. They were deceived. The garrison, instead of being intimidated, dreadfully harassed their camp, with successful sallies. In the mean time the duke of Gloucester, at the head of fifteen thousand men, landed at Calais, and sent a herald to the duke of Burgundy, offering him battle. Philip accepted his challenge; but his Flemings had so severely felt the effects of the valour of the English, that they could not be prevailed upon to meet them in the open field; they quitted their camp, and made a precipitate retreat. Philip, fearing that the garrison of Calais might take advantage of this confusion in his army, drew up his regular troops to secure his retreat, and retired in good order to Gravelines; leaving behind him all his baggage and artillery, which fell into the hands of the English.

Gloucester, determined to revenge the insult of the duke of Burgundy, led his army into Artois, and after laying the whole country waste with fire and sword, returned to Calais loaded with plunder. Nor was this all the loss the duke of Burgundy sustained; he was hardly returned to his own dominions before he had the mortification to see the maritime parts of his possessions in Flanders, ravaged by an English fleet; while he himself was in the utmost danger of losing his life in a sedition at Bruges, after seeing the French marshal, Lisle-Adam, almost torn in pieces by the fury of the populace.

The hostilities in France were now carried on by both parties in a very languid manner. Destitute of resources, of industry and of commerce, the two nations were drained by the expences of the war; and their troops were obliged to subsist by plundering and oppressing the country both of friends and enemies. Proposals of peace were often proposed, and as often rejected; both insisted on terms which could not be granted. At the same time both the English and French courts were filled with factions. The duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester, continually opposed each other, and the interest of the nation was sacrificed to their perpetual enmities. The dauphin of France headed a faction against his father. He was of a restless and ambitious disposition, and found means to bring over to his interest, the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, with the counts of Vendôme and Dunois. Charles perceived his danger, and was very desirous of procuring the release of the duke of Orleans, who had continued a prisoner in England ever since the battle of Agincourt, as the only person whose merit and rank could balance the credit of the dauphin's party. After a tedious negotiation, which was strenuously opposed by the duke of Gloucester, it was determined to set him at liberty on his paying a ransom of thirty-six thousand pounds of our present money, an immense sum in those days, and nearly equal to two thirds of all the extraordinary supplies granted by the parliament to support the war, during an interval of seven years. The duke of Burgundy displayed a noble instance of generosity on this occasion; he renounced his ancient resentments, and paid the ransom of a prince who had been long his enemy.

A.D. 1441. But the release of Orleans did not put a period to the divisions in the English council: nothing less than the destruction of Gloucester could satisfy the malice and ambition of the cardinal of Winchester. He was, however, unable to attack the duke in person, and therefore formed the most inhuman plot, infamous by its agents, and detestable by its motives. He caused his dutchess to be accused of witchcraft; and it was pretended, that a waxen image of the king was found in her possession, which she and her associates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Margaret Jordan of Eye, melted before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force

and vigour waste away by the like insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age. The dutchess was accordingly brought to trial with her confederates. The nature of the crime; so opposite to all common sense, seemed sufficiently to exempt the witnesses from observing common sense in their evidence. But this was of no consequence in a court, where it was determined to find the prisoners guilty. The dutchess was condemned to do public penance and to suffer perpetual imprisonment in Chester castle. These violent proceedings, however, produced not the intended effect. The people were persuaded that they were wholly owing to the malice of Gloucester's enemies, and acquitted the dutchess. They were even more attached to the duke than before.

A.D. 1444. The English council had for some time been engaged in a matter of very great importance, that of giving a queen to England. It was easily foreseen that this circumstance would be sufficient to decide for ever the victory between the two contending parties; and therefore both exerted their utmost influence to procure for the princess they favoured the honour of sharing the English throne. The duke of Gloucester warmly recommended the daughter of the count d'Armagnac; but had not influence sufficient to effectuate his purpose. The cardinal and his friends had cast their eyes upon Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, duke of Anjou and Lorraine. He was titular king of Sicily, Naples and Jerusalem, and descended from the count of Anjou, brother to Charles V. who had left these magnificent titles, but without any real power or possessions to his posterity. The princess herself was the most accomplished woman of her age, both in body and mind; and seemed to possess those qualities which would equally qualify her to acquire the ascendant over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. She was of a lively and daring spirit, great penetration, and uncommon resolution. Such was the princess designed as a consort to Henry, by the cardinal and his friends, and the earl of Suffolk was dispatched to the continent with proposals of marriage, which were accepted. Henry himself was so charmed with the description and merit of Margaret, sent over by the earl of Suffolk, that he empowered that nobleman to promise a cession of Anjou and Maine, at that time in the hands of the English, to Charles of Anjou, her uncle, then prime minister and favourite of the French king. Great opposition was, however, made in the English council to the ratification of this marriage treaty; the duke of Gloucester and his friends exerted all their influence to set it aside; but their efforts were in vain; the cardinal and his faction prevailed, and the contract was approved by the council. Suffolk was dignified with the title of marquis, and received thanks of the parliament for concluding the marriage.

A.D. 1445. The new queen had not been long in England, before she sufficiently indicated her intentions of being mistress of her husband's conduct as well as his affections. The opposition made by the duke of Gloucester to her marriage, had filled her mind with envy, and induced her to enter into a close correspondence with the cardinal and the marquis of Suffolk, who, strengthened by her friendship, and animated by their common hatred against the duke of Gloucester, resolved to effect the ruin of that patriotic nobleman. He was accordingly stripped of all his preferments, and even entirely removed from the council-board. But this unjustifiable method of proceeding raised such commotions in the nation, that the authors of his disgrace thought it absolutely necessary for their own safety, to colour over their base proceeding with a shew of justice.

A.D. 1447. They accordingly declared that they intended to impeach him before the parliament; but the duke was too great a favourite with the citizens



of London, for them to attempt the execution of their base designs in the capital. The members were summoned to meet at St. Edmundsbury, and the duke cited to appear. Conscious of his own innocence, the duke determined to appear, and accordingly was present at the opening of the parliament on the tenth of February. But the very next day, he was arrested, and put under a strong guard. The people were highly exasperated at this method of proceeding; but persuaded that the duke, on his trial, would sufficiently exculpate himself from every charge that could be exhibited against him, no tumult was excited in his favour.

His enemies, however, did not intend to bring him to a fair and open trial. The lords who were to sit as his judges took no pains to conceal their sentiments with regard to his innocence; they even threw out several intimations of their being determined to do strict justice upon his accusers, provided they were unable to prove the charge against him. This sufficiently intimidated the faction, and the duke was soon after found dead in his bed. It was, indeed, pretended, that his death was natural; and his body was accordingly exposed to public view, without exhibiting any marks of external injury; but no one doubted of his having fallen a sacrifice to the vengeance of his enemies. An artifice formerly practised on Edward II. and on Richard II. could deceive nobody.

Thus fell, by the treacherous hand of malice, Humphrey of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the most learned person of his age. He founded at Oxford one of the first public libraries in England, and was a generous patron to men of science, and able artists of every profession. His hearse was watered by the tears of the people. His enemies saw the grief of the people with terror, and thought it absolutely necessary to give some colour to their proceedings. Several of the duke's domestics were accordingly tried, and received sentence of death; but they were no sooner suspended, than they were cut down, and received their pardon.

The cardinal of Winchester did not, however, long triumph over the fall of Gloucester. He died about six weeks after him, in all the horrors of a guilty conscience. Happy would he now have thought himself, had he applied his mind more assiduously to provide for his passage into eternity, and not have embued his hands in the blood of the innocent. By the death of the cardinal, the queen, and her favourite, Suffolk, were deprived of the great support they derived from his experience, his birth, his riches, and his order; and left exposed to all the effects of the unpopular measures they afterwards pursued. The minister did not, however, immediately feel the resentment of an injured people. He, for some time, enjoyed his power; and the next sessions of parliament he was created duke of Suffolk.

A.D. 1448. During these domestic troubles in England, Charles was very assiduous in establishing the happiness of his people. The face of his kingdom was entirely changed. He restored the administration of public justice, regulated the finances, established discipline among his troops, encouraged commerce and agriculture, and made his subjects forget their former misfortunes. The kingdom was now in a condition to act with vigour in recovering those dominions which were still in the hands of the English; and an accident soon happened which gave Charles a pretence for re-commencing hostilities, which had been terminated by a truce.

The death of the duke of Gloucester seemed to offer a fair opportunity for ceding the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, pursuant to the marriage contract. But the English ministry still endeavoured to postpone the cession, as they well knew it must be attended with a popular clamour, which might probably shake their authority. At length, however, orders were sent to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, the capital of the county, to deliver that

city into the hands of Charles of Anjou. Surienne, who was a native of Arragon, and had served the English above twenty years, disputed the authenticity of the order, and absolutely refused to deliver up the place. The count de Dunois was therefore sent, at the head of a numerous body of troops, and a large train of artillery, to reduce it by force. Surienne made a noble defence, but was at last obliged to capitulate; by which the garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, were suffered to march out, with all their effects. They retired into Normandy; but being refused admittance into any of the fortified towns, and falling into great distress, Surienne led his troops into Britany, surprised the town of Fougères, repaired the fortifications of Pont Orson and Beuvron, and procured subsistence by extending his depredations over the whole province.

This breach of the truce, in which Britany had been included, induced the French monarch to demand satisfaction from the duke of Somerset, governor of Normandy. Somerset replied, that he was greatly concerned for these indefensible actions; but that the whole had been executed without his privity and consent; nor had he any authority over the troops that had committed the ravages of which he complained. Application was now made to the court of England, who disavowed the insult, and redress was promised for the injuries received. But the court of France, desirous of rendering an accommodation impracticable, estimated the damages at no less than one million six hundred thousand crowns. Charles was determined to take advantage of his present superiority over the English.

A.D. 1449. He accordingly declared war against Henry, and soon annexed Normandy to his dominions. The brave Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, indeed, supported his reputation and glory to the last. "He was" says father Orleans, "equal to an army." But the province was invaded in four different places, and Talbot had only an handful of forces under his command; so that nothing could be expected from that gallant officer, especially as the greater part of the garrisons consisted of Normans, who opened their gates to the enemy almost at the first summons. Guienne suffered the same fate; and that province, which had for three centuries formed a part of the dominions of the crown of England, was now reunited to that of France.

But more fatal misfortunes than those of losing Normandy and Guienne now threatened the English. The sword of civil war was ready to be drawn, in order to drench the fields with the blood of their owners. The duke of York, first prince of the blood, was descended, by his mother, from the house of Mortimer, which enjoyed an incontestible title to the crown of England, after the demise of Richard II. when the rights of sovereignty were usurped by the house of Lancaster. His personal merit was great, and he had contracted several powerful alliances. He had married the daughter of Nevil, earl of Westmorland, whose family was more potent than any other in the kingdom. The earl of Warwick was one of that family, a nobleman extremely popular, and so amazingly rich, that thirty thousand persons were constantly subsisted at his tables in his different manors and castles. His hospitality and munificence rendered his authority over his numerous partisans almost absolute. The duke of York, who had commanded with great applause in France, had lately been deprived of his commission, without any reason being assigned for so imprudent an exertion of power. On his return to England, some dark hints, with regard to the pretensions of his family to the crown, were dropped by his partisans, and had the desired effect. The virtues of the duke of York, and the great services he had performed for his country, were extolled to the skies.

The queen and Suffolk were alarmed at his increasing popularity; and a commotion having lately happened





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Wale del.*

*Gwynon sculp.*

*The Duke of Suffolk beheaded in a long Boat near Dover.*



happened in Ireland, it was thought proper to invest him with the title of lord-lieutenant, and send him into that island, as the only person capable of restoring tranquillity. York well knew the true reason for his being sent out of the kingdom, but made no difficulty of accepting the commission. His mild and gentle behaviour soon produced the desired effect; the Irish returned to their duty, without being compelled by force. They even became so strongly devoted to him and his family, that no misfortunes were able to shake their constancy.

A. D. 1450. The people, ever since the death of Gloucester, had detested Suffolk, as the assassin of that patriotic nobleman. He was hated by the great as prime minister, and the declared favourite of the queen; and as the poverty of the crown obliged him to have recourse to arbitrary measures, it was impossible for him to escape the machinations and resentment of so formidable a faction. The popular clamours arose to an amazing height; and Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, was murdered in a tumult excited by a patriotic leader of the multitude. In the agonies of death, the bishop charged Suffolk with being a traitor to his country. This charge increased the public discontent, and the House of Commons determined to impeach him.

Accordingly they accused the duke of high-treason. They ascribed to him the loss of the English dominions on the continent; and even insisted, that he had entered into a design to dethrone the king. The violence of faction had, however, carried the Commons too far; their accusation could not bear examination; it was supported by no evidence. A new charge of misdemeanors was therefore drawn up against him, chiefly regarding the perversions of authority, and, in all probability, founded entirely upon facts. Henry was now alarmed for his minister. He perceived that the Commons were determined to carry on the prosecution with the utmost vigour, and feared the upper house would declare him guilty. He therefore sent for all the lords, spiritual and temporal, to his apartment, produced Suffolk before them, and asked him what he could say in his own defence. He denied the charge, but submitted himself to the pleasure of the king, who banished him from the kingdom during five years.

But this sentence was far from satisfying the lords. They returned, in a very ill humour, to their house, and entered a strong protest against these proceedings. They declared, "That the sentence pronounced on the duke of Suffolk was not the result of their advice, but purely the king's own act, which should not at all infringe their privileges; and that if Suffolk had insisted on his right, and not submitted voluntarily to the king's pleasure, he was entitled to a trial by his peers."

The duke of Suffolk, who considered this temporary banishment as the only expedient that could save him from the fury of the people, prepared, with great alacrity, for his departure; flattering himself, that as he still enjoyed the queen's favour and confidence, he should be soon recalled. But his enemies were determined that his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes. They accordingly employed a captain of a ship to cruise off Dover, and intercept him in his passage to the continent. The captain, who had imbibed the common prejudices, performed his duty with great exactness. The duke was seized near Dover, his head struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea. No enquiry was made after the authors of this atrocious act of violence, though the court threatened to send an army into Kent, and lay the whole county waste, in revenge for the murder of Suffolk, perpetrated near that coast.

The duke of Somerset succeeded the late minister in all his power and credit with the queen; and as he was the person who commanded on the continent when the French provinces were lost, the public, who always judge by the event, soon

made him the object of their animosity and hatred. Somerset was now in the same dangerous situation experienced by Suffolk; and the parliament was no sooner broke up, than various commotions were excited in different parts of the kingdom. They were, indeed, soon quelled; but sufficiently indicated the disposition of the people, and proved a prelude to an insurrection of a more alarming nature, and which, for some time, threatened the nation with very dangerous consequences.

One John, or rather Jack Cade, a native of Ireland, having been outlawed for a rape and murder committed in Suffex, had taken sanctuary, and was forced to abjure the kingdom. He, however, soon after, returned into Kent, and observing the discontents of the people, determined to turn them to his own advantage. He took upon himself the name of John Mortimer, pretending that he was the son of Sir John Mortimer, who had been beheaded in the beginning of the present reign; and consequently a near relation of Richard duke of York, the person from whom the people hoped for redress of all their grievances. The very mention of that popular name was sufficient to procure him multitudes of followers, and Cade soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand men. The arch rebel perceiving that vast numbers daily flocked to his standard, advanced to Blackheath, giving out, that he was going to reform the government, and ease the people of that load of taxes, by which they had been so long oppressed.

The court, on receiving intelligence of this insurrection, sent a message to the insurgents, demanding the reason for their appearance in arms. Cade replied, that they had no design to offer the least violence to the person of the king; they only desired to present a petition to the parliament, that the ministers who oppressed the people might be removed from the royal presence. At the same time, he delivered to the deputies two papers, enumerating the grievances of the nation. Among other particulars, they prayed that the duke of Somerset might be punished, as the principal author of the loss of Normandy; that the king's council might be filled with the princes of the blood, and other prudent and judicious persons; and not with vicious and profligate men of bad principles and corrupt morals, from whom neither happiness nor tranquillity could be expected.

These remonstrances were, however, so far from producing the intended effect, that the ministry, thinking themselves highly insulted, determined to have recourse to violent methods for quelling the rebellion. An army of fifteen thousand disciplined forces, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, was sent against the insurgents. Cade artfully affected to be terrified at the general's approach, and retired, with the main body of the rebels, to Sevenoak; but left a strong detachment in ambuscade to intercept Stafford in his march. The royal army followed without observing the necessary cautions, and were so furiously attacked by Cade's concealed forces, that great numbers of them were cut to pieces, and the rest sought their safety in a precipitate flight. The general himself fell in the action.

Animated by this success, Cade returned to Blackheath, and again sent a remonstrance to the king and council, demanding, "That the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, should be recalled to court; that the murderers of the good duke of Gloucester, together with all those who had contributed to the loss of the English territories on the continent, should be brought to condign punishment." The government, alarmed at the late defeat of their forces, and knowing that the secret friends of the duke of York were on the point of declaring themselves, resolved, if possible, to purchase their safety by sacrificing some individuals to the fury of the populace. The lords Say and Cromer, who had rendered themselves very unpopular, were committed to the Tower; and the archbishop of Canterbury, and



and the duke of Buckingham, sent to treat with the insurgents. Cade received them with the utmost complaisance, but told them he was absolutely determined not to lay down his arms, till the king came in person and granted their requests. The effect of this conference was reported to the council, and the king, persuaded he had every thing to fear from the fury of the insurgents, set out, with his whole court, for Kenelworth castle.

Their retreat was no sooner known to Cade, than he marched directly towards the capital; where the citizens, alarmed at the success of the rebels, opened their gates, and Cade entered in triumph at the head of his forces. He had even the insolence to strike his sword against London-stone, crying out, "Now is Mortimer lord of London. He, however, maintained, for some time, great order and discipline among his followers. He always led them out at the approach of night into the fields, where they continued till the morning, when they again returned into the city. But being resolved, in order to gratify their malevolence against Say and Cromer, to put those ministers to death, he could no longer restrain their riotous dispositions. They plundered the houses of the more opulent citizens, and committed so many disorders, that the inhabitants perceived, there was a necessity for joining the regular troops, in order to prevent the destruction with which they were threatened. Accordingly when Cade marched out of the city in the evening, they seized the gates, and put the detachments that guarded them to death.

Cade and his followers, at their return in the morning, found the gate of the bridge shut and barricaded against them. They attempted, however, to force a passage. A battle ensued, and the contest continued till night, without either party gaining any remarkable advantage. The rebels were greatly disappointed at not being able to open themselves a passage into the city; and the ministry took advantage of their timidity. They drew up a general pardon for the insurgents, provided they would lay down their arms; and another for Cade in particular, on condition of his abandoning his rebellious projects. These pardons were issued under the great seal, and prudently published during the night in the camp of the insurgents. The effect was astonishing. The morning no sooner appeared than Cade found himself deserted by the greater part of his followers, and retreated to Rochester, where the rest dispersed, notwithstanding all his remonstrances and artful speeches, by which he endeavoured to persuade them, that the pardon they had received was of no effect, as it had not received the sanction of the parliament. Perceiving that all his arts were exerted in vain, he fled into the wolds of Sussex, with a few of his friends, who were determined to share his fate. A price was now set upon his head by the government, and he was slain by one Iden, a gentleman of Sussex, who sent his head to London. The duke of York was strongly suspected of having excited this insurrection, in order to make a trial of the sentiments of the people. He was still in Ireland, where his success had entitled him to the public esteem and confidence; but he now hastened to return to England, persuaded that his personal security depended upon the vigour of his measures; and the whole kingdom was immediately filled with his pretensions and rights.

A. D. 1451. Soon after his landing, he wrote a very submissive letter to the king, in which he pointed out the grievances of the nation, and offered his best services to reform the abuses that had crept into the government. The ministry perceived the duke's real intention; but their present situations obliged them to act cautiously; and it was resolved to return a civil answer. Accordingly the king, in a letter to the duke, told him, "That he had for some time been sensible of the necessity of reforming the government; and intended to nominate a council for that purpose, and of constituting the duke of York as their president." Adding, "that till this could be

effected, such precautions should be used that the duke of Somerset should be ready to take his trial whenever it was thought necessary." It was imagined by the ministry, that this remarkable condescension would deprive the duke of York of all pretensions for taking up arms; but they were mistaken; the offers were declared unsatisfactory by the duke's friends, and it was resolved to proceed in their scheme early in the ensuing spring.

This interesting contest engaged the attention of the whole kingdom. The people were divided in opinion with regard to the pretensions of the houses of Lancaster and York. Many plausible reasons were urged by the partisans of both parties. "Richard II. said the friends of Lancaster, was dethroned by an act of the nation; and Henry IV. was placed in the seat of power by the same authority. The right of succession was a rule admitted only for the general good, and could not be pleaded to the destruction of the national tranquillity. Two glorious reigns had consolidated the possession and rights of the reigning family, and the people were bound to allegiance by the numerous oaths of fealty they had taken. Even the duke of York himself, had renounced claims to which he might have been entitled, by having done homage to Henry, as his lawful sovereign. To what calamities, added they, would the nation be exposed, if disputes and revolutions, which must be attended with bloodshed, and all the violences of civil contention, were encouraged." It was urged on the contrary, by the partisans of the duke of York, "That the maintenance of order in the succession of princes, was the basis of public tranquillity; that the injustice committed by the violation of it, could not be too soon repaired; that the lapse of many ages was necessary to give avidity to a violent establishment; that both the deposition of Richard and the coronation of Henry IV. had been occasioned by a popular insurrection rather than by a deliberate act of the nation; that the lawful heirs of the crown had, indeed, submitted to necessity and force, but had never renounced their rights; and that a revolution destined to establish order, so far from proving ruinous to the state, would prevent similar disputes for the future." These arguments were continually repeated, and appeared weaker or stronger in proportion to the prejudice of the party. But they tended not to heal the animosities of the people; arms alone were sufficient to decide the important contest.

A. D. 1452. As soon as the spring was considerably advanced, the duke of York, who was then in Wales, had joined his friends, and entered England at the head of a formidable army. No acts of hostility were, however, committed; they marched peaceably forwards, and published a manifesto, declaring that their sole intent was to promote the good of the nation; to release the oppressed subject from a burden he was unable to bear: and to bring a corrupt administration to justice. These plausible reasons produced the desired effect. The people, who groaned under enormous taxes, gladly joined the duke's standards; he soon saw himself at the head of ten thousand men, and directed his march towards London, expecting to have met with no opposition from the royal army, but he was mistaken; the queen and Somerset had exerted all their power to raise a number of forces sufficient to meet the duke in the open field, and their attempts were successful. The king marched from London against him; but before the two armies met, York was informed of his danger, changed his route, and, by forced marches, reached the capital, before Henry knew that he intended to evade a battle. But the duke soon perceived that he had placed too much confidence in the promises of the Londoners; instead of receiving him with open arms, they shut their gates against him.

Henry no sooner received advice that the duke had passed by his army, than he returned with the utmost expedition towards the capital, while the duke of York



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Wells del.*

*Walker sculp.*

*JACK CADE. Declaring himself LORD of the City of LONDON*





York crossed the Thames at Kingston, and being joined by Thomas Courtney, earl of Devon, and the lord Cobham, he encamped on Bremheath near Dartford. The king followed him close, and, marching over London-bridge, encamped on Black-heath. The duke of Somerset, who attended the king on this occasion, and seems to have been an able politician, advised Henry to crush this rebellion in its bud, and not wait till it had gathered strength, and become formidable. He observed, that this was the time to attack the insurgents, who might be defeated with ease, and the nation freed from all future attempts of this kind, as the great superiority of the royal army almost insured a victory. But Henry was so impolitic as to neglect this prudent counsel. He listened to the advice of some timorous, perhaps treacherous noblemen, and had recourse to negotiation. This counsel was indeed better adapted to the pacific genius of Henry, and to that aversion he always entertained to spilling the blood of his subjects. Certain prelates and noblemen were sent to know the reasons for the duke's appearing in arms, and upon what terms he was willing to restore the tranquillity of the nation.

York, with the greatest appearance of respect and moderation, told the messengers, that the prosperity of his country was his sole intention; that he desired nothing more than to reform the government, by bringing to justice the duke of Somerset, and others of the council, who had trampled on the laws of the kingdom, and oppressed the people. He added, that he was willing to disband his forces, and throw himself at Henry's feet, if the persons he had mentioned were taken into custody, and brought to answer the charge he was ready to exhibit against them in parliament. Henry made no difficulty of complying; Somerset was put under arrest, and the duke of York by this condescension, deprived of all excuses for keeping up a body of forces. He saw his error, but determined to keep his word. Accordingly, he dismissed his army, and repaired to court without arms, and without a passport. When he came into the royal presence, he openly avowed the cause of his taking up arms, and insisted that the duke of Somerset should be immediately brought to trial; when to his great astonishment, that minister came from a private closet in the presence-chamber, and bitterly reviled him for his treasonable practices. A virulent contention ensued, and a torrent of the most indecent invectives were poured out, without the least regard to the presence of the sovereign.

Somerset insisted on putting the duke of York to death immediately; but the more dispassionate members of the council, fearful of carrying matters to such extremities, would not permit that any violence should be offered to his person. Any attempt of that kind would, indeed, in all probability, have been attended with very disagreeable consequences to the government. The duke was accordingly dismissed, after making a formal submission to the king, and acknowledging, upon oath, his title to the crown.

A. D. 1453. But Somerset did not long enjoy his triumph over the duke of York. The bad success of an enterprize which had been taken against Guienne, and in which the brave Talbot, the glory of the English arms, perished; together with the birth of a son to Henry, which cut off all the duke's hopes of succeeding to the crown, without the effusion of human blood, served, once more, to kindle the flame of civil discord, and increase the activity and zeal of the partisans of the house of York. But it was thought necessary to conceal their intentions under the mask of submission, as the candour of his late conduct in disbanding his forces, and the oath he had taken to the king, had lulled the court into a perfect security. The king had for some time been afflicted with a dangerous disease, which had occasioned the meeting of parliament to be postponed several times. The secret friends of the duke of York were determined not to lose so favourable an opportunity

of procuring that nobleman his seat in the council, from which he had been unjustly excluded. They accordingly insinuated to the queen and Somerset, that when the present dispositions of the people were considered, there was very little reason to expect that the parliament would be very ready to comply with their desires; on the contrary, it was sufficiently apparent, that, conformable to the wishes of the nation, that assembly would appoint a new ministry. They added, that the only sure method of preventing that misfortune would be to admit into the council, the duke of York, the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and some other popular noblemen, in order to convince the public, that they had no intention of making their own wills the sole rule of government. This advice appeared so plausible to the queen and her favourite, who dreaded the effects of a parliament censure, that they readily embraced the proposal, and these noblemen took their seat at the council-board before the meeting of the parliament.

A. D. 1454. The minister soon felt the effects of his complaisance. The Yorkists had no sooner gained admittance into the council, than their credit superseded that of their adversaries. The proceedings of government were changed; they renewed the prosecution against Somerset, and even ventured to arrest him in the queen's presence, and to send him prisoner to the Tower. The council was now entirely governed by the duke of York, and the king still continuing in a state incapable of holding the reins of government, it was thought necessary to appoint the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom; with powers to hold the ensuing session of parliament in the king's name. This title was soon after changed into that of protector, by the parliament.

A. D. 1454. But York did not long enjoy this plenitude of power. Henry recovered from his late indisposition; and the duke's commission was superseded; Somerset was released from his confinement, restored to his former power in the administration; and, in conjunction with the queen, directed all the affairs of government. The duke of York had now every thing to fear, and after concerting measures proper to be pursued in this alarming conjuncture, retired into Wales in order to raise a body of forces. He well knew that the proceedings of the council in releasing Somerset, without bringing him before the parliament, would be considered as a sufficient reason for renewing his pretences to reform the government. He was not deceived. The popular clamour against the minister was soon as loud as before; and the people flocked from all parts to his standard, so that he soon found himself at the head of three thousand men.

Thinking himself now sufficiently powerful to resist any force the king could bring into the field against him, he marched directly to London, hoping to surprise Henry in the capital. But he was deceived in his expectations. The king, at his approach, marched out to meet the insurgents, though his army consisted of no more than two thousand men. Richard, without advancing any pretensions to the crown, demanded only a reformation of government. This request was denied, and a battle was fought at St. Albans between the two parties, in which the Yorkists were victorious. The duke of Somerset, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, with many knights and gentlemen of eminence, and above eight hundred common soldiers were killed on the spot. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with the greatest respect and tenderness. This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel which subsisted thirty years; which was signalized by twelve pitched battles; and which gave occasion to the most cruel and sanguinary excesses. No less than eighty princes of the blood fell in these dreadful contests, and the ancient nobility of England were almost entirely annihilated.

A. D. 1455. Affairs did not, however, immediately proceed to the last extremities: Margaret of Anjou supported



supported, in some measure, the tottering throne; and the nation was kept in suspense by the irresolute temper of the duke of York. The parliament, which met soon after the battle of St. Albans, granted to the Yorkists a general indemnity, restored the protectorship to the duke, but, at the same time, they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry. The queen did not behold the success of the duke of York with idle resignation. Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, the son of him who fell at St. Albans, glowed with impatience to revenge the death of his father. Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was equally enflamed in a desire of vengeance for the loss of his son, who perished in the same contest; and all the princes and nobles, allied or attached to the house of Lancaster, determined to exert all their endeavours to pluck the duke of York from the seat of power.

Richard, regardless of this opposition, lived in such apparent security, as astonished his enemies. Persuaded that an attempt to wrest the sceptre from a family who had held it near sixty years, would be attended with the utmost difficulty, and, perhaps, prove abortive, after deluging the kingdom with the blood of its inhabitants; he resolved to wait for some favourable opportunity for asserting his rights, and seizing the crown to which he had an indisputable title. His great care was to acquire the love of the people, without which he knew all his efforts must be ineffectual. Desirous of convincing them that his conduct was not influenced by passion or interest, he paid the utmost attention to the affairs of the royal family: he established the household of the prince of Wales, and settled on him a decent maintenance; and, at the same time, left the king and queen at liberty to act as they thought proper. He was persuaded it was not in their power to divest him of the dignity of protector, because his patent could not be revoked without the consent of parliament. But the queen was of too active and enterprising a spirit to be diverted from her purpose by such slender obstacles.

A.D. 1456. On the meeting of the parliament, Henry, who had now, in some measure, recovered his former health, came to the house, and declared from the throne his resolution to re-assume the reins of government; and desired the duke of York's patent might be annulled. No opposition was made to the king's declaration: Henry was declared to be reinstated in his sovereign authority, and Richard's patent was revoked. Had Margaret been satisfied with this success, she might, perhaps, have enjoyed her authority for some time without disturbance; but elated with this favourable turn of fortune, she resolved to secure her future tranquillity by arresting the persons of York, Salisbury, and Warwick.

A.D. 1457. In order to effect this dangerous undertaking with more security, the court removed to Coventry; and letters, under the privy-seal, were dispatched to those three noblemen, commanding them to attend the king on affairs of importance. They made no scruple to obey the order; but when they were within a few miles of Coventry, they received intelligence from their friends, that designs were formed against their liberties and lives. They immediately separated themselves. Richard withdrew to his castle of Wigmore, in Herefordshire; Salisbury to Middleham, in Yorkshire; and Warwick to his government of Calais, which had been conferred on him after the battle of St. Albans. This treacherous attempt destroyed all remains of confidence; and an unusual degree of animosity took place between the partisans of the houses of York and Lancaster. But still the archbishop of Canterbury, and other persons of peaceable dispositions, hoped it was not yet too late to interpose their good offices for bringing about a reconciliation between the two parties, and prevent the dreadful consequences of a civil war, which otherwise appeared inevitable. For some time, all offers were rejected; but at last their labours seemed to promise

a happy termination to these alarming dissensions; and it was agreed that all the great leaders of both parties should meet at London, in order to effect a solemn reconciliation.

A.D. 1458. But their appearance resembled the meeting of two numerous armies, rather than that of the chief nobility of the same kingdom. They seemed to be followed by the greater part of the inhabitants. The duke of York and his partisans took up their quarters near each other for mutual security. The same precaution was observed by the chiefs of the other party; and the mayor of London, at the head of five thousand men, patrolled the streets, to keep the peace between them. At length an apparent reconciliation was effected; but the terms upon which it was founded took not away the ground of difference. This agreement was, however, notified to the public by a solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral, where the duke of York led queen Margaret, and a chief of one party walked hand in hand with a chief of the opposite; exhibiting every appearance of a cordial reconciliation and undisguised confidence. But, unfortunately for the peace of the nation, there was very little sincerity on either side. Instead of labouring sincerely in the great ends of union; instead of taking their places at the council-board, to which they were now entitled, the confederated lords suddenly retired to the places where their interest was most considerable; the duke of York to the borders of Wales; the earl of Salisbury to the north; and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais.

A.D. 1459. The peace was, however, observed; but in such a manner, that it was sufficiently evident the least accident would revive the flames of civil discord. This was too soon effected. The earl of Warwick having returned to London to justify his conduct with regard to some ships he had taken in the channel, a fray happened between one of his servants and a domestic belonging to the queen; in which the latter, who was the aggressor, was desperately wounded. The companions of each party took part in the quarrel; the streets of London were filled with blood and confusion; the attorney-general was killed in the commotion, and the earl himself narrowly escaped. Both parties, in every county in England, now openly made preparations for deciding the contest by the sword.

Armies were raised in different parts of the kingdom; and it was expected, that when the respective forces of each party were joined, the dispute would be determined by a general engagement. The earl of Salisbury having raised a number of troops, was marching to join the duke of York; but was overtaken on Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by lord Audley, at the head of a much superior body of forces. The river Stow, a small stream, but of considerable depth, ran between the two armies, and its banks were lined with lord Audley's troops. Salisbury well knew that his forces were not able to engage those of the enemy in the open field, and had recourse to stratagem. He ordered a detachment of his best archers to advance briskly to the banks of the river, and pour a shower of arrows upon the royalists. This being effected, he founded a retreat, and his forces retired with the appearance of precipitate confusion. This produced the desired effect. The royalists were deceived; and thinking the Yorkists were flying before them, began to pass the stream with great precipitation; but when part of the royal army had passed the brook, Salisbury suddenly turned upon them; and partly by surprise, and partly by the division of the enemy's forces, totally routed them. The rest of the army were seized with a panic, fled in the utmost disorder, and Salisbury obtained a complete victory. Lord Audley himself, and several of his principal officers, fell in the action.

Encouraged by his success, York joined Salisbury at Ludlow, and openly declared his pretensions to the



crown. He was soon after joined by the earl of Warwick; at the head of a body of veterans from Calais. The queen, and all the nobility in the interest of the house of Lancaster, were now convinced of the necessity of exerting their whole power to prevent the Yorkists from wresting the sceptre from Henry's hand; and an army, superior in numbers to that of the insurgents, was soon ready to take the field. The Yorkists were encamped near Ludlow; and the royalists advanced immediately to Worcester, where they halted. Henry, in order to prevent the effusion of human blood, sent Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, with an offer of pardon to the rebels, if they would lay down their arms. But his proposals were refused, and both parties prepared to decide their quarrel by the sword.

But the night preceding the intended engagement, the Calais veterans, who had hitherto imagined they were going to rescue the king from the hands of a wicked ministry, perceived their mistake. They found that the contest was to wrest the sceptre from the hand of Henry, whom they considered as their lawful sovereign, and therefore deserted to the royal army. This defection so intimidated the Yorkists, that they separated the next day, without making the least disposition for a battle. The duke of York fled to Ireland; the earls of Marche, Salisbury, and Warwick, into Devonshire, where Sir John Denham provided them with ships, which carried them over to Calais. The parliament meeting soon after at Coventry, an act of attainder was passed against the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and their principal adherents; who were all declared traitors, their estates forfeited, and their heirs disinherited.

A. D. 1460. There now remained no hopes of accommodation; every thing wore the aspect of war and desolation. Warwick, who was greatly beloved both by the soldiers and seamen, was very successful in his cruises; and having received invitations from his partisans, he landed in Kent, with the earls of Salisbury and Marche, at the head of fifteen hundred men. He was soon joined by the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord Cobham, and marched directly to London, amidst the acclamations of the people. The city gates were immediately thrown open; and his troops continually increasing, he soon found himself in a condition of facing the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. The two armies met at Northampton, and a furious battle ensued. For some time, the victory continued doubtful; but the lord Gréy of Ruthin, who commanded the vanguard of the royal forces, deserting to the enemy in the heat of the engagement, the whole army was filled with consternation, and Warwick obtained a complete victory. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Egremont and Beaumont, Sir William Lucy, and several other persons of distinction, were among the slain. Henry himself, that empty shadow of a king, was again taken prisoner, but used with great tenderness and respect, the innocence and simplicity of his manners having procured him the highest regard of the people. He bore this change of condition with the utmost fortitude and resignation. Perhaps his natural imbecillity rendered him equally insensible of good or bad fortune.

Henry was conducted to London; and soon after his arrival, a parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster the beginning of October. The duke of York arrived from Ireland three days after the opening of the session. He repaired immediately to the House of Lords, and advanced towards the throne; but was stopped by the archbishop of Canterbury, who asked him if he had yet paid his respects to the king? York was confounded at this question, and for some time continued silent; but at last replied, That he knew of no person to whom he owed that title. This sudden declaration alarmed the assembly; and Richard standing near the throne,

complained to the house of the various calamities his family had suffered since the deposition of Richard II. enumerated the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved their way to the seat of power; insisted on the miseries which had attended the government of Henry; and exhorted them to do justice to the lineal successor. This regard to law and liberty was very unusual in times of violence and licentious tumult. The assembly were struck with so uncommon a precedent; and examined, with the utmost calmness and tranquillity, the duke's pretensions. At last they pronounced a decision, calculated; as far as possible, to please both parties. They declared, that the duke's title was indefeasible; but as Henry had now enjoyed the crown thirty-eight years without any opposition being made to his title; they determined that he should continue to possess both the title and dignity during his life; but that the administration of the government should, in the mean time, remain with Richard, who should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy, and succeed to the crown immediately on the decease of Henry: that every one should swear to maintain his succession: that it should be high-treason to attempt his life; and that all former acts for settling the succession of the crown, during the two last reigns, should be repealed.

This act was passed by the unanimous consent of the whole legislative body; and the accommodation celebrated by a solemn procession to St. Paul's, at which Henry, and both houses of parliament, assisted. The king himself appeared not to be the least affected with this sudden revolution in his affairs. Satisfied with the present tranquillity he was permitted to enjoy, he devoted his whole time to exercises of devotion, and committed entirely the care of the administration to those who acted under the sanction of his name and authority.

Very different were the sentiments of queen Margaret. She was a woman superior to her sex, whom no dangers could intimidate, and who was capable of the utmost efforts of heroism. She had taken refuge in Scotland with the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and was now exerting all her talents to bring the northern counties of England over to her interest. The duke of York was soon apprised of the impending storm, and trembled for the consequences. A summons was sent her to repair immediately to London, in order to put a stop to her enterprizes, or of procuring a pretence for banishing her from the kingdom. No regard was paid to the mandate; but advice was soon received, that she was advancing towards the capital at the head of twenty thousand men. Richard had only five thousand, but marched as the head of this little army to stop the progress of the queen; while his son, the earl of Marche, repaired to the borders of Wales, in order to raise a more considerable body of forces, and join his father. The queen determined not to lose the opportunity of attacking Richard before his army was increased by the additional forces of his son. She therefore quickened her march; and the duke of York, conscious of his being unable to meet, in the open field, an army so superior in numbers, threw himself into Sandal-castle, situated in the neighbourhood of Wakefield.

Margaret advanced to the gates of the fortress, and used every method in her power to provoke the duke to a battle. For some time, all her arts were vain; but she at last effected by stratagem what could not be done by any other method. She marched, at the head of the main body of her army, towards the capital, leaving only a small detachment in the neighbourhood of the castle. But during the night, she separated her army into two divisions, and placed them in ambush on the sides of Wakefield-green. On the queen's departure, York drew out his forces, and determined to give the enemy battle; but he had hardly drawn them up in order of battle, before he was attacked, both in flank and rear, by the two  
bodies



bodies placed in ambush for that purpose. He now perceived his error, but it was too late to retrieve it, and resolved to sell his life as dear as possible. His courage was changed into despair. He attacked the enemy with the utmost fury; and his followers catching the enthusiastic valour of their leader, pursued his track of slaughter in a firm, compacted body. The contest did not last above half an hour, but that short interval of time was crowded with destruction. Above two thousand eight hundred of the duke's army were cut in pieces, and he himself fell in the action. His son, the duke of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, whose exterior figure, as well as other accomplishments, are represented by historians as extremely amiable, was murdered in cold blood by lord Clifford. The earl of Salisbury was wounded and taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded, with several other persons of distinction, by martial law, at Pomfret. The body of the duke of York being found among the slain, his head was cut off by lord Clifford, and sent to Margaret, who caused it to be fixed on the walls of York, encircled with a paper crown, in derision of his title.

Thus perished, in the fiftieth year of his age, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, a prince endowed with many great and amiable qualities, and who surely merited a better fate. He lost his life by adhering to principles which render him an object of our esteem. Had he followed the ferocious practice of the times, and founded his throne on the blood of his enemies, he might, in all probability, have enjoyed the English sceptre, notwithstanding all the efforts of the house of Lancaster. He left behind him three sons, Edward, George, and Richard; and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

A.D. 1461. The queen was too much elated by her late victory. Instead of keeping her whole force together to act against the enemy, she separated her army into two divisions; sending one of them, under the command of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, against Edward, now duke of York, who was raising forces on the borders of Wales; while she herself marched with the other division towards the capital, where the earl of Warwick was left to command the Yorkists. As soon as Edward had finished his levies, he began his march towards London, in order to join the earl of Warwick, and retaliate on Margaret the cruelty his friends had suffered. He was met by the earl of Pembroke at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, where a battle ensued; but Pembroke's army being far inferior to that of Edward, they were soon routed, and above four thousand men fell in the action. He himself escaped by flight; but his father, Sir Edward Tudor, was taken prisoner, and, with several other persons of distinction, put to death with the utmost brutality. These illegal and horrid executions were afterwards an hundred times repeated by the leaders of both parties; so atrocious and sanguinary are civil commotions!

This defeat was soon after compensated by Margaret, who was then leading her victorious forces towards London. Warwick, apprised of her approach, advanced as far as St. Albans to meet her; and a battle ensued upon Barnard-heath. For some time, the Yorkists had the advantage; but lord Lovelace, who commanded a considerable division of the army, treacherously withdrawing from the combat, victory declared for Margaret. About two thousand five hundred Yorkists were slain in the contest, and the

person of the king himself fell again into the hands of his own party. Lord Bonneville and Sir Thomas Kiriell, to whose care the king had been intrusted, continued with him after the defeat of the army, relying on the royal promise of protection. But Margaret paid no regard to the assurances given by Henry: she caused both their heads to be struck off by the hand of the executioner.

The duke of York still continued his march towards the capital, and was soon after joined by the earl of Warwick, at the head of the remainder of his forces. Margaret, who thought it imprudent to remain in the neighbourhood of London, retired into the north, where she hoped to increase her army to so formidable a number, as would insure success against all opposition. Edward, therefore, continued his march, and was received by the citizens as their guardian angel. He was, indeed, formed to attract the love of the people. His external figure was beautiful beyond description; his constitution active and hardy; his judgment quick and penetrating; and his abilities as a soldier surpassed by none of his age. But his failings unhappily obscured the lovely dawn that ushered in the morning of his youth. He was cruelly vindictive: the laurels he gained in the field were stained by the streams of noble blood with which he deluged both the field and the scaffold. More resolute than his father, and more certain of the attachment of the people, whom he had entirely gained over by his popular manners, he determined to assume the title and dignity of king; persuaded that all the misfortunes of his family were owing to their timidity in not supporting their claim to the crown with the necessary firmness and intrepidity.

But notwithstanding his plausible title, it was necessary to obtain a national consent, or at least something that had the appearance of it. Time would not permit the assembling of a parliament, which might also be attended with other inconveniences; a less regular method therefore was chosen. The army was ordered to assemble in the fields near Clerkenwell, whither an infinite crowd of people resorted. In the midst of this multitude, an harangue was pronounced, displaying the title of Edward, and inveighing against the usurpation and tyranny of the Lancaster family. After which, the people were asked, whether they were still desirous that Henry of Lancaster should continue to hold the sceptre of England? The whole multitude exclaimed against the proposal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, duke of York, for their king? The answer was a loud and general exclamation of applause. The experiment having thus far happily succeeded, a great council was called at Barnard's-castle, where the popular election was confirmed, and the new king was proclaimed on the fifth of March, in the streets of London and Westminster, by the name of Edward IV.

This transaction finished the reign of Henry VI. a prince who had been long the sport of fortune, though he enjoyed the crown even in his cradle. But he was not formed for governing a ferocious people. In less violent times, when the laws were more respected; he might, perhaps, have swayed the English sceptre with applause. His virtues rendered his person respectable, but they were not sufficient to support him against the powerful attacks of insatiable ambition.









*Engraved for Sydney's History of England:*



## E D W A R D IV.

A.D. 1461. **T**HE very commencement of Edward's reign was marked with blood! A tradesman in the city, whose shop was known by the sign of the crown, having told his son, in a jocular manner, that he would make him "heir to the crown," the expression was construed as a sarcasm upon Edward's title, and the shopkeeper suffered death for his pleasantry. But this was only the beginning of those sanguinary actions which almost destroyed the nobility of England, and laid great part of the country waste. Every district of the kingdom was filled with the two implacable factions distinguished by the white and red roses; the former being the badge of the house of York, and the latter of that of Lancaster; and Edward was too much disposed to confirm his authority by cruel executions. Margaret, who was a stranger to fear, and who considered her repeated defeats as the most powerful motives for new attempts, exerted all her abilities to recruit her army, and engage the usurper of her husband's throne. She had already rendered herself extremely popular in the northern counties, and soon found herself at the head of sixty thousand disciplined forces.

Edward was alarmed at her success, and hastened, with an army of forty thousand men, to check her progress. He was accompanied by the earl of Warwick, and continued his march, with the utmost expedition, till he reached Pontefract, in Yorkshire. Lord Fitzwalter was now detached with a body of troops, to take possession of Ferrybridge, a pass over the river Aire, and then of the utmost importance. Fitzwalter executed his commission with success, and took post on the north side of the stream. The royal army was commanded by the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford; all of them famous for their military abilities, and unshaken friends to the Lancaster family. The king and queen, with their young son the prince of Wales, retired to York, in expectation of an event which must finally decide the contest for the English throne.

The surprisal of Ferrybridge was considered as an event of the utmost importance; and it was determined, if possible, to drive the enemy from that advantageous post. Accordingly lord Clifford was sent, at the head of a party, during the night; and reaching the post before break of day, he fell so unexpectedly upon the enemy's detachment, that the greater part of them were cut to pieces, the pass was recovered, and Fitzwalter himself slain in the action.

This loss greatly affected the spirits of the Yorkists; an incident the more alarming, as a decisive engagement was every hour expected. The earl of Warwick perceived the danger; and ordering his horse to be brought, he stabbed him with his sword in presence of the whole army; and kissing the hilt of the weapon, he swore to share the fate of the meanest soldier, and either conquer or perish. At the same time, a proclamation was issued, by which every person who pleased was at full liberty to retire; but the whole army declared, they would gain the victory, or fall with their leaders. Animated by this resolution, lord Fauconbridge undertook to recover the pass in possession of lord Clifford. Accordingly he passed the Aire at Cailleford, three miles above the place; and marched with such secrecy and expedition, that Clifford was surprised, his detachment routed, and he himself found among the slain.

Edward now led his troops against the enemy; and the two armies met at Tooton, where a bloody battle ensued. While the Yorkists were advancing to the

charge, there happened a heavy fall of snow, which being driven by a brisk wind in the faces of the Lancastrians, prevented them from knowing, with any degree of exactness, the distance of the enemy. Lord Fauconbridge, who led the van of Edward's army, improved this advantage. He ordered his men to advance as near as possible; and after discharging a flight of arrows on the enemy, to retire with the utmost expedition to their former post. This stratagem produced the desired effect. The Lancastrians perceiving, by the force of the arrows, that the enemy was very near, emptied their quivers by repeated discharges, without producing any great effect; and then advanced, sword in hand, to decide the dreadful contest. The Yorkists, who had kept their arrows, poured in so dreadful a discharge, that the advanced line fell back on the main body. The earl of Northumberland perceiving the disadvantage of his forces, pressed forward, and the battle soon became very obstinate and bloody. The dreadful contest continued ten hours with unremitting fury, and without any perceivable advantage on either side. The field was covered with dead, and the groans of the wounded augmented the horrors of the battle. Towards evening, the Lancastrians began to give ground, and retreat in good order towards Tadcaster bridge. Animated with the appearance of the victory, the Yorkists redoubled their efforts, and attacked the enemy with so much fury, that they were unable to support the charge. Their ranks, which they had hitherto maintained with surprising firmness, were broken, and a precipitate flight ensued. Edward had issued orders to give no quarter, so that the carnage was shocking to humanity. Above thirty-six thousand persons perished that day by the swords of their countrymen. Among these were the earl of Westmorland, and his brother Sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonshire, who had lately espoused the cause of Henry, was taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded at York. Henry, his queen, and the young prince, escaped into Scotland; but the intestine divisions which then prevailed in that kingdom prevented their receiving any effectual assistance.

Edward thought it unnecessary to pursue the fugitive family. He returned to London, and summoned a parliament, which met at Westminster on the fourth of November. No difficulty was made against acknowledging Edward's title to the crown; they even declared, that he was properly possessed of the throne from the moment he assumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They reversed several acts passed in the late reigns, particularly the attainders of the earls of Cambridge, Salisbury, and Gloucester, and that of lord Lumley. They also passed an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry, queen Margaret, their infant son prince Edward, and their principal partisans. Such, in these ferocious times, was too often the fortune of princes!

A.D. 1462. But Edward was not contented with the dreadful sacrifice that had been already made to his safety: he thought it necessary that others, tho' they had never appeared in arms against him, should feel the weight of his power. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, a nobleman venerable for his years, and venerable for his virtues, together with his son Aubrey de Vere, were tried by martial law, for a pretended correspondence with Margaret, and beheaded



on Tower-hill. Sir Thomas Tudenham, Sir William Tyrrel, Sir Baldwin Fulford, and John Montgomery, suffered the same fate. Edward distributed the estates of these victims to his ambition, among his own adherents. Nor did he neglect the opportunity of cultivating the esteem of the clergy. He confirmed their privileges, exempted them from being prosecuted in civil courts for felony, and other offences: indulgences which could not fail of engaging that powerful body of men in his interest.

While Edward was employed in establishing his throne, Margaret was soliciting the court of France for assistance to replace Henry in the seat of power. Lewis XI. who had lately succeeded his father, was sufficiently inclined to feed the flames of civil discord among such dangerous neighbours, by giving assistance to the weaker party: but having formed the project of humbling his own nobility, he was not in a capacity of furnishing Margaret with a sufficient number of troops to effect the intended purpose. He, however, sent a small body of forces, under the command of Varenne, seneschal of Normandy, who landed in Northumberland, and made himself master of Alnwick-castle.

A.D. 1463. As nothing could be expected from this handful of men, Margaret passed over to France, in order to solicit, in person, a more powerful assistance. She even offered to deliver up Calais, on condition of receiving an army sufficient to drive Edward from the throne. The duke of Brittany supplied her with twelve thousand crowns, and Lewis with two thousand men at arms. With this inconsiderable force Margaret landed at Bamburgh, in Yorkshire, and found means to take possession of that castle; but on receiving advice that Edward was advancing against her, at the head of a numerous army, she retired into Scotland. Edward soon reduced the castles of Bamburgh and Alnwick; and seeing no enemy in the field to oppose him, he returned to London.

But Margaret was not idle. She exerted herself with so much success in Scotland, that she raised a numerous army, who followed her standard chiefly for the sake of plunder. She entered Northumberland about the latter end of April, and for some time was extremely fortunate. She surprised the castle of Bamburgh; and being joined by the duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Percy, with their followers, she took a considerable number of places in that part of the country. The first check she met with was from lord Montague, who routed a detachment of her forces on Hedgley Moor, where Sir Ralph Percy, their leader, was slain. Elated with this success, Montague determined to give battle to Margaret's army, without staying for the reinforcements he expected from Edward, who was marching to the northward at the head of a powerful army. Montague accordingly advanced against the queen's forces, encamped on a plain near Hexham. He made a furious attack during the night, and was received with equal intrepidity. But after several unsuccessful attempts, he forced the trenches, and put the Lancastrians to flight. The duke of Somerset, the lords Hungerford, Rofs, and Moleyns, Sir Thomas Hufsey, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Sir John Findcarn, were taken prisoners, and their heads struck off by martial law. Edward's policy led him to exterminate his enemies. He sought to establish, by their blood, a throne he had procured by violence, and which was therefore unsteady and insecure. Henry being well mounted, fled into Lancashire, where he continued concealed for a twelvemonth, but was at last discovered, and committed to the Tower. His imbecillity was so great, that no attempt was made against his life.

Margaret, with her infant son, fled into an adjacent forest, where the splendor of her attire soon betrayed her into the hands of robbers, who stripped her of her rings and jewels. Fortunately for her,

the richness of the booty occasioned a quarrel among them; and while they were thus engaged with one another, Margaret and her son made their escape into the thickest part of the forest, where they wandered for some time, spent with hunger and fatigue, and oppressed with terror and affliction. In this wretched condition, the queen perceived another robber approaching with a naked sword in his hand. There was now no possibility of effecting an escape, and she trembled for the life of her son. But happily recollecting, that he might possibly be one of those persons who had been unfortunately proscribed for adhering to the interest of her husband, she approached the robber with an air of majestic confidence, and presenting to him the young prince, called out, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of the king's son." Struck with awe at the name of his prince, and penetrated with compassion at beholding persons of the highest rank reduced to such melancholy distress, the robber, who was not wholly lost to humanity and virtue, vowed to devote himself to her safety and protection. He accordingly conducted her out of the forest, to a village by the sea-side, whence she soon after escaped to Flanders.

Edward had now no enemy to fear. He had set his foot upon the neck of opposition. The parliament had confirmed his title, and he was in quiet possession of the throne. He therefore applied himself to acquire a general popularity. He lived with his subjects in the most familiar manner. He attended less to the cares of royalty, than to the dissipation of amusements and the allurements of passion. He became the general patron among the men, and the general lover among the ladies. Even foreign princes courted his alliance; and several matches worthy of him were proposed, particularly Margaret, daughter to the king of Scotland; Isabella, sister to Henry IV. of Castile; and Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and sister to the queen of France. The last was chosen, and the earl of Warwick was sent to demand the princess in marriage. But while the earl was labouring to promote at once the glory of his master and the advantage of his country, an event happened which rendered his negotiation abortive, and for ever alienated his affections from his sovereign.

Edward being at a hunting-match in Wychwood-forest, took the opportunity of paying a visit to the dutchess of Bedford, who then resided at Grafton-mansion, near Stony Stratford. The dutchess, soon after her husband's death, had married Sir Richard Wideville, a private gentleman, to whom she bore several children, particularly Elizabeth, remarkable at once for the grace and beauty of her person, and her mental accomplishments. This amiable lady had married Sir John Gray of Groby, by whom she had several children; but her husband having embraced the Lancastrian party, and falling at the second battle of St. Albans, his estate was forfeited to the crown; and his widow had returned to her father's seat, where she lived in privacy and retirement. The presence of the king was thought a favourable opportunity for the beautiful widow to obtain some grace from the young monarch, who was so greatly celebrated for his condescension and gallantry, especially to those of her sex. She accordingly threw herself at the king's feet, and, with a flood of tears, implored his pity on her distressed family.

Struck with the charms of the beautiful widow, love, under the guise of compassion, stole into the heart of the amorous monarch. He raised her from the ground with the assurance of favour. The elegant conversation of the amiable object every moment increased his passion; and Edward, in his turn, became a suppliant at the feet of Elizabeth. Her virtue, however, withstood all the efforts of his address. This behaviour augmented his passion, and he offered to share his throne with the object of his affections.



affections. The marriage was secretly performed at Grafton-manor, and every precaution taken to prevent so important a secret from being known.

During these transactions, Warwick had laboured so assiduously in conducting his negotiation; that nothing remained but the ratification of the treaty, and the bringing over the princess to England. Edward's marriage could not be long concealed; and the intelligence at last reached the ears of Warwick, who immediately broke off his negotiation, and returned to England glowing with resentment and indignation at this insult offered to his honour. The king's marriage was now publicly declared, and she was crowned at Westminster-abbey on the twenty-sixth of May. Edward took no pains to regain the friendship of Warwick, to whom he was indebted for his crown: on the contrary, he took methods which tended directly to widen the breach between them. He lavished a profusion of honours and estates on the family of his queen. Her father was created earl of Rivers, and made high constable of England. Her brother, John Wideville, was married to the daughter and heiress of lord Scales, to whose honours and estates he succeeded; and all her friends and relations were raised and enobled by the royal favour. This partiality excited an uncommon degree of jealousy among the nobility, especially as Edward had obtained from parliament a general resumption of all the grants which had been made since his accession to the throne.

A. D. 1465. Warwick saw the discontents of the nobles with a secret satisfaction, and plainly perceived that he should be soon in a condition to make Edward feel the weight of his resentment. In the mean time, he obtained permission to retire to his castle of Warwick, where he practised by the arts of popular patriotism usual with persons discontented with the measures of the court. Edward knew the cause of his sequestering himself from the affairs of government, and took the most prudent methods for rendering any attempt, that might be made by that ambitious nobleman, abortive. He concluded a treaty of alliance with Philip, duke of Burgundy, a descendant of the house of Lancaster, but who made no scruple of sacrificing to his political ambition the interest of that unfortunate and oppressed family. The duke of Brittany also entered into an alliance with him, and the king of Scotland prolonged the truce for forty years. He was equally successful in obtaining supplies from his parliament; they granted him subsidies with a liberality unknown in any former reign. The Commons also passed a bill of attainder against the small remains of the Lancastrian party; and by these forfeited estates the king was enabled to gratify his friends; but his favours were chiefly bestowed on the queen's family. That princess now procured her sister Catherine to be married to the young duke of Buckingham, a minor, and a ward of the crown. William Herbert having espoused Mary, another of her sisters, was created lord Dunster, and afterwards earl of Huntingdon: and Anne, a third sister, married a son and heir of Gray, lord Ruthyn, who was now honoured with the title of earl of Kent.

Warwick and his friends saw this profusion of favours lavished on the Wideville family with secret indignation; and were joined by a multitude of discontented nobles; among whom was the duke of Clarence, Edward's brother. Warwick, however, still preserved the external marks of submission to Edward, but redoubled his attention to increase his popularity. His house was always open, his tables always spread for every one who chose to partake of his hospitality; and hence he became a greater favourite with the people than ever.

A. D. 1469. The duke of Clarence, already disgusted by the measures of the court, now contracted an intimate connection with Warwick, by marrying his eldest daughter, Isabella, by which he obtained a very noble settlement; and the earl retired

to his government of Calais, under pretence of celebrating the nuptials. The spirit of faction now threatened the kingdom with all the horrors of civil discord; but the same spirit which threw the nation into confusion; so biased the pens of the historians of those times, that it is impossible to trace the causes of the various insurrections; some imputing the whole to the intrigues of Warwick; while others assert, that by his assistance they were suppressed. But however that be, the first insurrection was excited in the north, headed by one Robert Hillyard; generally called Robin of Ryddesdale; but the insurgents were soon routed, and their leader executed. The malecontents were, however; rather animated than discouraged by the ill success of their first attempt. They again assembled in more formidable numbers; and were joined by lord Fitz Hugh, and Henry Neville; son to the lord Latimer. But as both these noblemen were totally ignorant of military affairs, the command was given to Sir John Conyers, an officer of great reputation and experience. Their first intention was to make themselves masters of the city of York; but being disappointed in procuring a sufficient train of artillery, they resolved to direct their march towards the capital; and openly declared, "That they were marching to deliver their lawful sovereign, king Henry, from his confinement, and re-place him on the throne of his ancestors."

Alarmed at the progress of the rebels, and the continual augmentation of their numbers, Edward issued orders to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the earl of Rivers, to assemble an army in Norfolk, and the adjacent counties. He also wrote to his friend the earl of Pembroke, commanding him to assemble the Welsh, and cross the country immediately, in order to intercept the march of the rebels from the north.

Pembroke soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men, and marched with great expedition against the insurgents, who were then in the neighbourhood of Northampton. In his route he was joined by the earl of Devonshire, at the head of a considerable body of archers. As soon as the two armies came in sight of each other, Pembroke detached all his cavalry, under the command of his brother, Sir Richard Herbert; with orders to observe the position of the enemy, and, if he thought it practicable, to attack their rear. Sir Richard executed his orders; but perceived that such wise precautions had been taken by the leader of the insurgents, that an attack must be attended with the utmost disadvantage. The fiery spirit of the Welsh could not, however, be restrained by prudential reasons: they fell upon the rear of the enemy, and were repulsed with considerable slaughter.

During these transactions, the earl of Warwick arrived from Calais; and the rebels, flattering themselves with being powerfully assisted by that popular nobleman, changed their route. Instead of pursuing the road to London, they directed their march towards Warwick-castle. Pembroke, impatient of revenge, followed the rebels with such expedition, that he came up with them near Banbury, and the two armies encamped near each other. During the night, a trivial difference about quarters arising between the earls of Pembroke and Devonshire, the latter retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter the rebels. This desertion filled the insurgents with hopes of obtaining a complete victory; and Sir Henry Neville, one of their leaders, having charged the royalists at too great a distance from the main body, was surrounded, and taken prisoner. This misfortune checked the ardour of the rebels, and they returned to their camp. But Pembroke having, without any form of trial, put the noble prisoner to death, they were exasperated to a degree bordering on madness. They attacked the Welsh army with a fury that was irresistible, put them to the sword without mercy; and having taken Pembroke and his brother prisoners, caused them both



both to be immediately beheaded, Elated with their late success, they detached a party to Grafton-manor, seized the earl of Rivers and his son John, and struck off their heads in the market-place of Northampton. But they committed no farther disorders. Contented with having destroyed the most obnoxious of Edward's ministers, they dispersed, and returned quietly to their own habitations. Persuaded all these misfortunes were owing to the desertion of the earl of Devonshire, the king caused that nobleman to be executed in the like summary manner. All the laws of humanity were sacrificed to passion and resentment.

A. D. 1470. The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick now engaged in open rebellion; but their measures were so ill concerted, that they were obliged to fly to the court of France for protection. Lewis XI. one of the most politic princes of his age, now undertook to reconcile Warwick with queen Margaret, who then resided at Angers. Perhaps no two persons ever entertained a greater animosity against each other than Warwick and Margaret. His father had been executed by the orders of the queen. He himself had twice reduced Henry to captivity, had banished Margaret, and put her most zealous friends and partisans to death. He had been the scourge of the house of Lancaster. But all these difficulties Lewis found means to remove. They were both highly exasperated against Edward, and their common interest formed an union between them. It was determined to re-establish Henry on the throne. At the same time, it was agreed, that Warwick and the duke of Clarence should direct the administration of the government during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son; that prince Edward should marry the lady Anne, second daughter of that nobleman; and that in case of failure of male issue in the prince, the crown should descend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of king Edward and his posterity.

Edward, intoxicated with the love of pleasure, and too vain of his own power, neglected to take the necessary measures for breaking the force of the storm that was gathering round him. He received authentic intelligence of this extraordinary treaty from the duke of Burgundy, who had fitted out a large fleet to intercept Warwick in his passage; but he availed himself not of the discovery. He was even so confident of rendering the attempt abortive, that he declared, the duke might have saved himself the trouble of guarding the seas, as he wished for nothing more than to see Warwick landed in England. It was not long before that nobleman appeared. He landed at Dartmouth about the middle of September, and immediately declared for king Henry. The name of Warwick, so dear to the English, his immense credit, and the turbulent disposition of the English, drew to his standard, in a few days, an army of sixty thousand men.

So unexpected a defection of the English alarmed Edward. He saw his folly when it was too late to prevent the consequences. He was then with his army in the north, and employed in quelling an insurrection raised in Yorkshire by the lord Fitz Hugh, who had married one of the sisters of the earl of Warwick. But on receiving advice of the success of that popular nobleman, he immediately altered his route, and directed his march towards London with great expedition. Warwick, determined, if possible, to engage Edward before he reached the capital, advanced across the country, and came up with the royal army in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. The marquis of Montague, the brother of Warwick, had raised an army of six thousand men, and was following Edward, in order, as it was imagined, to reinforce the royal army. But the king had no sooner halted, on account of the approach of Warwick, than the marquis fell upon the rear of the royal army, during the night, with the utmost fury, and the air resounded with the cry of "God save

king Henry!" The king, alarmed at the noise, started from his bed, and was soon convinced that it was the cry of war, generally used by the Lancastrian party. Lord Hastings hastened into his apartment, and informed him of his danger; urging him to make his escape from an army where he appeared to have so many concealed enemies, and so few zealously attached to his service. He had hardly time to get on horseback, before the enemy attacked his quarters. A few minutes would have determined the fate of Edward. He fled with the utmost precipitation, attended with a small retinue, to Lynn in Norfolk, where he fortunately found some Dutch ships ready for the sea, and sailed immediately. But his danger did not terminate with his embarkation. A fleet of ships belonging to the Easterlings, who were then at war both with France and England, were hovering on the Norfolk coast, and gave chase to the king's vessels; and it was with the utmost difficulty that they escaped into the port of Alcmæer, in Holland.

Warwick had now no enemy to oppose him. In no longer a space of time than eleven days from his landing, he was left entire master of the kingdom. He immediately directed his march towards London, delivered Henry VI. from the Tower, re-placed him on the throne, and proclaimed him king with the utmost solemnity. The most considerable partisans of the York family either sought protection beyond the seas, or took shelter in sanctuaries where the ecclesiastical privileges afforded them shelter from the insults of their enemies. It is computed, that in London alone, no less than two thousand persons saved themselves in this manner; and among the rest, Edward's queen, who went privately by water from the Tower to Westminster-abbey, in order to avoid the violence of the citizens, who now appeared as extravagantly zealous for Henry as ever they had been for Edward. The earl of Worcester, constable of England, fell into the hands of the Lancastrians, and was soon afterwards beheaded. He was the first nobleman in England who distinguished himself by his love for letters, and who laboured assiduously to propagate genuine learning among his unpolished countrymen.

A parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster; and as no exertions of liberty could be expected in this assembly, their proceedings were entirely directed by the ruling party. The treaty with Margaret was here fully ratified. Henry was acknowledged king; but as his incapacity for government was universally acknowledged, the regency was entrusted to Warwick and Clarence, till prince Edward reached the age of majority; and in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown. Edward was declared a traitor to his country, and an usurper of the throne. Even the paternal estate of the York family was declared to be forfeited. All his friends were attainted; particularly the duke of Gloucester, his younger brother. The attainders of the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Pembroke, Oxford, Richmond, and Ormond, were reversed; and all who had suffered for adhering to Henry were restored to their honours and estates.

Clarence and Warwick now assumed the government in Henry's name, and disposed of all posts, both civil and military. The judges, sheriffs, and coroners, were changed in every part of the kingdom. The archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, was appointed chancellor, and the duke of Clarence lord lieutenant of Ireland. At the same time, the paternal estate of the York family was settled upon him. The marquis of Montague was restored to his favourite post of warden of the east marches of Scotland, and a long truce was concluded with France.

Edward, when he landed at Alcmæer, was kindly received by De Bruges, governor of Holland, under the duke of Burgundy. But that prince was greatly perplexed with regard to the measures most proper for



for him to pursue in this unexpected revolution. He was fearful of plunging himself into a war with England, by giving the unfortunate exile an asylum in his dominions; and he was already attacked by Lewis XI. who had made himself master of Amiens and St. Quintin. He therefore sent his secretary, Philip de Comines, to Calais to discover the intentions of Vaulere the governor, with regard to his future conduct. He found the governor, the garrison, and all the inhabitants of the town, dressed in Warwick's livery, which they had assumed on the first news of that nobleman's success, and was assured that the earl was sending over four thousand men to begin hostilities in the duke's dominions, who, as the protector of Edward, had been declared the enemy of England. Philip, though alarmed at this intimation, told the governor that his master's treaty, which was made with the kingdom as well as the king of England, was still in force: and that the duke of Burgundy conceived himself bound to observe the articles, the change of the king's name from Edward to Henry making no difference. These arguments would, however, have had little weight with the English government, had they not been supported by the merchants of London and Calais, who had then great influence on the affairs of the nation, and who were afraid of losing the principal part of their commerce with the duke of Burgundy. At their instances therefore the earl of Warwick put a stop to all hostilities, and it was agreed that the treaty should continue in force; and the duke, on his part, promised to give no assistance to Edward. But this covenant was very ill observed; for though he refused to supply him openly, he equipped four large vessels in the name of some private merchants, and caused fourteen ships to be secretly hired of the Easterlings. This small squadron, together with a considerable sum of money, he delivered to Edward, who immediately sailed for England, with his small retinue and a body of two thousand men. On his departure the duke issued a proclamation, forbidding all his subjects to give him any assistance on pain of death.

A. D. 1471. Edward reached the coast of Norfolk on the twelfth of May, and sent Sir Robert Chamberlain and Sir Gilbert Debenham on shore, to discover the sentiments of the people with regard to his interest; but they soon perceived that the great vigilance of the earl of Oxford had rendered it very unsafe for them to land in that country. It was, therefore, resolved to stand farther to the northward; but a storm arising in the night, they were obliged to continue at sea till the fourteenth, when they landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Edward was soon convinced that the policy of the earl of Warwick with regard to changing the magistrates was very detrimental to his interest, and that it would be necessary for him to have recourse to art and dissimulation to effect his purpose. He pretended, and even made an oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but to recover his paternal estates, which had been unjustly taken from him by the parliament.

This political dissimulation produced the desired effect upon the minds of the people. Compassion supplied the place of affection; numbers, deceived by his humble pretensions, flocked to his standard, and the nobility were very willing to receive him as a fellow-subject, though not as a king. He marched directly for the capital of the county where he landed, and found the inhabitants universally disposed to assist him in recovering the estates he enjoyed from his ancestors, though not in the recovery of his crown. It was, therefore, thought necessary to give them every satisfaction in his power with regard to his pretensions; and he scrupled not to take a solemn oath in the cathedral, never to renew his claim to the crown; to govern the city in a kind and courteous manner; and to be a true and faithful subject to king Henry.

But Edward never intended to observe his oath any longer than it tended to promote his own interest.

His army was now considerably increased, and it was determined to march towards the capital where Edward had many powerful friends. Warwick had assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Leicester, and advanced to give his enemy battle; but Edward by following another road passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London. The city ladies became powerful advocates in behalf of the gallant Edward; while his creditors, knowing that they had no other chance for the recovery of their debts, than by re-placing him in the seat of power, joined their instances in his favour, and Edward entered the city in triumph, while Henry, destined to be the sport of fortune, was again committed to the Tower. He was now in a condition to oppose his enemies, and being informed that the earl of Warwick was marching to give him battle, he advanced to meet him, and the two armies came in sight of each other in the neighbourhood of Barnet. Margaret was every day expected with a considerable reinforcement of foreign troops, and all her friends held themselves in readiness to join her standard. But Warwick, who was determined either to gain the whole honour of the victory or perish in the attempt, waited not for Margaret's arrival. The night before the engagement, the duke of Clarence, who had secretly entered into engagements with his brother, deserted to the king, and carried with him twelve thousand men.

Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat, and rejected with disdain the terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence. He told them, "that he had rather be consistent with himself, than to follow the example of a perfidious duke; and that he was determined either to gain the victory or lose his life." This defection of Clarence greatly affected the spirits of Warwick's soldiers; and had the earl not been so near the enemy he would, in all probability, have declined a battle, and waited the arrival of Margaret; but he was now several days march from a place of safety; and to have attempted a retreat in the face of an army superior in numbers to his own, would have been certain ruin; nor would his intrepid soul, a stranger to fear, suffer him to turn his back upon the enemy.

Early in the morning of the fourteenth of April, both armies were drawn out in order of battle. Edward's van-guard was commanded by the duke of Gloucester; the main body by himself; and the rear by lord Hastings. The right wing of Warwick's army was commanded by the marquess of Montague and the earl of Oxford; the left by Warwick himself assisted by the duke of Exeter; and a strong body of archers posted in the center by the duke of Somerset.

Never was victory contended for with more obstinacy; nor ever were leaders more determined to conquer or perish. The battle began at four in the morning, and the troops of Warwick, though inferior to those of Edward in number, charged the enemy with such impetuosity, that the earl of Oxford's division broke the main body of Edward's army; but pursuing the fugitives with too sanguine an eagerness, left their main body defenceless. Edward saw the mistake, and attacked the weakened part of Warwick's division at the head of a body of reserve. Oxford soon saw his error, and wheeled about to recover his former station; but unfortunately his men, who wore stars for their badges, returning from the pursuit and passing near the duke of Exeter's division, the latter mistook their stars for suns, the badge which distinguished Edward's soldiers, and charged them so furiously, that they drove them off the field before the mistake was discovered. This gave the forces of Edward's routed wing an opportunity of rallying. The battle was now no longer equal; the late unfortunate accident had occasioned a suspicion of treachery. They, however, defended themselves with the utmost bravery, and, in all probability, would have put a final period to Edward's



reign, could the unfortunate accident have been retrieved. But that was impossible. Warwick in vain exerted all his efforts to support his forces, now borne down by the weight of numbers. He perceived the battle was irretrievably lost, and disdaining life when victory was gone, he rushed into the middle of Edward's ranks, and fell covered with wounds. His brother, the marquis of Montague, followed his example, and perished by his side. Their deaths completed the route of their army; and as Edward had issued orders to give no quarter, a dreadful carnage ensued. About two thousand fell on the side of the conquerors, and three thousand on the side of the vanquished. The duke of Somerset and the earl of Oxford fled into Wales, and joined the earl of Pembroke, who was raising troops for Warwick's army.

The day after the fatal battle of Barnet, Margaret with her son the prince of Wales, landed at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, attended by the countess of Warwick, the prior of St. John of Jerusalem, the lord Wenlock, and several other persons of distinction, at the head of a considerable body of French troops. The queen had hardly time to repose herself after the fatigue of a very tempestuous passage, before she received the fatal intelligence of the defeat and death of Warwick, and the captivity of her husband. The soul of Margaret, hitherto a stranger to fear, could not support the shock. Her courage and magnanimity gave way to grief and despair. She retired to the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire, and registered herself, her son, and her followers, as persons claiming sanctuary in that religious retirement. But her spirits were soon raised from the abyss of terror into which the weight of her misfortunes had plunged them, by the appearance of the duke of Somerset, the earl of Devonshire, the viscount Beaumont, Sir Thomas Fulford, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Thomas Seymour, and many other persons of distinction, who, on the first news of her landing, set out at the head of their vassals and dependents to offer her all the assistance in their power, and to declare their resolution of spending their lives and fortunes in her defence.

This instance of affection encouraged Margaret to make one final attempt for the recovery of her throne. She left her sanctuary, and putting herself at the head of her foreign forces, began her march through the counties of Devon and Somerset, where her army was every day considerably increased by the continual acquisition of new partisans. On the twenty-ninth of April the queen reached Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, where she proposed to halt and refresh her wearied troops after their long and fatiguing march; and then proceed to the borders of Wales in order to join the earl of Pembroke, who had raised a considerable body of archers. But the activity of Edward prevented this junction. He no sooner received advice of the queen's landing, than he set out at the head of his army to give the Lancastrians battle, before their whole strength was consolidated: and after a very painful and fatiguing march, encamped, on the third of May, within three miles of the enemy. Astonished at the approach of Edward's army, a council was immediately held in the queen's camp, where it was resolved to pass the Severn, in order to join Pembroke's forces; but the city of Gloucester refusing to open her gates, it was considered as impracticable to cross the river in their present situation without exposing their rear to inevitable ruin. It was therefore determined, to intrench the army in a part adjacent to the town of Tewkesbury, where the troops would be flanked on both sides with hollow ways, ditches, hedges, and broken ground, and the rear defended by the town and abbey; while a strong entrenchment was to be thrown up in the front of the army. Could this resolution have been completely executed, the queen's camp would have been impregnable; but the activity of Edward prevented them from effecting their design; he determined to

attack them the next day, before their fortifications could be completed. The Lancastrians had, however, used such expedition, that Edward owed his success to stratagem.

He drew up his army in two lines, the first of which was commanded by his brother the duke of Gloucester, while he himself, assisted by the duke of Clarence and lord Hastings, led the other. The Lancastrian army was formed into three lines; the first was commanded by the duke of Somerset and his brother lord Beaufort; the second by the prince of Wales, assisted by lord Wenlock; and the third by the earl of Devonshire. The duke of Gloucester began the attack with the utmost fury; but Somerset's division, who guarded the front of the entrenchment, received them with such intrepidity, that they were repulsed with considerable slaughter; and had Somerset been as remarkable for prudence as he was for valour, Edward, in all probability, would have been obliged to abandon the attempt. But Gloucester, pursuant to the orders he had received from his brother, perceiving the intrenchments were not to be forced, pretended to retire in confusion. The stratagem succeeded; Somerset, whose disposition was naturally impetuous, led his division through the defiles of the intrenchment, leaving orders for the second and third lines to support him, and attacked the Yorkists in the open field with the utmost fury. A dreadful contest ensued, and continued without any perceptible advantage on either side, till a detachment of two hundred horse from Edward's army, attacked the Lancastrians in flank, and threw them into disorder. Somerset was now obliged to fall back through the defiles to his former station, which he should not have quitted; but was followed so closely by Gloucester's division, that the greater part of his troops were cut to pieces. Amazed at not being supported, the duke threw his eyes around the camp, and perceived lord Wenlock standing coolly at the head of his division. Somerset construed this into an act of treachery, and riding up to him with the utmost fury, clove the head of that nobleman with his battle-axe.

The duke of Gloucester had pursued his advantage with so much prudence, that his whole division was now within the intrenchments, and was soon followed by Edward, at the head of the second line. Confusion now reigned in every part of the queen's camp. The whole army betook themselves to a precipitate flight after a faint resistance, and Edward gained one of the most complete victories recorded in history; scarce a person of any note in the queen's army escaping either death or captivity. Among the slain were the earl of Devonshire, lord Beaufort, Sir John Delves, Sir Edward Hamden, Sir Edward Whittingham, and Sir John Luckner. The duke of Somerset, the grand prior of St. John, and about twenty gentlemen of rank and fortune, took sanctuary in the abbey-church. But Edward paid no regard to ecclesiastical privileges: he sent a detachment of his forces, who dragged them from their asylum, and put them immediately to death, according to the barbarous policy of that relentless monarch. Margaret of Anjou and her son had also taken sanctuary in another religious structure, and were dragged from thence by Edward's soldiers. The queen was sent to the Tower, where she continued four years in close confinement, when she was released by Lewis XI. who generously paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom. She retired to France, where she passed the remainder of her days in privacy and retirement; after having astonished the world by a courage and resolution, which would have done more honour to her sex, had she also been endowed with its softness and other amiable qualities.

But a more melancholy fate attended the young prince her son. He was brought into the presence of Edward, who asked him, in an insulting manner, "How he dared to invade his dominions?" The noble youth, forgetting his present situation, replied, with



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*The DUKE of SOMERSET Killing  
Lord Wenlock.*





with an unseasonable vivacity, "That he came to recover his father's crown, and to claim his just inheritance." Stung with this intrepid answer, the ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck the young prince on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and lord Hastings, considering the blow as a signal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, where they dispatched him with their daggers.

Henry himself survived the battle of Tewkesbury only a few days. That unfortunate prince, whose innocence and melancholy imbecillity might have defended him from the attempts of violence, fell a victim to the misfortune of being born to a crown. He is said to have fallen by the unrelenting hand of the bloody duke of Gloucester. His body was exposed to public view, in order to persuade the people that his death was natural. But this precaution produced a very contrary effect, by recalling many similar instances in the English history, and suggesting a comparison not at all favourable to the government.

The earl of Pembroke, convinced that the fatal battle of Tewkesbury had put a final period to the hopes of the Lancastrian family, fled into Brittany, carrying with him his nephew, the young earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. The only partisan that now remained was the bastard of Fauconbridge, who took the advantage of Edward's absence to attempt the recovery of the capital. He had been honoured with a vice-admiral's commission by the earl of Warwick, and appointed to guard the channel; but having been stripped of his employment on the death of that nobleman, he withdrew with the ships under his command, and for some time subsisted by piracy. The landing of Margaret induced him to assist that princess in recovering the English sceptre; and being joined by three hundred men from the garrison of Calais, he landed with his forces at Sandwich, and was admitted into Canterbury by the magistrates. Vast numbers flocked to his standard; and he marched immediately for London, at the head of seventeen thousand men. He entered Southwark without opposition; and had not the news of Edward's victory at Tewkesbury arrived in the critical moment, he had been master of the capital. But the citizens, encouraged by the hopes of effectual assistance from their victorious monarch, shut their gates against the insurgents. They made, however, a desperate attempt to carry the bridge by storm; but being repulsed with great slaughter, they deserted their leader, who was soon after taken prisoner, and executed, according to the summary manner of those ferocious times.

Edward had now no competitor for the throne, nor any enemy to fear. A parliament was summoned, which, like the other assemblies of that kind during the civil wars, ratified all the acts of the victor, recognized his title, and again attainted the whole Lancastrian party. But prosperity was of more pernicious consequence to Edward than adversity. He had sufficient firmness to support all the evils of the latter, but he could not resist the allurements of the former. He devoted himself to amusements, and was far more attentive to fill his coffers than to remove the complaints and grievances of his subjects. His familiar manners, and pleasing address, rendered him, however, extremely popular, notwithstanding the cruelties he had exercised on his enemies. The melancholy ideas of destruction were absorbed in the gay scenes of pleasure and dissipation.

A. D. 1474. But the desire of foreign conquests, which had so nobly emblazoned the reigns of his predecessors, at length roused Edward from the couch of voluptuousness. A treaty of alliance was concluded with Charles duke of Burgundy; by which it was stipulated, that Edward should cross the seas with an army of above ten thousand men; and that Charles should join him with all his forces, in order to invade the territories of Lewis: that Edward should challenge the crown of France; and that the

sword of war should not be sheathed till he had obtained the provinces of Guienne and Normandy: That Champagne, and several other territories, should be procured for the duke; and that all his dominions should be freed from the burden of homage to the crown of France. It was added, that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other. The English parliament, always ready to assist their sovereign in any attempt to humble France, granted him a large subsidy; and every precaution was taken to render the success of this expedition as brilliant as those that attended the attempts of his predecessors.

A. D. 1475. Edward, attended by the principal nobility of England, landed at Calais, at the head of thirty thousand archers, and prepared to carry his conquests into the very heart of France. But the sanguine hopes of the English were greatly lessened, when the duke of Burgundy joined them with only his common equipages. That prince, transported by the violence of his temper, had led his army to the frontiers of Germany, where they were employed against the duke of Lorraine, and other princes of the Empire. Edward was greatly disgusted at this breach of the treaty, and determined to take every advantage that offered for promoting his own interest. Lewis XI. a prince who disdained all military glory, and who, dreading the events of war, regulated all his proceedings by a policy, which the more certainly answered his purpose, as he was not over scrupulous in adhering to his engagements. Money was the great hinge on which his politics turned. He made very advantageous offers to Edward; and a treaty was concluded at Pecquigni, near Amiens, by which it was stipulated, "That Lewis should pay seventy-five thousand crowns, to indemnify Edward for the expences of the expedition; that he should also pay him annually the sum of fifty thousand crowns during their joint lives; that the dauphin of France should marry Elizabeth, Edward's daughter, and settle on her sixty thousand livres a year as her jointure; and that neither party should encourage civil wars in the other's dominions, but, on the contrary, assist in suppressing the insurrections of their subjects." At the same time, Lewis gained over the English ministers to his interest, by settling pensions on them to the amount of sixteen thousand crowns a year. Lord Hastings had two thousand; lord Howard, and others, had nearly the same proportion: nor were these great ministers ashamed to receive wages from a foreign prince. The two monarchs had afterwards an interview on the bridge of Pecquigni, where mutual professions of friendship passed between them; and the English had free access into the city of Amiens, where Lewis resided. But though the French king testified the utmost confidence in Edward, he, at the same time, artfully eluded the proposal of his making a journey to Paris. "Edward," said he privately to Comines, "is very handsome, and very amorous. Some lady at Paris may invite him to return in a less civil manner: it is better the sea should be between us." But notwithstanding the profound dissimulation of Lewis, he could not forbear throwing out some raileries on the easy simplicity of Edward, in allowing himself to be disarmed by money; but perceiving he was overheard by a Gascon who had settled in England, he was immediately sensible of his blunder. He sent a message to the gentleman, and engaged him to remain in France. "It is but just" said he, "that I pay the penalty of my talkativeness."

A. D. 1476. Edward being thus disengaged from foreign wars, applied himself to the administration of justice, and the pursuit of such measures as tended to fill his own coffers. The disbanning of the army lately returned from France, had filled the whole country with robbers; no person could travel without the utmost danger of losing his life or effects. Determined to remove this grievance, the king made a circuit, with his judges, through the kingdom, and exerted



exerted himself with such vigour and impartiality in the distribution of justice, that he restored the public peace, and freed the roads from those gangs of banditti, by whom they were so lately infested. But Edward knew that these proceedings, however popular and necessary, would not be sufficient to procure him any subsidies from the parliament. The leading men of the nation were too highly offended by the miscarriage of the late expedition, from which they had formed such sanguine expectations, to think of granting any farther supplies. Recourse was therefore had by Edward to other methods for accumulating treasure. He engaged in commerce, which he carried on, with great advantage, as a private merchant. He sold the profits of vacant bishopricks. He demanded fines for the restitution of temporalities. He ransacked old records to find defective titles, and obliged the proprietors to pay large sums for their confirmation; and he imposed exorbitant taxes upon the clergy. These methods, assiduously pursued, brought very large sums into his treasury, and saved him the mortification of a refusal from his parliament.

A.D. 1477. The duke of Clarence, who had so greatly contributed to the restoration of Edward by his desertion from Warwick, could never regain the friendship of his brother; the levity and violence of his temper rendered him always suspected. Richard, duke of Gloucester, a close, reserved, and deliberate prince, was still a greater enemy to Clarence than the king. Gloucester had already formed the bloody design of seizing the crown on the death of Edward, whose health was daily declining by his excessive debauchery. He therefore became an enemy to Clarence from principle, because he stood before him in the order of succession. A combination between such potent adversaries could not fail of destroying Clarence; and it was determined to begin by attacking his friends, not doubting but his passion would betray him into measures which would give them sufficient advantage over him. The king hunting one day in the park of Burdet of Arrow, in Warwickshire, killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of its owner; and Burdet, transported with rage, wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised Edward to commit that insult upon him. This pardonable expression of resentment was considered as a capital crime in a friend to the duke of Clarence, and he was publicly beheaded at Tyburn for this pretended offence. The next that fell a sacrifice to their resentment against Clarence, was John Stacy, an ecclesiastic; who being better acquainted with mathematics and astronomy than most men of that age, was considered by the vulgar as a magician, and his friendship with Clarence rendered him obnoxious to the court. He was tried for that imaginary crime, and put to death for his learning. The ignorance of the age furnished the government with pretences for exercising their passions and resentments.

These instances of cruelty and injustice, which Clarence could not help perceiving were pointed at him, excited in his breast a thorough detestation for the authors. But instead of endeavouring to render their malice abortive by silence and reserve, he loudly remonstrated against the iniquity of his persecutors, and defended, with unshaken firmness, the innocence of his friends.

A.D. 1478. His enemies had now obtained what they thought sufficient to convict him. He was arrested, and committed to the Tower. A parliament was also summoned. The king appeared personally as his brother's accuser, and pleaded the cause against him. The liberty of judgment was taken from the court by this strange method of proceeding; so that, though only some rash expressions were objected against him, he was condemned to suffer death. The Commons also meanly supported the injustice of the peers, by petitioning for his execution. It is astonishing that the parliament, which had long assumed the power of refusing the most necessary subsidies,

should, in this instance, be so servilely submissive to the court. Can it be supposed, that the lives, even of the princes of the blood, were, in these times, less regarded than the public money? And yet this is the only method of accounting for their proceedings.

Edward, who had taken so much pains to convict his brother, did not suffer him to languish long in prison. The only favour he granted him, after his condemnation, was to leave him the choice of his own death, and he desired that he might be drowned in a butt of malmsey; a circumstance which shews, that he was extremely fond of that liquor, or that he was governed by caprice in every circumstance of his conduct. His behaviour to his last moments was expressive of his character. He left two children by the eldest daughter of the earl of Warwick; a son, created an earl by his grandfather's title; and a daughter, afterwards countess of Salisbury.

A.D. 1481. Edward now devoted his time to pleasure and amusement. He flumbered on the couch of indolence, and all the glories of his reign were absorbed in the whirlpool of effeminacy. Lewis saw his supine conduct with a secret pleasure; and being desirous of marrying the dauphin to the daughter of Maximilian of Austria, an infant only two years of age, the treaty was now concluded, though he had promised, by the treaty of Pecquigni, that the dauphin should marry the princess Elizabeth. Astonished and incensed at this unpardonable affront, Edward awoke from his lethargy, and vowed to take ample vengeance on Lewis for his perfidy. But that politic monarch, whose prudence was equal to his falsehood, foresaw the gathering storm, and had taken measures to break its force. He sent ambassadors to James III. of Scotland, offering him great advantages if he would break his truce with Edward, and carry his arms into the northern parts of England. James, who was a very weak prince, and lived on bad terms with his own nobility, imprudently listened to the artful suggestions of Lewis, and levied an army to execute a design to which he was far from being equal; but when his forces arrived on the borders of England, the barons conspiring against his favourites, put them to death with the form of a trial; and his whole army immediately dispersed. Soon after, the duke of Gloucester entered Scotland at the head of the English forces, made himself master of Berwick, and forced James to accept of a peace, by which that important fortress was ceded to the English.

A.D. 1483. The war in Scotland being thus happily terminated, Edward devoted his whole attention to the war he meditated against France; but while he was employed in making the necessary preparations, he was seized with a mortal distemper, which put an end to his life on the ninth of April, in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.

The history of this prince sufficiently displays his genuine character. In his youth he was active and intrepid, but cruel and vindictive. He was more remarkable for his vigour than for either prudence or virtue. The latter part of his reign was wholly spent in indolence and pleasure; but the death of his brother sufficiently indicates, that his passion for cruelty continued amidst all the scenes of voluptuousness; and he left a throne polluted with blood to his successor.

Edward prince of Wales, and Richard duke of York, were the only sons that survived their father. The former was twelve, and the latter six years of age, when he paid the debt of nature. Four daughters survived him.

1. Elizabeth, promised in marriage to the dauphin of France, but afterwards married to Henry VII.
2. Cicely, betrothed to the prince of Scotland, but afterwards married to the lord Welles.
3. Anne of York, married to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, earl marshal and lord treasurer of England.
4. Catherine of York, married to William Courtney, earl of Devonshire.







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## E D W A R D V.

A.D. 1483. **T**HE young prince, who had, for some time, resided at Ludlow-castle, in Shropshire, under the care of his uncle, the earl of Rivers, was proclaimed the very day of his father's death, in the streets of London, by the name of Edward V. But unhappily for him, two irreconcilable parties divided the court; that of the queen and her relations, particularly the earl of Rivers, her brother, the most accomplished nobleman in England; and the marquis of Dorset, her son by a former husband; and that of the ancient nobility, who envied the sudden exaltation and unlimited credit of the Wideville family. At the head of this party were the duke of Buckingham, lord Hastings the chamberlain, and the lords Howard and Stanley. The late king saw with regret the dreadful consequences that might result from these alarming divisions, during the minority of his son, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending parties. He sent for them as he lay on his death-bed, conjured them to lay aside their animosities, and labour to promote peace and unanimity in the kingdom during the tender years of his son; and prevailed upon them to embrace each other with all the marks of a cordial reconciliation. But his labours were in vain. His eyes were no sooner closed by death, than all their former animosities revived; they followed their separate interests, and each endeavoured to gain the duke of Gloucester, who had been appointed by his brother regent of the kingdom, over to their party. Gloucester, who was at once both cruel and ambitious, and capable of the most inhuman crimes, concealed his dark purposes under the mask of profound dissimulation and policy. He affected the greatest zeal for the service of the queen, that he might acquire a full influence over her conduct. The earl of Rivers had been intrusted by the deceased monarch with the care and education of his son; and the queen was now desirous that he should levy a body of troops, to conduct his young sovereign to London, in order to his being crowned with the usual solemnities. Gloucester persuaded the queen, that an armed force on this occasion might be dangerous, and was not at all necessary. An order was therefore sent to Rivers to bring the young king to London, with no greater retinue than was necessary to support his state and dignity.

The earl, who never suspected the treachery of Gloucester, readily obeyed. He was met at Northampton by that prince and the duke of Buckingham; and after passing a friendly evening with them, he was arrested the next day by Gloucester's orders, and, together with Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's sons, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable post in the king's household, sent prisoners to Pontefract castle. In vain did the young monarch, with all the eloquence of tears and intreaties, intercede with his inhuman uncle for the release of persons so dear to him. Gloucester refused his request, and conducted Edward to London, where he was received, by the loudest acclamations, of the people.

The account of these tyrannical proceedings no sooner reached the ears of the queen, than she conceived the whole design of the duke of Gloucester; and considering her brother and two sons as irretrievably lost, she fled to the sanctuary of Westminster, with the duke of York, the marquis of Dorset, and the rest of her family; resolving there to await the returns of better fortune. Lord Hastings was then at London; and though he hated the queen and

her relations, had still a sincere affection for his late master, and was unalterably devoted to the king and his brother. He was well acquainted with the design of seizing Rivers, and pleased that the scheme had taken effect; but he was confident that nothing more was intended than to suppress the queen's party. He entertained not the least suspicion of Gloucester's real design. Accordingly he wrote to Rotheram, archbishop of York, and then lord chancellor of England, desiring him not to be alarmed at what had happened, as every thing would tend to promote the peace and happiness of the kingdom.

On Gloucester's arrival, a council was summoned, to settle the administration, and he was declared protector of the realm, without waiting for the meeting of the parliament. The queen was the only person who yet suspected the duke's intentions. He had carefully concealed his sentiments from his intimate friends, under the artful veil of dissimulation; but he well knew, that unless he could find means to get the duke of York into his power, all his schemes must prove abortive. He therefore complained to the council, that the queen's ill-grounded apprehensions were an indignity to the government; and represented the necessity of the young prince's appearance at the coronation of his brother; proposing, that if the queen refused to listen to the voice of reason, he should be taken from the asylum by force. At the same time, he affirmed, that sanctuaries were intended only for the protection of malefactors; and were therefore utterly useless to a person who, by reason of his tender age, could lie under the burden of no crime, and who, for the same reason, was absolutely incapable of claiming security from any sacred retreat. Cardinal Bouchier, the primate, and Rotheram, archbishop of York, strenuously opposed the protector's reasons, and declared that sanctuaries were inviolable; but as they penetrated not the duke's design, they offered to use every argument in their power to induce the queen to comply with the wishes of the council. Both these prelates were persons of great integrity and honour: and the queen perceiving, that if she refused to comply, the young prince would be taken by force, she produced her son; and after bedewing him with her tears, and bidding him an eternal adieu, she delivered him to the cardinal, who carried him immediately to his uncle.

The treacherous and ambitious Gloucester seemed to be for ever excluded from the throne by unsurmountable obstacles. The numerous issue of Edward, and the two children of Clarence, had preferable titles to him. But no restraints were sufficient to withhold his violence; his fierce and savage nature was startled at no crimes; every thing gave way to his ambition. The death of the earl of Rivers, and the other prisoners confined in Pontefract castle, was first determined; and the protector found no difficulty in obtaining the consent of his party to that sanguinary measure; but fearing that a trial might fill the people with apprehensions, especially as the crimes that could be alledged against them were far from being capital, it was resolved to dispatch them without any legal process; and orders were immediately dispatched to Sir Ralph Ratcliffe, a man capable of the most enormous actions, to behead his noble prisoners.

The very day these bloody orders were executed, the protector summoned a council to meet in the Tower; and having already discovered, by his agents,



that Hastings was unalterably attached to the children of his deceased master, he determined to ruin a man whose power and popularity were sufficient to render all his designs abortive. Hastings, not the least suspecting any design was formed against his life, repaired to the council, where he met the protector, whose behaviour was remarkably affable. After a short stay, Richard retired from the board, desiring the lords to continue their deliberations during his absence. He soon returned with an angry and enflamed countenance, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of the most violent indignation. "My lords," said he, "what punishment do those deserve who have plotted against my life?" Hastings replied, that they deserved the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," replied the protector, "are the forerunners my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his mistress, with others their associates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft!" On uttering these words, he uncovered his arm, which was shrivelled and decayed. The members of the council, who well knew that his arm had always been in that condition, were confounded, and looked upon one another with astonishment. After a considerable pause, Hastings answered, "Certainly, my lord, if they are guilty of these crimes, they deserve the severest punishment." "And do you reply to me," said the protector, "with your *ifs* and your *ands*? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore: you are yourself a traitor; and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me!" He struck the table violently with his hand; a number of armed men rushed into the council-chamber, and seized the members. Hastings was led immediately to the green before the chapel of the Tower, where, after confession to a priest, who happened accidentally to be on the spot, he was beheaded on a timber log lying on the green. The archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and lord Stanley, who assisted at the council, were sent to different apartments in the Tower, and no person suffered to visit them.

Two hours after, the protector, apprehensive that the inhabitants of London, by whom Hastings was greatly beloved, would raise a tumult in the city, caused a proclamation, well penned, and fairly written, to be read to the populace, enumerating the crimes of Hastings, and apologizing for the precipitate manner of the execution, from the suddenness of the discovery. But the conduct of Richard could not deceive the people. It was observed, that the proclamation had certainly been drawn by the spirit of prophecy. Gloucester was, however, yet desirous of observing some consistence in his proceedings; and he therefore ordered Jane Shore to be apprehended, and tried before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. No proofs were, however, found against her, notwithstanding the ignorance and absurdity of the age, and she was acquitted of the charge. But the protector was determined she should not escape his vengeance. He caused her to be indicted before the spiritual court for lewdness and adultery; and she did penance, in a white sheet, at St. Paul's, before all the people. She, however, survived her misfortunes; and was alive in the reign of Henry VIII. when Sir Thomas Moore knew her. But though she had greatly recommended herself by acts of beneficence and humanity; though she had removed the stings of poverty from the breasts of the indigent, and applied the balm of comfort to the wounds of affliction, she found no friends in adversity, and spent the evening of her life in misery and want.

The death of the prisoners at Pontefract, and that of Hastings, exciting no insurrection among the people, Gloucester became more confident: he threw off the mask of dissimulation, openly aspired to the crown, and perpetrated other acts of injustice and violence. He propagated doubts with regard to the validity of Edward's marriage with the lady Elizabeth Wideville; pretending that he had, previous to

that transaction, been privately married to the lady Eleanor Talbot, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury. But this not gaining belief, he had recourse to a still more detestable calumny. He gave out, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence, were illegitimate; that the dukes of York had received into her bed different lovers, who were the fathers of these children, and that Gloucester alone was the lawful offspring of the duke of York. Human nature must be sunk to the lowest degree of brutality, when it scruples not to throw such horrid calumnies on persons whom even instinct teaches to reverence. The dukes of York, his own mother, on whom so base an aspersion was thrown, was still alive, and a princess of irreproachable virtue. But no considerations could change the purpose of Gloucester. He caused these impudent assertions to be promulgated from the pulpit. Dr. Shaw, an eminent orator of those times, was appointed preacher in St. Paul's; and having chosen for his text the following passage from the Wisdom of Solomon, "Bastard slips shall not thrive," he enlarged upon all the arguments that had any tendency to throw an odium on the births of Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence. He afterwards extolled the virtues of the protector to the skies, representing him as the legal heir of the crown, and the only hope of the nation; concluding his panegyric, by crying aloud, "God save king Richard." The audience kept a profound silence, which greatly disconcerted both the protector and the preacher. Shaw lost all his popularity from this shameful prostitution of his talent, and Richard himself was beheld with contempt.

But Gloucester was not to be diverted from his purpose by one miscarriage. He had, indeed, proceeded too far, to think of receding. It was necessary for him to persevere: he must either gain the sceptre or perish. It was therefore agreed in the council, which now consisted wholly of Richard's creatures, that another attempt should be made to obtain the voice of the people in his favour. Accordingly the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, were assembled at Guildhall; where the duke of Buckingham, in a studied harangue, expatiated on the virtues of the duke of Gloucester, and concluded with asking, Whether they would have that prince for their king? A profound silence reigned through the whole assembly. The duke repeated the substance of his harangue, and asked the same question; but the same silence was continued. The mayor desired the recorder might address the assembly, he being always considered as the mouth of the city. The experiment was accordingly tried, but with no better success; not a word escaped from the lips of the audience. "This is astonishing obstinacy," cried the duke; "declare your sentiments one way or other. But you ought to remember, that your consent is not considered as necessary. The lords and commons have sufficient authority to place whom they please on the throne; and when we ask your consent, it should be considered as a favour. However, I now demand, in plain terms, whether you will, or will not, have the protector for your sovereign?" This speech, which was considered rather as a menace than an appeal to their judgment, occasioned a general murmur through the whole audience. At length some of the meanest apprentices, incited by bribes from the government, set up a feeble cry of "Long live king Richard." This was considered as a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the nation; the voice of the people was the voice of God; and Buckingham hastened to acquaint the protector, that he was called upon to assume the reins of government. Richard pretended to be astonished at the proposal. He declared he would observe inviolably his loyalty to his present sovereign, and exhorted them to imitate his example. He, however, suffered himself to be persuaded to accept the crown; and from that moment he acted as the legitimate and legal possessor of the English throne.

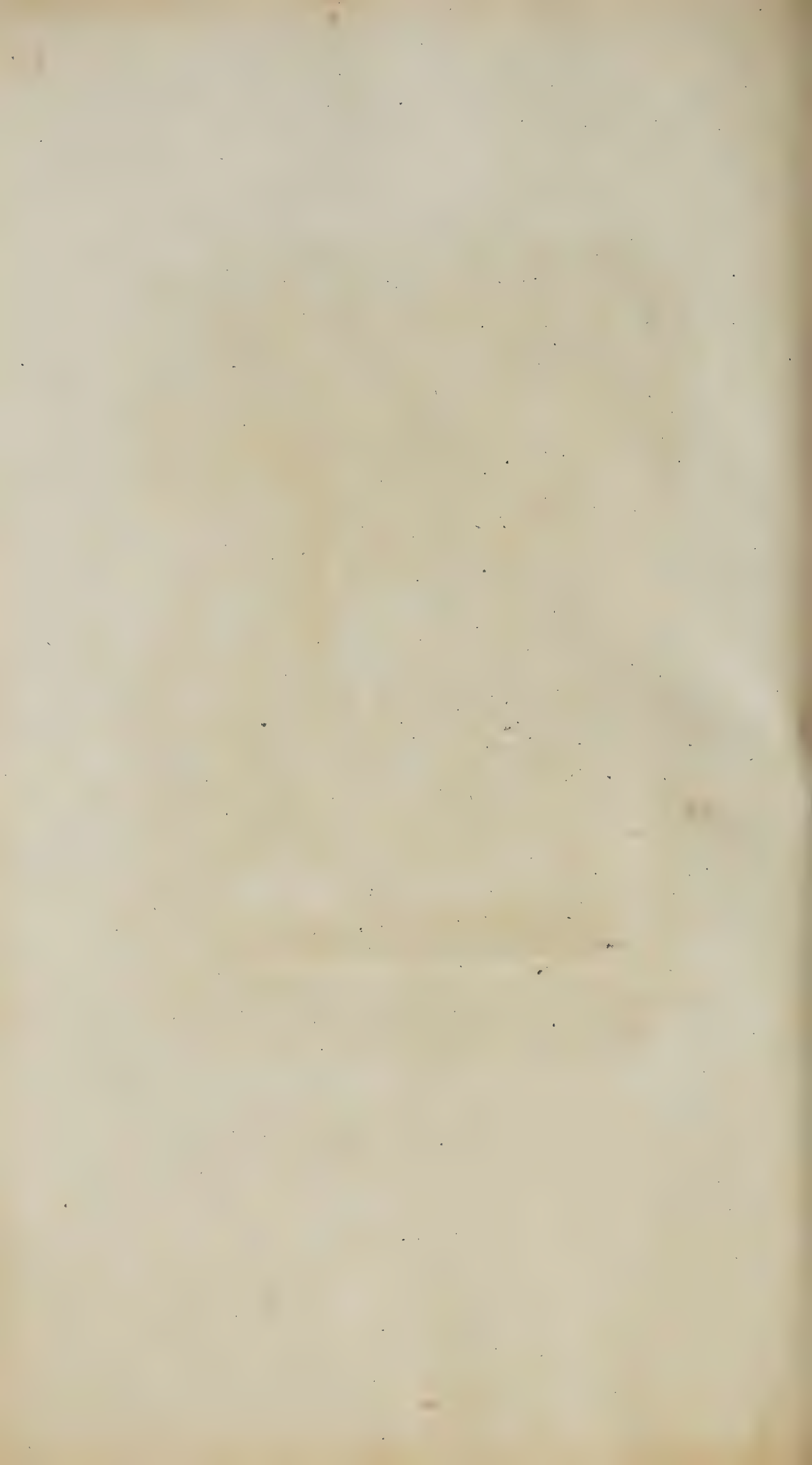
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Richard Duke of Gloucester. Accusing the  
QUEEN of EDWARD IV<sup>th</sup> with WITCHCRAFT





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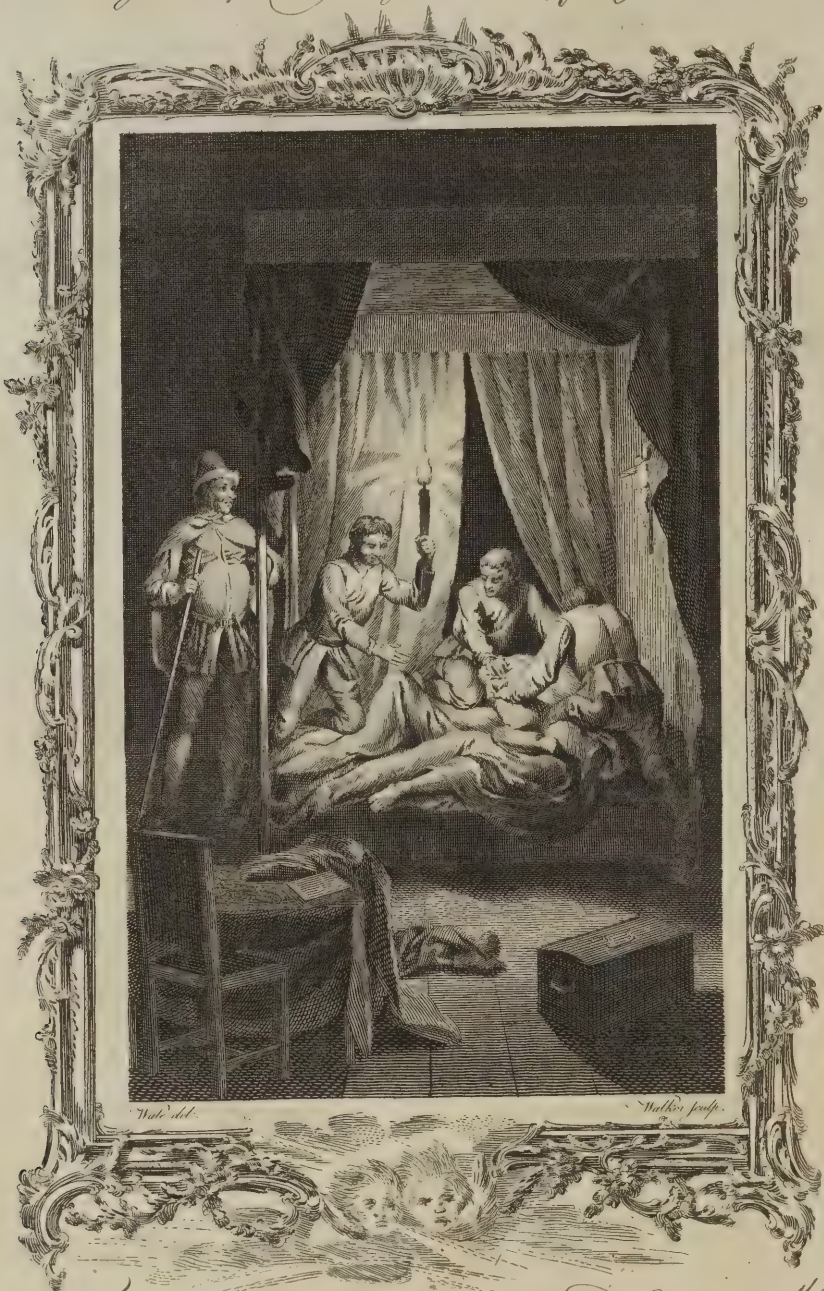
DEATH of LORD HASTINGS







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*Tyrrel and his Accomplices Smothering Edward 5<sup>th</sup>  
(and the Duke of York in the TOWER by Order of Richard 3<sup>d</sup>.)*



These proceedings sufficiently indicated the fate of the two young princes. Their death was determined; and a commission sent to Sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, to put a period to the lives of those innocent children. But that gentleman possessed too much virtue to be concerned in an office so shocking to humanity. Sir Walter Tyrrel, a man practised in the scenes of blood, was next applied to, and he accepted the inhuman commission. Tyrrel chose three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest; and having, by Richard's express order, obtained the

keys of the Tower, he led his companions in iniquity to the door of the chamber where the two princes lodged, bidding them execute their orders. They found the unsuspecting innocents in a sound sleep, and after suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they buried their bodies deep in the earth, at the stair-foot, under a heap of rubbish. These particulars were afterwards confessed by the perpetrators, in the following reign; though they were never punished for a crime that shocks human nature.

## R I C H A R D III.

A. D. 1483. **T**HE whole annals of history does not afford an instance of a more flagrant usurpation than that of Richard, nor of one more repugnant to every principle of justice and public interest. But no person of distinction stood forth in defence of injured innocence, so that the tyrant was suffered to wear a crown he had polluted with the blood of his own relations. He was, indeed, desirous of gaining over the nobility to his interest; but his actions had been too notorious and execrable to prevail on the more virtuous part of that powerful order. Buckingham, to whom he chiefly owed his crown, was loaded with preferments. But he either presumed too far upon his favour, or Richard thought it dangerous to augment his authority any farther, for he denied a request made by that powerful nobleman. Buckingham, haughty, violent and avaricious, was so highly offended, that he left the court and retired to his castle of Brecknock, where the bishop of Ely, who had been seized with lord Hastings, was then confined. This prelate, who was an able politician, and a zealous friend to the house of Lancaster, considered this disgust as a favourable incident to bring the duke over to his own party, especially as the duke's family had been zealous Lancastrians. He was not mistaken. Buckingham listened with great attention to the arguments of the prelate, and a scheme was formed for driving the tyrant from the seat of power, and placing on the throne the young earl of Richmond, who was to marry the princess Elizabeth, now the lawful successor of Edward IV. This alliance they thought could not fail of engaging the two families of York and Lancaster in their interest; and consequently extinguish the flames of civil discord which had so long spread desolation over the kingdom. It has been already observed, that the earl of Pembroke, soon after the battle of Tewkesbury, had fled to the court of Brittany, carrying with him his nephew, young Henry, earl of Richmond. That prince was now considered as the head of the Lancastrian party. He was heir, by the female line, to the house of Somerset, and grandson to Sir Owen Tudor, who had married Catharine of France, the widow of Henry V.

This project being formed, application was made to the queen dowager, who willingly gave her consent, hoping soon to be in a capacity of retaliating on the head of the usurper all the injuries he had inflicted on her family. The young earl of Richmond also engaged to celebrate his marriage with Elizabeth as soon as he arrived in England. Thus far every thing succeeded according to their wishes; but though the utmost care was taken to keep those designs an impenetrable secret, yet they escaped not the vigilance of Richard, and he hastened to put the kingdom in a posture of defence. He collected his troops, and began his march towards the western counties, where he was informed the earl of Richmond proposed to land, and where several of his friends were already in

arms, expecting to be joined by the duke of Buckingham, at the head of his forces.

That nobleman had collected a powerful army, and was now advancing, by long and hasty marches, into the forest of Deane, in order to cross the Severn, and join his western friends at Salisbury. But on approaching the borders of that river, he found that the waters had overflowed their banks in a manner before unknown. The Welsh, alarmed with superstitious terrors at this extraordinary event, and, at the same time, distressed for want of provisions, abandoned his camp, and Buckingham in a few days was left only with one servant, who was faithful enough to attend his master in distress. He had now no other resource than that of concealing himself till the arrival of the earl of Richmond, or some other accident occasioned a revolution in the government. He accordingly disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, and took shelter in the house of an old servant of his family. But being discovered in his retreat, he was carried to Shrewsbury, and instantly beheaded without any form of trial.

The earl of Richmond had not been wanting on his part to join his friends on the day appointed. He embarked with five thousand men at St. Maloes, on board forty vessels, but being overtaken with a terrible storm, his fleet was separated, and he was obliged to return to the court of Brittany, where he learned the unwelcome news of the death of Buckingham, and the dispersion of his friends. Nothing but the abhorrence in which Richard was held by the greater part of the English, could have animated the earl and his friends to persevere in their design, and make another attempt to wrest the sceptre from the hand of the tyrant.

A. D. 1484. Richard flattered himself that he had crushed the rebellion in its bud, and therefore ventured to call a parliament, who had now no other choice than that of recognizing the usurper's authority, and acknowledge his title to the crown. His only son Edward, then twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales; the duties of tonnage and poundage were granted him for life; and Richard, in order, if possible, to reconcile the people to his government, passed several acts, which greatly tended to promote the happiness of the subject.

But the intended marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, filled the breast of Richard with uneasiness. He saw the danger of such a connection, and determined, if possible, to prevent it. In order to this, he paid his court to the queen dowager with such art and address, made so many professions of a sincere and unalterable friendship, that Elizabeth, tired with confinement, and thinking her former projects totally destroyed, listened to proposals of the murderer of her children, and even promised him her daughter in marriage; Richard having made way for this strange connection by carrying off his former wife by poison. The queen's  
consent



consent being obtained, Richard applied to the court of Rome for a dispensation, for concluding an alliance, generally considered as incestuous. But before this papal instrument arrived, the face of affairs was suddenly changed, and Richard hurled from the feat of power.

A.D. 1485. The earl of Richmond, surrounded with many noble exiles from England, having received some troops from Charles VIII. who now filled the throne of France, sailed from Harfleur on the first of August, with a retinue of two thousand persons; and after a passage of six days, arrived at Milford-haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition. The next day he continued his march to Haverfordwest, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. As he advanced, he was continually joined by the partisans of both families, so that his camp soon wore a respectable aspect.

Richard, on the first intelligence that Henry, earl of Richmond, was preparing for another invasion, took post at Nottingham, as one of the most central towns of his kingdom, and proposed to march on the first alarm to the place which was most exposed to danger. But he should have remembered that he had much more to fear from his secret, than from his open enemies. The duke of Norfolk was the only nobleman sincerely attached to his interest; the rest were friends to the earl of Richmond, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to desert his standard. But the persons that gave Richard the greatest uneasiness, were lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, whose connections with the earl of Richmond were strongly suspected by the usurper. He had, indeed, employed the former to levy a body of five thousand men, but insisted that he should leave his son, the lord Strange, as a hostage for his fidelity. This obliged lord Stanley to use the greatest precautions in his proceedings. He found means indeed of informing Henry of his friendly intentions; but his equivocal behaviour rendered his designs suspicious to both armies.

The continual increase of Henry's army alarmed Richard, and he determined to give him battle as soon as possible, and decide, by a general action, their dispute for the crown of England. Henry declined not the engagement, and the two armies came in sight of each other at Bosworth, a place in Leicestershire, rendered famous in history for the battle which terminated the quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster. The royal army, which consisted of twelve thousand men, all veterans and well armed, were formed into two lines. The first was commanded by the duke of Norfolk; and the second by Richard in person, who appeared that day with the royal diadem on his head. The earl's army did not consist of more than five thousand men, but was also divided into two lines; the first commanded by the earl of Oxford, and the second by himself in person: Sir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left. While the two armies were preparing for battle, lord Stanley posted himself, at the head of four thousand men, on a piece of ground fronting the interval between the two armies, while his brother Sir William Stanley, with three thousand, stood facing him on the other side of the interval. Richard, suspecting Stanley's design, sent him an order to join his army; but receiving an equivocal answer, he was so enraged at his treachery, that he would have struck off the head of his son, had he not been dissuaded from that resolution by some of his chief officers, who represented to him, that such an act could be attended with no advantage, and would certainly provoke Stanley and his brother to join the enemy, though perhaps their intention at present might be to remain neuter, till near the conclusion of the battle, and then declare for the party that seemed to have gained the advantage. Richard

submitted to these reasons, well knowing that a victory over the earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies.

Both armies now moved forward, and the battle was begun by a general discharge of arrows; after which the combat became close and bloody. The duke of Norfolk made a motion to enclose the left wing of Richmond's army, which being perceived, by the earl of Oxford, he fell with the utmost fury upon Norfolk's division, but was in the utmost danger of being surrounded. Lord Stanley saw that it would be impossible for him to extricate himself from his present situation without assistance, and therefore advanced at the head of his forces, and joining Oxford's line secured his flank, and stood ready to receive the front of the line commanded by the king in person. At the same time Sir William Stanley fell upon the flank of Richard's line, and drove them back upon the main body. Norfolk, however, advanced to the charge with more fury than ever, and a dreadful carnage ensued. But the battle was no longer equal; the royal forces were intimidated by the desertion of Stanley and his brother; while it inspired Henry's with unusual courage. Sensible of his desperate situation, the furious tyrant threw his eyes around the field, and discovering his rival at no great distance, he soon opened himself a passage to the spot where Henry fought in person, killed Sir Henry Brandon, his standard-bearer, unhorsed Sir John Cheyney, and advanced against Henry with all the fury of despair. He called aloud to him to pay the forfeit of his treason, and rebellious invasion of his kingdom. Henry declined not the combat; but the two leaders were hardly engaged when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, after performing the most astonishing acts of valour, fell covered with wounds. The loss of the king put an end to the contest; the royalists, deprived of their leader, fought their safety in a precipitate flight.

The loss of the vanquished amounted to four thousand men, among whom were the duke of Norfolk, the lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, Sir Robert Brakenbury, Sir William Conyers, and Sir Richard Clendon. The earl of Richmond's loss did not exceed an hundred men: The body of Richard being found in a heap of slain; was thrown carelessly across a horse, and in that ignominious manner it was conveyed to Leicester, amid the shouts of the insulting populace, and buried without any ceremony, in the church of the Grey Friars.

Henry, by a policy that tended greatly to augment his power, pardoned all who submitted to him. Sir William Catesby, the tool of Richard's crimes, was the only person that suffered. He was discovered after the battle, and conveyed to Leicester, where he was beheaded. Lord Lovel, and the two Staffords, who had incurred the universal odium of the people for their attachment to the tyrant, would, in all probability, have suffered the same fate, had they fallen into the hands of the victor; but they fortunately made their escape.

Richard was the last of the Plantagenet family that possessed the crown of England; but not the last male heir; for the earl of Warwick, son to the duke of Clarence, was still alive, and the only branch of the numerous posterity of Edward the third, the rest having perished in the civil wars, which, after raging thirty years, was finally terminated by the battle of Bosworth. It would be superfluous to add any thing farther with regard to the character of Richard, the history of his reign being abundantly sufficient to display it; for whatever abilities he might possess as a general, a warrior, or a legislator, they were rendered detestable by his vices.



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RICHARD III *Killed in* BOSWORTH FIELD









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## H E N R Y VII.

A. D. 1485. **T**HE victory obtained by Henry at Bosworth put a final period to the dreadful wars between the two roses, which had so long manured the kingdom with the blood of its inhabitants. The power of the house of York was now no more. This was so well known that the common soldiers were prompted, even in the field of battle, to bestow the title of king upon their general. Every quarter resounded with the acclamations of "Long live king Henry." Stanley, desirous of giving some appearance of formality to this popular election, brought the crown which had been taken from Richard, and placed it on the head of the victor:

This general voice of the army was considered as a circumstance of great importance in favour of Henry, whose title to the crown was by its means unexceptionable. The root of his family was John of Ghent, earl of Lancaster, fourth son to Edward III. That prince was thrice married; first, to Blanche of Lancaster, by whom he had two daughters; Philippa, married to John, king of Portugal; and Elizabeth, espoused to John Holland, duke of Exeter; and a son, who afterwards ascended the throne by the name of Henry IV. and whose male descendants became extinct in the person of Henry VI. secondly, to Constance, princess of Castile and Leon, who bore him one daughter, married to the king of Castile; and thirdly, to Catherine, widow of Sir Otter Swinford. This lady had for some years before her marriage, lived with John of Ghent as his mistress, and, during that interval, bore him four children, John Beaufort, duke of Somerset; Henry Beaufort, cardinal of Winchester; Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter; and Joan Beaufort, countess of Westmorland. These children were indeed afterwards legitimated by the parliament; but the same act which freed them from the opprobrious name of bastards, excluded them from the crown. John Beaufort, the eldest, left a son called by his own name, and enjoyed his title of duke of Somerset. The latter had only one daughter, named Margaret, who married Edmund Tudor, duke of Richmond, whose eldest son was Henry VII.

From this genealogical deduction it is sufficiently evident that Henry's slender title to the crown was subject to two material objections; the acknowledged priority of right in the house of York, and the illegitimacy of all John's children by his third marriage. Add to this, that Henry's mother, from whom he derived his right, was still alive, and evidently preceded him in the order of succession. Henry's projected marriage with the princess Elizabeth was therefore the only proper method by which he could overcome the difficulties attending his claim; as by that means the rights of both houses would be united. But as Henry was not inclined to be indebted to a woman for his crown, nor disposed to part with it to the next succession, should she die without issue, he resolved to take upon him the dignity of king by virtue of his popular election, joined with his being the head of the house of Lancaster, and to act as such before any formal coronation. At the same time his jealousy of the house of York, a weakness he constantly entertained, induced him to commit to the Tower, the earl of Warwick, an innocent prince then only ten years of years.

Henry entered London on the twenty-second of August, and was received with all those demonstrations of joy, which the hopes of being delivered from the miseries of civil wars could inspire. He

repaired directly to St. Paul's, where he offered the standards he had taken in the late battle, and Te Deum was sung for his victory. He soon after assembled the chief of the nobility; and solemnly swore to marry the princess Elizabeth; a measure the more necessary as the people began to be alarmed at a report industriously propagated, that he had already engaged in a contract of marriage with Anne, daughter and heiress of Francis, duke of Brittany.

While the necessary preparations were making for the coronation of Henry, an epidemical distemper broke out in London. This dreadful disease, which swept away many thousands of the inhabitants, was, from the symptoms attending it, termed the sweating sickness, and is thought to have been the first time it ever appeared in the world. The confusion it occasioned delayed the ceremony, and Henry employed the interval in rewarding the services of his faithful friends and adherents. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, was made constable of the Tower; Jasper, earl of Pembroke, uncle to the king, and the tutor and guardian of his tender years, was created duke of Bedford; the lord Stanley, earl of Derby; and Sir Edward Courtney, earl of Devonshire.

As soon as the late alarming distemper was entirely ceased, Henry was crowned with great pomp and solemnity on the thirtieth of October, by cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury. To augment the splendor of this ceremony, Henry instituted a body guard, consisting of fifty archers, called yeomen, under the command of a captain, to be always in attendance on his person: a precaution, which, in all probability, Henry considered as indispensably necessary to his own safety, though he prudently concealed his real sentiments, under the pretence of augmenting the grandeur of the English court.

On the seventh of November the parliament met at Westminster, and entailed the crown upon Henry, not by recognition or ordinance, but by settlement. It was enacted, "That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in him and the heirs of his body;" and as he was under a sentence of attainder or outlawry, they extricated themselves from that difficulty by establishing it as a maxim, "That the crown takes away all attainders and corruptions of blood." Henry was, however, still so dissatisfied with his title, that he applied to Rome for a confirmation of it, as if the authority of that court extended to matters of this kind. Innocent VIII. who then filled the papal chair, made no difficulty of granting his request; he even denounced the sentence of excommunication against all those who should dare to disturb him or his successors in the possession of the crown.

The act of settlement being finished, a bill for reversing the attainders of one hundred and seven persons, who had suffered for their adherence to the house of Lancaster, was passed without any opposition. It was certainly laudable in Henry to procure the restoration of his friends to their honours and estates; but the revenge which he exercised against the retainers of the York family cannot surely be considered in that light. Yet, at his instigation, the parliament passed a bill of attainder against the late king himself, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surry, the viscount Lovel, the lords Zouche and Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Walter and Sir James Harrington, Sir William Berkeley, Sir Humphry Stafford, and about twenty other gentlemen, who had fought on Richard's side in the battle of Bosworth. The parliament



must have been totally deaf to the voice of reason and justice, to declare persons guilty of treason who had done nothing more than supported a monarch in actual possession of the crown against the earl of Richmond, who had not then even pretended to claim the title. It is therefore no wonder that this measure, which was equally mean and imprudent, drew upon Henry the hatred of the English, who were greatly attached to the blood of their ancient kings.

Though Henry requested no supplies from the parliament, that assembly thought proper to settle on him for life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the same manner by some of his immediate predecessors. But when they presented the bill for the royal assent, they petitioned his majesty to espouse the princess Elizabeth: they indeed thought proper to cover their real reason under the dutiful pretence of their having heirs of his body. The king promised to comply with their desires; and after having restored Edward Stafford, eldest son to the duke of Buckingham, who had forfeited in the late reign, to all the honours and estates of his family, he dissolved the parliament.

Though many of the partisans of the house of York had been attainted by the late statute, Henry thought proper to publish a proclamation, offering a general pardon to all that had carried arms against him, provided they submitted within a limited time. The offer was gladly embraced by many of that party, who immediately left their sanctuaries, and submitted to Henry's government. This act of clemency tended greatly to quiet the minds of the people, and introduce peace and harmony among all ranks and orders of men.

A. D. 1486. Henry did not long delay fulfilling the promise he had made to the parliament. He married the princess Elizabeth on the eighteenth of January. A prodigious concourse of people were assembled on this occasion, and exhibited a greater appearance of sincere joy than either at his first entry or coronation. Henry remarked this general favour shewn to the house of York with displeasure. It revived in his sullen mind the animosity he had so long entertained against that party, and destroyed all his domestic peace. Even the princess herself, tho' of a disposition truly amiable, and truly virtuous, felt the effect of the prejudices he had conceived against her family.

But though he entertained no cordial affection for the immediate descendants of the house of York, he was very desirous of conciliating the affections of the people to his government. He knew that the northern counties were particularly attached to that family, and therefore determined to make a progress into those parts, in order to remove their prejudices by his presence and conversation. But he had hardly reached Lincoln, before he was informed that lord Lovel, and his two brothers, the Staffords, had left their sanctuary of Colchester-abbey, and were once more in arms against the government; that the latter were marching to besiege the city of Worcester; and the former, at the head of three or four thousand men, was advancing to attack him in York. This intelligence did not intimidate Henry: he assembled a small body of troops, in whom he could confide, and sent them against the insurgents, under the command of the duke of Bedford. But that able general well knew that his little army were formidable only for their zealous attachment to their maker, and published a general pardon to all who should lay down their arms. This prudent measure produced the desired effect. Lovel, who was never celebrated for his courage and intrepidity, was so terrified with the fears of desertion among his troops, that he abandoned his army, and made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the dutchess of Burgundy. His forces immediately submitted; and the other body of insurgents, informed of this miscarriage, raised the siege of Worcester, and dispersed.

The two Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but the privilege of that asylum not extending to rebels, they were taken from the altar, and Humphrey, the elder, executed at Tyburn. The younger pleading that he acted under the influence of his brother, received a pardon.

The suppression of this insurrection did not, however, restore the tranquillity of the government. Henry was hardly returned to his capital, before he received information of another scheme of a still more dangerous nature, though, at the same time, of a very extraordinary and romantic kind. A report had, for some time, prevailed among the people, that Edward duke of York, youngest son to Edward IV. had eluded his uncle's cruelty, by making his escape from the Tower. The pleasure with which this intelligence was received by the people, encouraged one Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, who wanted neither subtilty nor courage, to raise a fictitious prince to dispute with Henry the possession of the throne. The instrument of this imposture was Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age. He was the son of a baker, but endowed with understanding and address far superior to his years and condition. The seditious priest had first instructed his pupil to personate the duke of York; but another report prevailing about that time, that the earl of Warwick had found means to leave the place of his confinement; and observing that this intelligence was still more acceptable to the people, Simnel, by the dexterity of Simon, was immediately converted into Warwick. However qualified the young impostor might be to sustain the character he was to personate, and however capable the priest might be of giving him the necessary instructions, there is great reason to think, that persons of a much higher rank had joined in this conspiracy; because it appears that Simnel had better information in matters relating to the royal family than he could have derived from a person in Simon's situation. It has even been suspected, that the queen dowager, discontented with the king, and offended at the state of absolute insignificance to which she was reduced, favoured this ridiculous enterprize. Henry himself seems to have been of this opinion; for he soon after caused the queen dowager to be closely confined in the monastery of Bermondesey, and seized all her lands and revenues: nor did she ever regain her liberty, but ended her life in poverty, solitude, and confinement.

Simnel having received sufficient instructions for supporting the character he was to personate, was sent to Ireland, where the deception was not so likely to be discovered, and where the house of York had a great number of partisans. The attempt succeeded. The impostor no sooner claimed the protection of the earl of Kildare, as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman received him as a true Plantagenet. The populace followed his example. Simnel was received with acclamations of joy, and crowned in Dublin, with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin, under the title of Edward VI. No opposition was made to these proceedings: the claim of Henry was totally forgotten.

The English government was alarmed at this revolt of Ireland; but Henry immediately conceived the measures he ought to pursue. He ordered Warwick to be taken from the Tower, and led in procession through the principal streets of London, that the people might be convinced of the absurdity of Simnel's pretensions. This expedient had its proper effect in England; but in Ireland it was thought that the king had produced a counterfeit Warwick; and Henry found it would be absolutely necessary to have recourse to arms, in order to suppress the rebellion. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, on being informed that John, earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV. had engaged in this conspiracy. Lincoln was a nobleman of courage and capacity,



capacity, and had formed very aspiring views. The rigour of Henry towards the earl of Warwick, and his jealousy of all the eminent persons among the friends of the house of York, had filled him with apprehensions, and he had retired to the court of the dutchess dowager of Burgundy for safety. That princess was descended from the house of York, and sympathised in all the misfortunes which had attended her family. The present revolt in favour of Simnel, seemed to offer a fair opportunity for making Henry feel the weight of her resentment.

A. D. 1487. She accordingly sent over into Ireland a body of two thousand veteran forces, under the command of Swart, a brave and experienced officer. The earl of Lincoln and lord Lovel embarked with these forces, and joined Simnel. Elated with this unexpected reinforcement, and encouraged by the countenance of persons of such high condition, the Irish determined to invade England, where they flattered themselves with being joined by all the partisans of the house of York. Henry was soon apprised of the rebels intention, and raised a considerable army to oppose them. The insurgents landed near Foudrey, in Lancashire, and directed their march towards York; but finding themselves disappointed in the hopes they had formed of being joined by multitudes of the English, it was determined to give Henry battle the first opportunity. They were encamped on a rising ground, at Stoke, a village near Newark, when Henry's army appeared. The insurgents, marching down the hill, began the engagement with great fury; and the battle was maintained for three hours, with equal valour on both sides; though the Irish were dreadfully galled by the arrows of the English, being wholly destitute of defensive armour. The English under the earl of Lincoln, and the Germans under Swart, made so noble a resistance, that the greater part of Henry's vanguard was cut in pieces; but at length the valour of the royal army bore down all resistance; and, after a bloody conflict, obtained a complete victory. The earl of Lincoln, Lovel, and Swart, fell in the action, with four thousand of their troops; but Simnel, and his tutor Simon, were taken prisoners. The latter being a priest, was condemned to a close imprisonment; but the former, as too contemptible to excite any apprehension in Henry, received a pardon, was made a scullion in the king's kitchen, and was afterwards raised to the post of a falconer. Such was the issue of Simnel's attempt to personate the duke of Warwick; which, however ridiculous in itself, threw the whole nation into confusion, and was at last terminated by a bloody engagement.

A. D. 1488. Henry, freed from all domestic disturbances, turned his thoughts to the affairs of Europe. Those of Britany particularly engaged his attention, as they were very interesting to England. The nobles of that province had revolted against their late duke, Francis II. on account of his being governed by a favourite of very mean extraction, who oppressed the people; and the king of France considered this rebellion as a favourable incident for annexing that dutchy to his crown, especially as he was invited by the States to assist them against the intrigues of the duke of Orleans; who being disgusted with the lady of Beaujeu, sister of Charles VIII. and regent of that kingdom, had retired into Britany, and greatly inflamed the discontented nobility. Charles accordingly sent an army into that dutchy, under pretence of delivering the nobles from oppression, but in reality to reduce the province. It was the interest of Charles to persuade the king of England, that no hostile designs were entertained against Britany; and ambassadors were sent to Henry for that purpose. But all his artifices were in vain: the English monarch saw clearly that France entertained a design of subduing Britany. But either persuaded that the attempt would prove abortive, or unwilling to incur the expences of a foreign war, Henry contented himself with observing a neutrality.

The French met with very little opposition in their progress, and the nobles began to be alarmed for their safety. They were now convinced, that instead of assisting them against the ambitious designs of the duke of Orleans, the army they had called in for the preservation of their liberty were labouring to render them slaves. They therefore retired from the French forces, collected an army of sixty thousand men, and obliged the French to raise the siege of Nantz. Elated with this success, they rashly engaged the French army at St. Aubin, and were totally defeated. The duke of Orleans himself fell into the hands of the victors, and the whole force of Britany was dissipated. Soon after this misfortune, Francis paid the debt of nature, and his death exposed his dominions to a total revolution.

The duke left an only daughter to succeed him; and it seemed evident that the marriage of that princess would decide the fate of Britany. But she was in no condition to oppose the arms of France: for notwithstanding the duke of Orleans was now a prisoner, and, consequently, the pretence for invading Britany no longer existed, the invaders continued their operations with the same avidity. Henry now thought proper to act as auxiliary to the princess Anne, but sent over no more than six thousand men, a force incapable of effecting any thing decisive against the numerous armies of France. They acted entirely on the defensive; and instead of relieving, plunged the dutchy into still greater distress.

A. D. 1490. But even this dangerous situation could not render the Britons unanimous among themselves. The object of dissention was the marriage of their dutchess. At last the party of Maximilian, king of the Romans, prevailed; and the marriage of the dutchess with that prince was celebrated by proxy, and Anne immediately assumed the title of Queen of the Romans. But Maximilian was in no condition to give assistance to his distressed consort: he was destitute both of troops and money, and embarrassed by continual revolts of the Flemings. The court of France now began to perceive their error. It was found that it would be very difficult, perhaps impossible, to reduce the dutchy of Britany by arms; and that negotiation only could annex it firmly to the French crown. Charles, the young king of France, had formerly been affianced to the daughter of Maximilian; and that princess, though too young to consummate her marriage, had been sent to the court of France to be educated, and now actually bore the title of queen. But notwithstanding these engagements, it was now perceived, that it would be more advantageous for Charles to marry the dutchess of Britany, by which that rich province would be forever annexed to the crown of France. The whole art of persuasion was therefore secretly employed to convince the Britons, that they could never enjoy a happy tranquillity, but by being united to the French monarchy. The Britons were influenced by their suggestions; but the young dutchess herself had imbibed the strongest prejudices against Charles, whom she considered as the author of all the misfortunes of her family.

A. D. 1491. But notwithstanding her repugnance to this measure, she consented to sacrifice both her engagements and her prejudices to the interest of the people. The marriage was celebrated at Langey, in Touraine. The princess was then conducted to St. Denis, where she was crowned, and thence made her entrance into Paris amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. The daughter of Maximilian was sent back to her father, and the dutchy of Britany annexed to the crown of France; an acquisition of the utmost importance to that kingdom.

Maximilian, transported with rage at this double affront, threatened the most dreadful vengeance against Charles. Henry had also reason to reproach himself for his inaction: he ought to have supported the Britons with a force proportional to the importance of the union of Britany with France. His  
chagrin



chagrin stimulated him the more to revenge, as he piqued himself upon the depth of his policy. A war with France was always flattering and agreeable to the English; and Henry immediately summoned a parliament to obtain supplies. He opened the session with a speech from the throne; in which he told them, that the king of France, grown insolent with power, had treated the English with contempt, and refused to pay the tribute which Lewis XI. had stipulated with Edward IV. that he was determined to head his army in person; mentioned the victories of Cressy, Agincourt, and Poitiers; and expressed his expectations of being equally successful. The English were flattered with these pleasing ideas; a large subsidy was granted him; and Henry, though he well knew that war was not his province, and that Maximilian had neither money nor troops to second him, affected all the ardour of a conqueror.

A. D. 1492. Elated with the hopes of conquest, and of enriching themselves with the spoils of the enemy, the English prepared, with the greatest alacrity, to follow their prince; and many of them sold their estates, that they might appear in the field with greater splendor, and lead their followers in a manner becoming their rank. The English army, consisting of twenty-five thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse, landed at Calais on the sixth of October. The lateness of the season being considered as an indication that the war would soon be terminated, Henry replied, "It is of little consequence at what season the invasion is begun, as one summer will not be sufficient for the reduction of France." But notwithstanding all his boasts of conquest, he had, at that very time, perhaps before he landed at Calais, begun a negotiation for a peace. In order, however, to save appearances, he laid siege to Boulogne; and engaged several persons of distinction in his army to present a petition, requesting him to accommodate his differences with France, on pretence that his allies were not in a condition to give him much assistance, and that it would be difficult to find subsistence for his troops during the winter. The French well knew that Henry wanted nothing but money; and Charles, who was very impatient of undertaking the conquest of Naples, was easily disposed to give him seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns, and an annual pension of twenty-five thousand to himself and his heirs. Thus, as lord Bacon very justly observes, peace and war equally contributed to fill the coffers of Henry; the former giving him the money of his subjects, and the latter that of his enemies.

Henry had now great reason to think that the peace he had concluded with France would be lasting; and as he had nothing to fear from domestic enemies, he flattered himself with enjoying a long series of uninterrupted tranquillity. But he was mistaken: his enemies were indefatigable; and the dutchess of Burgundy in particular meditated vengeance against him. Careless of the means employed to satisfy her resentment, she determined to raise up another impostor, in order to shake the throne of Henry. By means of her emissaries, she propagated, or rather revived a report, that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had made his escape from the Tower, when his elder brother was murdered by the cruelty of his uncle, and still lay concealed in some secret retreat. She soon perceived that the report was received with pleasure; and that the people entertained the greatest expectations that he would soon make his appearance, and attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors. It was now necessary to procure a youth proper for personating Edward, and a young Jew seemed to answer her most sanguine wishes. He was the son of one Warbec, a Jew, who had been converted to christianity, and whose business having called him to London in the reign of Edward IV. his wife was there delivered of a son. He was called Perkin, or Peter; and Edward, who was suspected of carrying on a secret correspondence with Warbec's wife, was his godfather. The comeliness

of his person, his insinuating manners, and the versatility of his genius, rendered him extremely well adapted to the part he was to act. He soon learned the lessons necessary for personating the duke of York; but as the season seemed not then favourable for appearing in the world, she sent him to Portugal, under the care of lady Brampton, where he continued a whole year, unknown to all the world.

When the dutchess found that a war between England and France was inevitable, she determined to produce the impostor; and he was accordingly sent over to Ireland, where he assumed the name of Richard Plantagenet. He wrote letters to the earls of Kildare and Desmond, inviting them to join his party. The vulgar received him with open arms; and the story of his escape from the cruelty of his uncle was soon spread over the whole kingdom, and procured him a multitude of partisans.

Charles VIII. imagined that this pretended prince might be of advantage to him during his war with Henry, and Perkin was accordingly invited to the court of France. He was there received with all the honours due to the heir of the English crown. A magnificent palace was assigned him, with a handsome pension, and a guard for his person. Numbers of English gentlemen came to Paris, in order to offer their service to Perkin, who now began to appear dangerous to the government. The countenance of the king of France gave great credit to a fiction extremely well calculated to please the people. But, on the conclusion of the peace with England, Charles found it necessary to dismiss the counterfeit Plantagenet.

A. D. 1493. Perkin, on his leaving France, retired to the court of the dutchess of Burgundy, under pretence of craving her protection. That princess affected a total ignorance of his pretensions, and seemed to examine every circumstance with the most scrupulous anxiety. After many affected doubts, and the severest scrutiny, she burst into a transport of tenderness, embraced him as her nephew, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor of Edward IV. She even assigned him guards, and a magnificent equipage, and honoured him with the title of the "White Rose of England." Many persons of rank and condition came to her court from England, to assist him in his enterprize, and share his fortune. Even Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who had been so instrumental in putting the crown upon the head of Henry, entertained the project of a revolt in his favour. Sir Robert Clifford went over to Flanders, and openly joined the impostor. The whole nation was thrown into a state of uncertainty. The murder of the two princes had been always doubted, the infernal deed having been committed under the impenetrable veil of night and secrecy; and the countenance given to Perkin by Charles of France and the dutchess dowager of Burgundy, gave countenance to the impostor. Henry saw his danger, and that the utmost prudence and precaution were necessary to divert the force of the impending storm.

Could Henry have ascertained the death of the real duke of York, the conspiracy must have fallen immediately to the ground; but of the five persons who had been employed in the base assassination, two only remained alive; so that their testimony, though they agreed in the same story, was not thought sufficient to put the fact beyond all doubt and controversy. Henry, however, found a clue, by means of his spies, which guided him through the labyrinth of this mystery. He discovered the pedigree and adventures of Perkin, and traced the whole conspiracy from its first formation. The story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation. He bribed Clifford himself, one of the chief persons in the court of the pretended prince, to discover the secrets of his party. Henry had no sooner procured the necessary intelligence, together with the names of the principal conspirators then in England; than they were arrested, and



and their execution intimidated others. But the trial of Stanley required more solemn preparations. His rank and former services seemed to secure him against any accusation and punishment. It was feared that the death of so illustrious a person would be attended with many inconveniences, unless his crime was apparent to the whole nation. The king was, however, determined that he should not escape his vengeance. Clifford was directed to come over privately to England; and to accuse Stanley before the council. The treacherous insurgent obeyed. He threw himself at the king's feet while seated at the council-table; asked pardon for his past offences, and offered to atone for them by any services in his power. Henry told him; that the best proof he could give of his penitence, and the only service he could now render him, was to make a full confession of his guilt; and to name his accomplices. Clifford immediately accused Stanley, who was present, as the chief abettor of the conspiracy. Stanley himself could not discover more surmise than was affected by Henry on this occasion. Clifford insisted upon his charge, and offered to lay before the council the whole proof of his guilt. Henry seemed to hesitate, but at last ordered Stanley to be sent to prison, and he was soon after tried and beheaded.

A. D. 1495. The execution of Stanley struck the conspirators with terror. They perceived that all their secrets were discovered; and abandoned the idol they had worshipped to his fate. Perkin had no other resource than his despair. He embarked with his few followers, amounting to about six hundred men, and appeared on the coast of Kent. But the people were not now disposed to favour him: the whole account of his imposture was known, and the late executions had taught the people caution. Perkin mistrusting something of this kind, landed a small party only, in order to discover the true disposition of the Kentishmen, who were drawn up with great regularity to receive him. His retainers met with a very friendly reception; and Perkin himself was invited to land; but the wary youth suspecting the whole to be a deception, and that a design was formed to take him prisoner, refused to commit himself to their hands. Despairing of being able to make themselves masters of the impostor's person, the Kentish men took the whole party, consisting of one hundred and fifty persons, prisoners. These were all tried, condemned and executed; and their bodies hung upon gibbets along the coasts, as a terror to others. Disappointed in the reception he hoped to meet with, Perkin sailed to Corke in Ireland; but found no countenance there, except among the very lowest of the people, and was obliged to conceal himself with the wild Irish in the bogs and forests of that country.

Henry now convoked a parliament, where the estates of all persons convicted of having engaged in the support of Perkin, were confiscated; and the famous statute was enacted, wherein it was declared, "That no person who should by arms, or otherwise, assist the king for the time being, should ever afterwards, either by course of law, or act of parliament, be attainted for such an instance of obedience." This act, which Henry strenuously promoted on account of his disputed title, affords a glaring instance how far the prejudices, even of the wisest men, may carry them to obtain the object of their wishes. Henry was fearful that his example, when he ascended the throne, rather than this law, would be followed; and therefore endeavoured to bind the legislature itself, by prescribing rules to future parliaments; an attempt evidently repugnant to the very fundamental principles of all political government. The same parliament also authorised him to levy, by course of law, all the sums which any person had agreed to pay him by way of benevolence; an act which gave a sanction to that arbitrary method of exaction.

Charles VIII. whose family had long claimed the crown of Naples, had now, in pursuance of his right, undertaken the conquest of that kingdom.

His progress was amazingly rapid. The Neapolitans, long unused to arms, were in no condition of meeting the French veterans in the open field; so that Charles was soon master of the whole country, and even of the capital itself. The Italian states were now sufficiently alarmed for their own territories; and a powerful league was formed against him, in which Henry became one of the contracting parties. Charles, unable to support himself against so powerful a combination, was obliged to abandon all his conquests, and return ingloriously to France, with the loss of the greater part of his army.

A. D. 1496. Exasperated at the measures pursued by Henry, Charles recommended Perkin, who still lurked among the wild Irish, to the king of Scotland, who entertained no favourable disposition towards England. Perkin immediately abandoned his retreat, and repaired to the Scottish court, where he was received with the utmost kindness and hospitality. James IV. who was firmly attached to the interest of France, owned him as the son of Edward IV. and appeared to be so thoroughly convinced of his being the real duke of York; that he rejected the alliance which was now offered him by Henry. He even married the young adventurer to his niece, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntly, and one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies of the age. At the same time, he publicly declared, that he would assist him with all his forces, in recovering the inheritance of his ancestors; and it was agreed in the Scottish council to carry this design into immediate execution. A numerous army was accordingly assembled, under the command of the king in person, attended by the young adventurer. On their entering Northumberland, Perkin published a manifesto, in which he inveighed bitterly against Henry, as an usurper, a tyrant, and a murderer; and invited all his subjects to assist him in recovering the throne of his ancestors.

But this manifesto, though drawn up with great spirit and precision; produced very little effect: the claim of Perkin was grown obsolete, and his being assisted by the Scots rendered him an unwelcome visitor to the English. James soon perceived that he had undertaken a task he was unable to perform; and, desirous of repaying himself the expences of the expedition, ravaged Northumberland in the most cruel manner. Perkin pretended to be greatly affected with the miseries of his plundered subjects, and remonstrated strongly against the proceedings of the army. But all his representations were in vain. James told him, "That he was persuaded his concern was only employed in behalf of his enemy, and that he was anxious to preserve what would never belong to him." The depredations were accordingly continued without the least intermission, till advice arrived that a numerous army was advancing against them, when the Scots thought proper to retire into their own country.

A. D. 1497. Henry never lost an opportunity of extorting money from his subjects. The Scottish invasion furnished him with a sufficient pretence for demanding a supply from his parliament; and a subsidy, to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, with two fifteenths, were accordingly granted. His avarice, which was his ruling passion, rather than his necessities, induced him to this exaction; and the people, often disgusted with necessary taxes, were far from being disposed to submit to those which were useless to the state. The Cornishmen, who still preserved some remains of the ancient ferocity of their ancestors, were highly exasperated at being obliged to support so unnecessary a burden. They complained loudly against this imposition, from which they considered themselves exempted; as the northern counties had usually repelled the incursions of the Scots, without burdening the other parts of the kingdom. Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, who was considered as the leader of the multitude, greatly incited the ill-humour of



the people by the most inflammatory reflections on the proceedings of the government. He was joined by Thomas Flammoc, a lawyer, who had long been considered as the oracle of the neighbourhood. He persuaded them, that they had no right to pay the tax, as the northern nobility were obliged, by the tenures of their estates, to defend the borders against the Scots; adding, that the only way to obtain redress was to deliver a petition to the king, and to second it with such a force as would give it authority; avoiding, at the same time, every species of oppression, in order to convince their fellow subjects, that the good of the people had induced them to have recourse to this method for procuring a redress of their grievances.

These speeches produced the desired effect. The multitude flocked together, armed with such weapons as are generally possessed by countrymen. Flammoc and Joseph were chosen their leaders, and the rabble marched directly towards the capital. At Wells they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman descended from an ancient family, but of a very restless and ambitious temper. Audley, by his authority, kept the insurgents from committing the least violence or disorder during their march. When they reached Winchester, instead of continuing their route directly to London, as they at first intended, they marched into Kent, from a ridiculous notion, that the inhabitants of that country would join them in great numbers. But they soon found that their expectations were built on a chimerical expectation: not one of the Kentishmen would join their standard. They were not, however, intimidated by this disappointment; they continued their march to Blackheath, and encamped between Greenwich and Eltham.

The inhabitants of London were greatly alarmed; apprehending that their wealth might tempt the insurgents to plunder the city. Fortunately for them, as well as for Henry, the army intended to chastise the Scots, was ready for action, and immediately sent against the Cornish rebels. The troops were divided into three bodies; the first commanded by the earl of Oxford, the second by the king in person, and the third by lord d'Aubigny, a general in whose abilities and courage the soldiers placed the highest confidence.

Lord Oxford was directed to post the left wing of his division near Lewisham, and to extend his right towards Fooks-Cray, in order to secure all the roads and defiles by which it was possible to escape in that direction. Lord d'Aubigny was ordered to march directly against the front of the rebels, extending his right wing towards the left of the earl of Oxford's division. The king himself encamped in St. George's Fields, his troops forming a kind of body of reserve. This excellent disposition rendered it almost impossible for any of the rebels to escape, as they had no shipping to cross the Thames, the only passage that was left open.

It was given out that Henry intended to attack the insurgents on the Monday following, whereas the king really intended to give them battle on the Saturday. This false rumour occasioned a capital mistake among the Cornishmen; for while their main body was encamped on the middle of the heath, their advanced guard was posted at Deptford-bridge, without any intermediate detachment between them.

D'Aubigny advanced against the rebels about four in the afternoon, and attacked their advanced guard with the utmost fury, and after a very smart conflict, drove them from their post, and followed them so close up the hill, that he gained the summit before any assistance could be sent from the main body to oppose him. This advantage inspired d'Aubigny with a kind of contempt for the enemy, tho' they were formidable for their numbers, and far from being deficient in valour. He charged them at the head of his men with great impetuosity; but met with a resistance he did not expect: his valour carried him too far, and he was taken prisoner. Victory seemed now inclined

to declare for the insurgents; but lord Oxford falling in the critical moment upon their rear, changed the fortune of the day; they could not stand the shock of these veteran forces, being wholly destitute both of horse and artillery. Fifteen hundred of them were cut to pieces, and the rest taken prisoners, with their leaders. Lord Audley was beheaded on Tower-hill; but Flammoc and Joseph were executed at Tyburn. The rest of the prisoners were dismissed without any punishment, a favour which Henry's character gave them no reason to expect. Perhaps their inoffensive behaviour pleaded sufficiently in their favour; or perhaps he hoped to obliterate the remembrance of his former severities by this instance of unusual lenity.

This commotion in England induced James to make a second invasion of the northern counties. He met with no opposition, and sat down before Norham castle. The earl of Surry commanded the few forces in those counties; and as soon as the Cornish rebellion was suppressed, Henry sent the best of his troops to join that nobleman in Yorkshire. With this reinforcement he advanced against the Scots, who immediately raised the siege, and retired with such precipitation that the earl could not overtake them. He, however, continued the pursuit; and made himself master of the strong castle of Ayton, situated between Berwick and Edinburgh. A new negotiation was now entered into for a peace, but the conferences were rendered abortive: only a truce for a few months was concluded.

The principal reason that prevented a truce from taking place between the two kingdoms, was James's refusal to give up Perkin Warbeck. But though he would not consent to sacrifice the person he had engaged to protect, he desired him to quit his dominions. The unhappy fugitive was now reduced to a melancholy situation. Flanders could no longer furnish him with an asylum, as the Flemish, having suffered considerably by the interruption of their trade with England, had made an accommodation with Henry. He had therefore no other resource than to return to Ireland, where he again resided among his partizans, who still continued firm to his interest.

A.D. 1498. The Cornish rebels, on their return to their country, boasted that they owed not their pardon to Henry's clemency, but to his fear that their punishment would have roused the whole nation; the people being ready to take up arms against the government. Animated by these representations, the people again assembled; and hearing that Perkin was in Ireland, it was agreed to invite him over, and place him at their head. The young adventurer listened to their proposals, and having prevailed upon a few persons to follow his fortune, he landed in Whitland-bay on the coast of Cornwall. He repaired immediately to Bodmin, where, being joined by three or four thousand men, he issued a proclamation, in which he assumed the title of king of England, by the name of Richard IV.

Strangers to discipline, and strangers to the danger of supporting themselves against the attacks of a regular army, they were persuaded that their force was invincible, and resolved to undertake the siege of Exeter, which they promised themselves would fall an easy conquest to their arms. They carried this wild project into execution; but being destitute of artillery, and almost every other requisite necessary for forming a regular siege; the assailants, who attempted to scale the walls, were repulsed in every attack. While the rebels were thus employed in an attempt that exceeded their power, several of the nobility and gentry of Devonshire, formed an association in defence of Henry's government, and raised forces in order to drive the insurgents from the walls of Exeter. Henry also dispatched the lord d'Aubigny, at the head of four thousand men, to the relief of that city; and followed himself with a more numerous army.

Perkin was now intimidated; and, raising the siege



of Exeter, he retired to Taunton in Somersetshire. His army, when he lay before Exeter, consisted of about seven thousand men, but many of these having joined him from the hopes of plunder, left the army when he raised the siege. The young adventurer perceiving that the number of his followers daily decreased, and that lord d'Aubenev was in full march to attack him, did not think proper to venture a battle. He fled with three-score horse to the monastery of Beaulieu, in the New Forest, where he and his retinue registered themselves, as persons entitled to the benefit of that sanctuary. Lord d'Aubenev was no sooner informed of their flight, than he detached a party of three hundred horse in pursuit of the fugitives; but finding they were already within the walls, he surrounded the asylum, till he received further instructions from Henry. In the mean time the rebels, finding themselves deserted by their leader, submitted to the mercy of the king, and received a pardon. The lady Catherine Gordon, wife of Perkin, fell into the hands of Henry, who treated her with a kindness that does him honour. He soothed her mind with many tokens of regard, placed her in a reputable station about the queen, and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed till her death, which happened during the reign of his successor.

But the fate of Perkin himself was not so easily determined; he had taken shelter in a sanctuary which had never been violated. Some of the council advised the king to drag him from the altar by force, and inflict upon him the punishment he so justly deserved for his temerity. But Henry thought the remedy too violent: he was unwilling to offend the whole body of the clergy, who considered these religious retreats as sacred and inviolable. At the same time he was desirous of convincing, even the most bigotted part of his people, that Perkin was an impostor, which would effectually put an end to his pretensions, without depriving him of his life. He therefore caused secret applications to be made to the young adventurer, offering him his pardon, if he would quit his sanctuary, and deliver himself into the king's hands. Perkin, destitute of all assistance, listened to the proposals; he was conducted in a kind of mock triumph to London, and committed to the Tower.

A.D. 1499. The volatile genius of Perkin was, however, ill adapted to confinement; he made his escape from the Tower, and fled to the sanctuary at Shene. The prior of that religious retirement interceded with Henry, and obtained his pardon. Perkin was again sent a prisoner to the Tower. But the spirit of intrigue had taken possession of his mind. He found means to open a correspondence with the young earl of Warwick, who having been kept in confinement from his earliest infancy, was ignorant even of the common transactions of life. He was therefore unable to see the consequence of listening to the suggestions of Perkin: he engaged with the impostor to make their escape. Their plot, however, was discovered, and Perkin, having now rendered himself unworthy of all favour, was condemned and executed. Nor did Henry omit so favourable an opportunity of freeing himself from a prince he had always beheld with malevolence. He caused the unfortunate earl of Warwick, the only male remaining of the Plantagenet family, to be accused of forming designs to disturb the government. He was easily found guilty, and Henry suffered him to be executed. This act of tyranny was thought, even by Henry himself, to stand in need of some apology; and it was accordingly pretended, that Ferdinand, king of Arragon, would not consent to the marriage of his daughter, with the prince of Wales, while any prince of the house of York remained alive. But this apology was far from satisfying the people: they exclaimed against the injustice of this cruel proceeding: they beheld with detestation a prince, who scrupled not to sacrifice every prin-

ciple of humanity to the dictates of an avaricious policy.

A.D. 1502. The marriage between Arthur, prince of Wales, and the princess Catherine of Aragon, was celebrated soon after the death of Warwick; but the prince, who was then about sixteen years of age, did not long survive his nuptials; he died of a consumption, and, it was said, without consummating his marriage. Henry, unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged Henry, his second son, whom he now created prince of Wales, to marry the princess, a dispensation from the pope being obtained for that purpose. This marriage occasioned very remarkable events in the following reign: About the same time Henry married his eldest daughter Margaret, to James IV. king of Scotland; an event which gave occasion to one of the members of the council to remark, that England, in consequence of this alliance, might possibly fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No," replied Henry with some vivacity, "Scotland, in that case, would only become an acquisition to England." He spoke not by the spirit of prophecy; but the event actually happened in the beginning of the succeeding century.

The plague, during these transactions, raged with uncommon violence; upwards of thirty thousand persons were swept away by it in the city of London. Among many others who fell victims to its fury, was cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate of great parts and experience in business; but so entirely devoted to the avaricious will of his master, and at the same time so fertile in devising oppressive methods to fleece the people, that he was beheld with detestation, and died without receiving the tribute of a tear.

But the loss of his favourite minister diverted not the thoughts of Henry from his darling pursuit of heaping up riches. Avarice was always the ruling passion of his soul, and was now increased by age to an immoderate degree. He was already possessed of more personal riches than any other sovereign in Europe; but his desire of acquisition seemed to increase in proportion as it was gratified. He now issued out commissions for imposing fines and redemptions upon all persons in the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, that should be found to have favoured the Cornish rebels under lord Audley and Perkin Warbec. At the same time he issued orders to all the sheriffs, to summon every gentleman possessed of forty pounds a year in land to repair to court, within a limited time, and receive the order of knighthood. These oppressive methods procured him the hatred of his subjects, though this hatred was, by his great abilities, tinged deeply with fear. All the powers on the continent courted his alliance; and all the malecontents of England were over-awed into a peaceful acquiescence.

The busy, restless, and furious passion of jealousy, however, still encroached upon his repose. Henry was of a disposition never to be easy under the smallest ground of apprehension, and an accident happened which greatly disturbed his peace. Edmund de la Pole, second son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV. was, on the death of his elder brother, considered as the next lineal heir to the crown, whenever the lines of Edward and of George, duke of Clarence, should become extinct. Edmund had claimed the inheritance of his title and estates on the death of his brother, who perished in the battle of Stokefield; but his extravagance having rendered him unable to support the title of duke, he was obliged to resign that dignity, and Henry, in consequence of that cession, allowed him to retain the lands of the earldom, with the dignity of earl of Suffolk. Edmund was of a very passionate disposition, and happened, in one of his furious sallies, to kill a man. He applied to the king for a pardon, which was not refused; but being



little indulgent to persons connected with the house of York, he obliged him to appear personally before the court of King's-Bench, and plead his pardon like a common felon. Suffolk so highly resented this affront, that he fled over to Flanders, and was protected by the dutchess of Burgundy. Henry was alarmed at his retreat; he thought he saw a new pretender ready to dispute his throne; and in order to prevent any design from being formed against him, he dispatched some of his emissaries to Flanders, promising him every advantage he could desire, if he would return. The offer was accepted: the earl came over to England, where he plunged into all his former excesses, to the ruin of his credit and fortune: he was obliged to retire into Flanders, where he again renewed the fears and jealousy of Henry.

A. D. 1503. Finding all his offers to prevail upon Suffolk to return ineffectual, and persuaded that he was forming designs against the government, he had recourse to the same artifice he had so successfully used in the case of Perkin Warbec. He applied to Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, near Calais, to attempt the discovery of Suffolk's secret intentions. He accordingly abandoned his post, under pretence of disaffection to the government, retired into Flanders, and offered his service to the earl of Suffolk. That nobleman received him with particular marks of esteem, formed a very intimate connection with him, and shewed him, in confidence, several letters he had received from his correspondents, in which the measures of Henry were treated with great freedom. Curson immediately informed Henry of the discoveries he had made, in consequence of which the earl of Devonshire, William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, and Sir James Windham, were taken into custody, and the two latter were afterwards condemned and executed. The death of Tyrrel gave universal satisfaction, on account of his participation in the murder of the two young princes, sons to Edward IV. Suffolk was, however, beyond the reach of Henry; but that nobleman, finding the dutchess of Burgundy was now become indifferent with regard to the partizans of the house of York, he retired to the court of Philip, archduke of Austria, where he was received with great marks of kindness and regard.

Henry was still employed in inventing new schemes for satisfying his avarice. His agents in this complicated scene of extortion, were Sir Richard Empson and Edward Dudley. The former was the son of a sieve-maker, and by the boldness of his measures endeavoured to conceal the meanness of his birth: the latter was a person of fortune and family, as well as of great abilities; circumstances which render his memory still more execrable, if possible, than that of his partner in iniquity. The insolence of these two ministers were carried to that height, that they did not even observe the common forms of justice; they fleeced the subject with the most arbitrary licentiousness. Such as refused tamely to yield up their property, were imprisoned, fined, and some of them executed, in consequence of private trials, without any fair examination, or the verdict of a jury. Henry, who shared the fruits of this oppression, covered the authors with the shield of his authority. Informers, spies, and other vermin of a similar kind, filled every part of the kingdom; while Henry was deaf to the groans of the oppressed, and insensible to the reproaches of his people.

A. D. 1505. An event which now happened in Spain, for some time diverted Henry's thoughts from oppression. Isabella, queen of Castile, paid the debt of nature, and it was foreseen that this incident would greatly affect the fortunes of her husband Ferdinand, king of Arragon. Henry's situation was, in some particulars, similar to that of Ferdinand, and therefore he regarded the issue of these transactions as a precedent for himself. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Isabella, was married to the archduke

Philip, and being, in right of her mother, heiress of Castile, seemed entitled to dispute with Ferdinand the present administration of that kingdom. It was of the utmost importance for Henry to support the pretensions of Ferdinand. He was very sensible that the greater part of his subjects were convinced of the superiority of his wife's title to the crown; and he dreaded lest the prince of Wales, who was every day advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by his own ambition, and the example of the archduke, to lay immediate claim to the crown.

A. D. 1506, Ferdinand, though so closely connected with Henry, soon found that it would be impossible for him to continue in the administration. His former exactions and impositions had rendered him very unpopular, and a resolution was taken to declare Philip and Joan, king and queen of Castile. Philip therefore embarked with his consort for Spain, on the sixth of January; but being overtaken by a dreadful storm, he was obliged to put into the harbour of Weymouth for safety. Spent with the fatigues of a turbulent voyage, the duke and his consort went on shore to procure some refreshment, contrary to the advice of his council, who strongly opposed the resolution.

Alarmed at hearing that a large fleet had, for some days, been seen on the coast, Sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of considerable property in the county of Dorset, assembled a body of forces, and being joined by Sir John Cary, who was also at the head of a few troops, they came to that town. As no accommodations could be expected fit for entertaining persons of their dignity, he invited them to his house, and immediately dispatched an express to inform the court of this important incident. Henry sent the earl of Arundel to compliment them in his name; to assure them that he hoped soon to have the pleasure of embracing them, and that, in the mean time, they might command in his dominions. Philip would willingly have declined the honour of an interview; but he well knew that he must not now depart without the king's consent, and therefore set out immediately for the court, which was then at Windsor, where he and his consort were received by Henry with all the marks of the most cordial friendship. But the English monarch was determined to draw some advantages from this fortunate event; and accordingly hinted to Philip, that as he had changed his condition, by accepting the crown of Castile, the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries ought to be renewed. No objections were made to this proposal, and a new treaty was drawn up and signed by both princes.

But though this treaty was very advantageous to England, Henry was far more desirous of succeeding in another attempt, which regarded himself only. He had been very uneasy at the reception the earl of Suffolk had met with at Philip's court, and was determined to employ the present opportunity of procuring that fugitive to be sent back to his own country. Accordingly he complained to Philip, that his subjects found an asylum in his dominions, particularly the earl of Suffolk. "I really thought," replied the king of Castile, "that a person of so little consequence was incapable of giving you the least uneasiness. But to convince you, that I am desirous of giving you all the satisfaction in my power, I will banish him from my territories." "You will greatly increase the obligation," said the king, "by carrying your complaisance a little farther, and deliver Suffolk into my hands: I can then depend upon his submission and obedience." "If I grant your request," said Philip, "I shall bring a stain of dishonour upon us both. It will be said that I was treated as a prisoner in your dominions." "Then there is no farther dispute," replied Henry, "I will take all the dishonour upon myself." Philip perceived that Henry was determined to carry his point, and therefore gave his consent, on condition that no attempt should be made against his life. Henry very readily agreed to this restriction,



restriction, and even condescended to write a letter to the earl with his own hand; assuring the unfortunate exile, that he should meet with the kindest reception in England. This invitation, added to that of Philip, who was persuaded that Henry would make no difficulty of granting his pardon, produced the desired effect. Suffolk returned to England; but on his appearance, was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued till the next reign, when he fell a sacrifice to the detestable jealousies of the state.

Philip was now suffered to proceed on his voyage, after being detained in England above three months. He was joyfully received by his subjects. Ferdinand withdrew to his own kingdom of Arragon; and Philip was placed upon the throne of Castile, amidst the acclamations of the people. But he did not long enjoy his crown. He died on the twenty-fifth of September, after a reign of about three months; and his consort was so afflicted at his loss, that she fell into a deep melancholy, which rendered her incapable of holding the reins of government. Philip therefore resumed the administration during the minority of Charles of Luxembourg, afterwards so well known by the name of Charles V.

A.D. 1507. The Flemings having thus lost their prince, invited the emperor Maximilian to resume the government of the Low Countries during the minority of his grandson. He accepted the invitation; but being engaged in affairs of importance, which detained him in Germany, he sent his daughter Margaret, widow to the duke of Savoy, with the character of governante of the Low Countries, till his arrival. A provisional treaty of commerce was soon after concluded between Margaret and Henry, until some differences which had arisen between the English and Flemings could be amicably adjusted.

But no business of state, except where his jealousy was concerned, could divert the attention of Henry from his avaricious proceedings; and the oppressions of Empson and Dudley were more flagitious than ever. Sir William Capel, who had been lord-mayor of London about four years since, was now prosecuted upon a frivolous charge of not having punished a person who had paid him false money during the time of his mayoralty, and fined two thousand pounds. He refused to pay so exorbitant a sum, and was immediately sent to the Tower, where he continued till the death of Henry. Laurence Aylmer, lord mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, were also prosecuted upon charges equally frivolous, and each fined a thousand pounds. But they imitating the example of Capel, were committed to the King's-bench prison. Several other gentlemen were prosecuted in the same manner; so that it is no wonder the names of Empson and Dudley became obnoxious to the people. By these iniquitous practices, Henry amassed the enormous sum of two millions, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, an amazing quantity in those times. His rigid economy daily augmented this heap of wealth; and the more he advanced in years, the more detestable he became by his avarice; a vice never found in a great and cultivated mind.

A.D. 1508. But Henry now began to perceive, that neither riches, power, nor success, could secure him from the misfortunes incident to human nature. He had for some years laboured under a consumptive disorder, too inveterate to be conquered by the prescriptions of the healing art, which had exerted all its powers in preserving a life Henry was so unwilling to resign. At length his disorder became desperate: he found his end was approaching. The thoughts of death effected what reason had attempted in vain. Henry entered deep into himself, and trembled at the gloomy prospect that now opened before him. He now saw the wickedness and folly of accumulating riches by violence and extortion, and was desirous of performing some actions that might recommend him to the mercy of the Deity, and obtain, in some measure, the applause of his people.

He distributed large sums in charity; released, at his own expence, all prisoners confined for debts under forty shillings; and ordered, by his last will, that restitution, as far as possible, should be made to those who had suffered by the infamous agents of his oppressive avarice. But these measures, however commendable in themselves, are more efficacious in relieving the consciences of the unjust, than in satisfying the Deity. There is little merit in abandoning what we can no longer enjoy.

A.D. 1509. In this manner Henry passed the last months of his life; and paid the debt of nature on the twenty-fourth of April, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and the fifty-second of his age.

The reign of Henry was more advantageous to his people than honourable to himself. He put a final period to the civil wars which had so long distracted the kingdom. He maintained order and regularity in the state: he depressed the exorbitant power of the nobility; and by his firmness and intrepidity, together with the friendship and alliances he contracted with foreign princes, he became one of the greatest monarchs in Europe. His reign, in some measure, humanized the ferocious manners of the English. He inherited a fund of good sense, which was greatly improved by study and experience. His judgment was sound, and his sagacity remarkable. His prudence and valour surmounted every difficulty. These shining qualities acquired him the esteem of all the princes of Europe, and he was generally known by the appellation of the English Solomon. But his activity and firmness, his wisdom, his love of peace, and his courage in war, cannot wipe away the stains which the odious vice of avarice left upon his memory.

Henry had six children by his queen; but only three survived him; one son, and two daughters:

1. Henry Tudor, born at Greenwich on the twenty-fourth of February, 1491, and succeeded his father by the name of Henry VIII.

2. Margaret Tudor, born on the twenty-ninth of November, 1489: first married to James IV. king of Scotland; and afterwards to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus. She left children by both.

3. Mary Tudor, born in the year 1498: married first to Lewis XII. king of France; and after his decease, to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

The great object of Henry's policy was to humble the nobility, and to keep them in a proper degree of subordination. Accordingly he abolished, by his vigour and firmness, the practice of having retainers, which had been long an object of pride to the nobility, and who, by this method, engaged a multitude of people in their service. These became the tools of their injustice and rebellion. He also passed an act of parliament, by which the nobility were enabled to alienate their possessions, without paying the enormous fines before necessary. This enabled the people to purchase estates, and, consequently, to augment their power; while it diminished that of the barons, by furnishing them with the means of prodigality and expence. Commerce and industry were every day advancing in their progress, though the real methods of encouraging trade were entirely unknown. The interest of money, the profits of exchange, and the exportation of plate and bullion, were prohibited. Prices were fixed for woollen cloths, for hats, and the wages of labourers: nor could any person bind his children apprentices, who did not possess twenty shillings a year in land. These were so many obstacles which impeded the progress of commerce and industry. Henry, however, passed several wise laws for the execution of justice, for the punishment of murderers, and for subjecting the clergy to capital punishments on the commission of grosser enormities.

The arts and sciences now began to emerge from that obscurity under which they had been so long concealed. The city of Constantinople was taken by the Turks in the year 1453; and the Greeks, among whom some remains of learning were still



preserved, being scattered by these enthusiastic barbarians, took shelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their science, and their refined taste in poetry and eloquence. The purity of the Latin tongue was also revived; the study of antiquity became fashionable; and the esteem for literature gradually propagated itself through every nation in Europe. But what still more contributed to disseminate the sciences, was the discovery of the art of printing, which spreads with such rapidity, from country to country, the wisdom and follies of men. William Caxton, citizen and mercer of London, being sent ambassador by Edward IV. to the duke of Burgundy, learned that useful art during his abode in the Low Countries, and introduced it into England about the year 1474. He translated several books from the French, and printed them himself in one of the chapels of Westminster-abbey, by permission of John Islip the abbot. The book on "The Game of Chesse," dated 1474, but without Caxton's name, is generally reckoned the first production of the English press. The invention was soon purchased by the monasteries, and presses were set up at Oxford, Cambridge, St. Albans, and other places.

The dawn of literature was ushered in by the discovery of a new world. Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, one of those bold and original geniuses born for the instruction of mankind, undertook to extend the limits which ignorance had set to the world. His knowledge of the true figure of the earth, however obtained, was far superior to that of any of his contemporaries; and he generously determined not to suffer the discoveries he had made to continue in obscurity. He conceived a project of sailing to the Indies by a western course, and of opening to his country a new source of opulence and power. But the Genoese rejected this notion as chimerical; they considered it as impossible for a western coast to lead to the Indies. Stung with disappointment and indignation, Columbus retired from Genoa; and, after a series of difficulties, obtained a small fleet

from Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. He sailed on the third of August, 1492, on the most adventurous attempt ever undertaken by man, and in the fate of which the inhabitants of two worlds were interested. He was successful; and the consequence was the discovery of America. Soon after, the Portuguese found a passage to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, by which they carried on an advantageous trade with the inhabitants of the East. Discoveries of this important kind roused the torpid genius of mankind; and improvements were daily made in geography, navigation, and astronomy. New ideas opened to the human mind, the faculties were extended, and advances were continually made in useful and ornamental learning. The art of artillery and engineering were brought to some degree of perfection, and changed intirely the operations of war.

Among the men of genius and learning that flourished in these times, were Sir John Fortescue and Sir Thomas Lyttleton. The former was one of the most learned men of his age: he was lord chief justice of the King's-bench in the reign of Henry VI. and constituted chancellor to that unfortunate prince after Edward IV. had taken possession of the throne. He followed the fortunes of the house of Lancaster, and was many years in exile with queen Margaret, and prince Edward her son. Soon after the decisive battle of Tewksbury, he was thrown into prison, and attainted, with other Lancastrians, but found means to procure his pardon from Edward IV. His celebrated book, "*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*," was written for the use of prince Edward. His treatise on the "Difference between an absolute and a limited Monarchy," was not published till the year 1714.

Sir Thomas Lyttleton was judge of the Common Pleas, and a knight of the Bath, in the reign of Edward IV. He was the author of the celebrated book of "*Tenures or Titles*," by which all estates were anciently held in England. The first edition of this work was published at Rouen about the year 1533. Sir Edward Coke's *Book of Institutes* is a comment on this work.









*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



## B O O K X.

From the accession of Henry VIII. to the death of Queen Elizabeth.

## H E N R Y VIII.

A. D. 1509. **T**HE English, who had long groaned under the avaricious tyranny of Henry VII. considered the accession of his son to the throne as an event pregnant with happiness; so that young Henry ascended the throne with every advantage which nature and fortune could bestow. Amiable in his person and address, in the bloom of youth, blessed with uncommon talents, and possessed of immense wealth, he saw himself at the head of a flourishing kingdom, where the arts and sciences wanted only a liberal benefactor to promote their progress; and as the public tranquillity was secured by a long peace and powerful alliances, the people had already formed the greatest expectations from his distinguished abilities. It was not immediately perceived that his passions would render him a tyrant; nor was he tinctured with the vice of avarice. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than his dispositions appeared to be the reverse of his father: he displayed a liberality that bordered on profusion.

Henry had been educated as an ecclesiastic; there being no hopes of his ever ascending the throne till the death of his elder brother removed the difficulty, and rendered him heir apparent to the English crown. By this means he very early imbibed a taste for literature, particularly for theology, which he ever after cultivated with great attention. This qualified him for the many disputes he afterwards carried on with Luther and the pope; and to this, perhaps, all his measures, with regard to religion, were owing.

But however opposite the dispositions of young Henry were to those of his father, he did not think it necessary to displace those statesmen who had served with fidelity in the preceding reign. His grandmother, the countess of Richmond, was still alive; and as she was highly esteemed for her prudence and virtue, he wisely listened to her advice in the establishment of his new council. It was composed of Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and lord-chancellor; Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and lord privy-seal; Howard, earl of Surry, lord treasurer; Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, lord-steward of the household; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, master of the wards, and constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poinings, knight of the garter, comptroller; Sir Henry Manny, afterwards lord Manny; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and Sir Henry Wyat. These were thoroughly experienced in business; nor had they borne any part of the public odium during the life of the late king.

The gay and spirited disposition of Henry soon changed the aspect of the court: the scenes of economy and avarice now gave way to those of dissipation and profusion. One party of pleasure succeeded another. Feasts, tournaments, and carousals, were exhibited with all the magnificence of that age; and the prodigious treasures amassed by the late king were dissipated in the giddy expences of his successor.

Henry did not, however, forget the complaints of his people. He published a proclamation to encourage complaints against all who had made use of

the royal authority to the prejudice of his subjects. The opportunity was embraced with avidity; the spies and informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the kingdom, now felt the weight of justice, and fell victims to the resentment of the public. Empson and Dudley, who had been so often loaded with execrations, were cited before the council, to answer for their conduct. But it was soon found, that however obnoxious they were rendered by their late conduct, they could not be condemned by the laws of their country. Empson artfully observed, that the only crime of which both himself and Dudley were accused, consisted in their having enforced a strict execution of the laws; that they had acted entirely in obedience to the king, to whom the execution of the laws was entrusted by the constitution; that it belonged not to them, who were merely instruments in the hands of the supreme power, what laws were recent or obsolete, expedient or hurtful, since they were all equally valid while they remained unrepealed by the legislature. The council perceived Empson's arguments were unanswerable, and therefore thought proper to commit these obnoxious ministers to the Tower, till a new accusation could be formed against them. After some deliberation, it was determined to accuse them of high-treason. It was said, "That, conscious of the popular odium incurred by their unjust proceedings, they had summoned their friends, while the late king lay on his death-bed, to consult them on the measures necessary to be taken to secure them from the resentment of the public." These measures were construed into a conspiracy to seize the person of the new king, and to take up arms in defence of themselves and their party. This strange accusation, however absurd and improbable, was sufficient to convict them of the crime laid to their charge, and they fell victims to the just resentment of an injured people.

While the public attention was engaged in the prosecution of these obnoxious ministers, the council was employed in deliberating on the expedience of the king's consummating his marriage with Catherine of Arragon. Fox, bishop of Winchester, a zealous prelate, and violently attached to the papal authority, strongly supported the interest of the princess. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, urged, that it was contrary to a positive command of the Deity himself, for a man to marry his brother's widow, and, consequently, that the pope's dispensation was invalid. Fox opposed to this argument the unlimited authority of Christ's vicar, and that the pope's dispensation was abundantly sufficient. To this weak argument he added others of a much stronger tendency, founded on political motives. He represented the danger of forcing Ferdinand into an alliance with France, and of the two monarchs joining to resent the affront offered to the king of Arragon in the person of his daughter, after she had been so long affianced to Henry. He expatiated on the known virtue, modesty, and noble dispositions of the princess; her affection for the king, the large dowry he brought, and the necessity of forming a close alliance with Spain,



Spain, in order to counterbalance the great power of France. These arguments prevailed, and the marriage was accordingly consummated.

But though the bishop of Winchester had been successful with regard to the consummation of Henry's marriage, he soon perceived that his power began to decline. He had acquired such habits of caution and frugality during the preceding reign, that he could not now lay them wholly aside. He remonstrated against the schemes of dissipation and expence pursued by the young monarch, and by that means lost his favour: while Surry, who made his own interest the sole motive of his conduct, was very officious in promoting the liberality, pleasure, and magnificence which now prevailed. Winchester expostulated with him on his remarkable change of conduct, but without effect: Surry derived great advantages from the dissipation of his master, and at the same time engaged him in such a course of idleness, that he became negligent of the affairs of state, and willing to entrust the government to the care of his ministers. Fox was highly exasperated against Surry, and determined to introduce some person who might be a spy upon his actions. He cast his eyes upon Dr. Thomas Woolsey, as a person well qualified to answer his purpose. He was the son of a butcher at Ipswich, but distinguished by his prudence, his talents, and his learning. Woolsey had recommended himself by his address to Henry VII. who had employed him with advantage in some difficult commissions. Nor was it long before the young courtier gained the favour of his master. His insinuating address, his taste for pleasure, and his love of letters, could not fail of rendering him very acceptable to Henry. We shall soon see him at the head of the administration.

A. D. 1510. The wars in Italy still raged with the utmost violence, and attracted the attention of all the princes in Europe. A league had been formed at Cambray between the pope, the emperor and the kings of France and Spain, for stripping the republic of Venice of her territories on the continent. Julius II. that warlike and imperious pontiff, had planned this confederacy. Forgetting the cares of religion, in order to increase the power of the holy see, he scrupled not to involve Italy in all the horrors of war, and deluge, with christian blood, the countries over which he presided as vicar of the Prince of Peace. The French soon reduced the Venetians to extremities, and recovered the territories claimed by the contracting princes. But the pope had no sooner obtained possession of the dominions he pretended to belong to the church, than he determined to break the league of Cambray, and reduce the power of Lewis, which he now considered as too formidable. In order to this, he endeavoured to excite the states of Europe against the French monarch, and was particularly desirous of engaging young Henry in his favour. He sent that monarch a consecrated golden rose, a favour never bestowed by the popes but on their most favourite princes. He engaged Ferdinand to assist him, and entered into a treaty with the Swiss cantons.

Having formed so powerful a confederacy, he attacked the duke of Ferrara, an ally of France. Lewis, who never imagined a design was formed for attacking his territories, made no preparations for repelling the attempts of the enemy; but determining not to abandon his ally, he sent orders to Chamont his general, and governor of Milan, to support the duke with all his forces. Chamont prepared immediately to obey the commands of his sovereign, and hearing that the pontiff was arrived at Boulogne, he resolved to surprize him. He accordingly led his army towards the city, and had he not been amused with some of the pope's envoys, he would, in all probability, have put an end to all the projects of this enterprising pontiff; but instead of pushing the siege with vigour, he listened to proposals offered by Julius, which that artful churchman

never intended to perform. This suspension of hostilities furnished an opportunity for a body of Venetian troops to throw themselves into the castle, and Chamont, being destitute of artillery sufficient for taking the fortress, was obliged to abandon the undertaking.

Lewis, after trying every method in his power to bring about a treaty of peace with this imperious pontiff, determined to subdue him by force of arms, and to depose him in a council summoned to meet at Pisa. But no danger could intimidate the old pontiff; he laid siege to Mirandola in person; and tho' he was then seventy years of age, he mounted the trenches, visited the works, encouraged the engineers, and at length entered the breach with the foremost of his forces.

While the pope, worn out with age, was fighting at the head of his forces, Lewis, still in the vigour of life, was debating in his council. He laboured to stir up all the clergy in Europe, and the pope all the soldiers. The general council was summoned to meet at Pisa, where a few cardinals, who were enemies to the pontiff, made their appearance. But this council proved an idle undertaking, while the papal war was very successful. Julius, without suspending for a moment his military operations, fulminated anathemas against the bishops assembled at Pisa.

A. D. 1512. Henry was courted by both parties, but at last, by the instigations of Ferdinand, who had joined the pontiff, declared against France. The glory of serving the pope, and of conquering provinces, excited the ambition of the young monarch; and the parliament readily granted supplies for an enterprise that was agreeable to the people. Ferdinand, always attentive to his own interest, while he seemed to be acting for that of others, persuaded Henry that it would be more for his advantage not to land his troops at Calais, but at Fontenabia, where he might easily make a conquest of Guienne, and where he promised to assist him with a Spanish army. But the real intention of Ferdinand was to turn this force to the acquisition of the kingdom of Navarre. Julius had excommunicated John d'Albert, its present king, as an adherent to the council of Pisa; and the dominions of an excommunicated prince were an object worthy to excite the violence and rapacity of Ferdinand and the catholic.

Henry, who suspected not the designs of Ferdinand, agreed to the proposal. The marquis of Dorset was appointed general of the land forces, which were landed in the province of Guipuscoa, about the middle of June. The English admiral, in his return, made several successful descents on the coast of Britany, and being joined by a squadron of ships commanded by Sir Thomas Knivet, the depredations were continued with advantages. Alarmed at the attempts of the English, the French fleet of thirty-nine ships, was ordered to sail from Brest under the command of Primauger, an admiral of great courage and conduct. The two fleets soon after met, and a furious engagement ensued. At length Primauger's ship was set on fire, and determining not to perish alone, he bore down upon the English admiral, and grappling with her, both ships soon became involved in the same inevitable destruction. This dreadful scene suspended the action between the other ships; they were struck with astonishment at so frightful a scene of horror and confusion. After some time the French ship blew up, and the dreadful explosion destroyed the English. This alarming catastrophe, in which above sixteen hundred men perished, so affected both parties, that the engagement was not renewed; the French retired to Brest, and the English continued cruising in the Channel.

The duke of Alva, who commanded the Spanish forces, having joined the English, preparations were made for opening the campaign. But Dorset, who was no stranger to Ferdinand's intentions, was surprized



prized to find, that instead of pursuing the conquest of Guienne, his army moved towards the frontiers of Navarre. The English general complained to Ferdinand, that instead of undertaking the siege of Bayonne, which would open a passage into Guienne, the forces had taken a different rout. Ferdinand replied, that as the king of Navarre was connected with France, he thought it would not be advisable to form the siege of Bayonne, till measures were taken for preventing that prince from cutting off their provisions, by forming a camp between the sea and the mountains of Navarre. Dorset agreed to these proposals, and an English officer was sent to that prince to know his intentions. D'Albert declared that he would observe an exact neutrality, and give no obstruction to the attempts of the English. Ferdinand pretended not to be satisfied with this answer, he insisted that the king of Navarre should join the combined army, or deliver into his hands six of the most considerable places in his dominions, together with his eldest son as an hostage. The artful Spaniard well knew that these terms could not be complied with, and on the return of the messenger with intelligence that the proposal was rejected, orders were sent to the duke of Alva to invade Navarre, and reduce the whole kingdom to subjection. The English general now perceived the interests of his master were to be sacrificed to the ambitious views of the Spaniard, and refused to assist in the reduction of Navarre. He retired to his camp at Fontarabia, resolving there to wait for fresh orders from England. But even his inaction answered the views of Ferdinand. It kept the French army in awe; and by preventing Lewis from assisting d'Albert, the kingdom of Navarre fell into the hands of Ferdinand. The season was too far advanced, and the French had taken too many precautions in putting Bayonne in a proper posture of defence, for Dorset to think of making any progress in the reduction of Guienne: he returned to England without having had an opportunity of leading his forces against the enemy. Henry was highly displeased at the ill success of the enterprize; and Dorset found the utmost difficulty to convince him that the miscarriage was entirely owing to the fraudulent designs of Ferdinand, who was now stiled in Spain, "the wise, the prudent;" in Italy, "the pious;" in France and in England, "the perfidious."

A. D. 1513. But though this war was attended only with disgrace to the English arms, yet it served to weaken France. Lewis was obliged to recall his troops to the defence of his own dominions, and by that means lost all his Italian conquests. Julius triumphed in the disgrace of the French monarch; but he did not long enjoy his good fortune: he paid the debt of nature on the twenty-first of February, and was succeeded in the papal chair by John de Medici, under the appellation of Leo X. one of the greatest princes that ever filled the pontifical seat. He was the patron of arts, and the friend of learning. Desirous of attaching Henry firmly to his interest, he sent him a vessel loaded with hams and wine. The arrival of this vessel, which carried the papal banner, in the Thames, filled the English with exultation, and excited their natural antipathy against France.

The famous Wolsey was now at the head of the English ministry; and perceiving the ardour of Henry for war, he exerted all his abilities to provide an army that might retrieve the martial glory of his countrymen. Hostilities were first commenced at sea, but without any advantage to either of the contending princes. It was on the continent that the decisive blows were intended to be struck. The van of the army, consisting of eight thousand men, was led by the earl of Shrewsbury, assisted by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwalter, Hastings, and Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horse. This division being landed at Calais, was soon followed by another body of six thousand men, under the command of lord Herbert, chamberlain,

attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curson, and other gentlemen. Henry now prepared to follow his forces; but before his departure, he caused the unfortunate earl of Suffolk to be beheaded. What reasons induced Henry to commit this cruel action, is not absolutely known. The French historians tell us, that it was in obedience to the dying commands of his father; while others think, that Henry, exasperated at the conduct of his brother Edward de la Pole, who had accepted a command in the French service, satiated his vengeance on the unhappy Suffolk.

About the thirtieth of June, Henry landed at Calais with the third division of his army, consisting of twelve thousand men. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, and many others of the principal nobility. But he soon perceived the little reliance he ought to place on the engagements of princes; for among all his allies, the Swiss only performed the conditions of the treaty. The emperor Maximilian had promised to join them with a body of eight thousand men; but though he had received from Henry one hundred and twenty thousand crowns for that purpose, he failed in his engagements. He made some atonement, however, to the English monarch, by joining him, in the Low Countries, with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were of great service. In giving an example of discipline to Henry's new-raised forces. The emperor himself enlisted as a volunteer in the English army, and blushed not to receive an hundred crowns a day for his service. He was, however, treated with the highest respect by Henry, and in reality directed all the operations of the combined army.

The earl of Shrewsbury, and lord Herbert, before the landing of Henry, had formed the siege of Terrouenne, a town situated on the borders of Picardy. The garrison, which consisted of not more than a thousand men, commanded by Teligini and Crequi, made a noble defence. The town was, however, at last reduced to extremities, for want of ammunition and provisions; and Lewis determined, if possible, to send a supply. Eight hundred cavalry were chosen for making this dangerous attempt, each of whom carried behind him a sack of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon. Thus equipped, and headed by Fontrailles, they made a sudden irruption into the English camp, surmounted all resistance, and advanced to the fosse of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. Then returning on a gallop, they again forced themselves a passage with very little loss.

This insult was, however, soon revenged. Informed that a large body of French horse was approaching, Henry ordered some troops to pass the Lis, and give them battle. The contest was soon decided. The French cavalry, though consisting chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with the greatest intrepidity in many desperate encounters, were seized with so unaccountable a panic, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, Buffi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and several other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners in endeavouring to rally their forces. This action is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, but more frequently the "Battle of the Spurs," because the French that day made more use of their spurs than their swords.

Henry, who was now at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, instead of profiting by this victory, and marching into the heart of France, as he might easily have done, returned to the siege of Terrouenne, while the French were struck with astonishment at this shameful behaviour of their cavalry. They would have been less alarmed, if the whole body had been cut to pieces. They prognosticated a fatal termination to the war with England, and were fearful that Henry would revive the dreadful



scenes of Poitiers and Agincourt. But his supine negligence revived their spirits: Terouane soon after surrendered, and Henry invested Tournay, a place always incorporated with France, and the cradle of the French monarchy.

That city was incapable of making any long defence, the garrison being almost destitute of military stores and provisions. Accordingly the place was hardly invested before the garrison offered to capitulate. The terms were accepted, and Henry entered the city in triumph. Sir Edward Poinings was appointed governor, and the bishop's see being then vacant, Henry conferred it on his favourite Wolsey, who immediately took possession of the revenues, which were very considerable.

While Henry was thus engaged in reducing the towns of France, the Swiss entered Burgundy, and laid siege to Dijon, which was in no condition to resist so formidable an army. Ferdinand seemed desirous of taking advantage of the distress of Lewis; whose dominions were now surrounded by enemies. Tremouille, governor of Burgundy, perceived the dangerous situation of his master, and seduced the Swiss into a negotiation. He made no objection to the terms they offered, persuaded that his conduct would be disavowed by Lewis: and the enemy, without making the least enquiry into the powers of that nobleman, agreed to withdraw their army, on the promise of being paid four hundred thousand crowns. The retreat of the Swiss accelerated the departure of Henry. He arrived in England on the seventeenth of October, highly satisfied with the success of his first campaign.

While the English monarch was employed in reducing the towns of France, James IV. of Scotland, who had declared for Lewis, was ravaging the northern parts of Northumberland, at the head of fifty thousand men. He made himself master of the castles of Norham, Etal, Werk, Ford, and other fortresses of less importance. The earl of Surry, who commanded the English forces, marched into the northern counties to stop the ravages of the invaders. His army consisted of about twenty-six thousand men, five thousand of which had been sent over from the army in France. The Scots were encamped on the high grounds near Chivior hills, in a very advantageous situation. The river Till ran in their front; nor could their camp be approached but by one narrow pass, which was defended by their artillery.

Surry, perceiving that it would be madness to attack the enemy in their present situation, dispatched an herald to the Scottish monarch, offering to meet him in the plain of Milfield, appointing a day for the combat, and inviting him to try the valour of his forces on equal ground. But the answer he received was far from being satisfactory, and he determined to have recourse to a stratagem, in order, if possible, to draw the Scots from their advantageous situation. He made a feint of marching towards Berwick, in order to retaliate the ravages of the enemy, and cut off their provisions.

This motion occasioned a council of war to be summoned in the Scottish camp, where an old nobleman, who had learned prudence from experience, advised James to return immediately to Scotland with his booty. He observed, that enough had been done to fulfil his engagements with France; that it would be imprudent to hazard a battle with the English in their own country; and that, in serving France, Scotland was not to be neglected merely to please the French ambassador, who was desirous of engaging others in the most dangerous enterprises, in order to relieve his master from his present distress. But James listened not to this prudent advice; he determined to give battle to the English the first favourable opportunity. The army was accordingly put in motion, the huts in which the soldiers had been quartered were set on fire, and the Scots descended in disorder from the hills. Surry observed the precipitate decampment of the Scottish army, and the smoke of the huts concealing

his motions from the enemy, he passed the Till with his van-guard and train of artillery, at the bridge of Twifel, while the rest of his army crossed the stream at a ford farther up the river.

As soon as the smoke was a little evaporated, James perceived that a battle was inevitable, and that he had now lost his advantageous situation. He immediately drew up his army in three divisions. The right was commanded by the earl of Huntley, assisted by lord Hume; the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle; and the center by the king in person: a fourth body under the earl of Bothwell, formed a corps de reserve. The English army was divided into two lines: the main body of the first was led by lord Howard; the right wing by Sir Edmund Howard, and the left by Sir Marmaduke Constable. The main body of the second line was commanded by the earl of Surry himself; the right wing by lord Dacres, and the left by Sir Edward Stanley. In this position the armies approached each other, and met in Floudon field. The battle was begun by the earl of Huntley, who charged with such fury, that he broke the left wing of the English, and drove them off the field. But the same success did not attend the other commanders: they could not support the shock of the English; and Huntley at his return found the Scottish army in great disorder. Elated with the success of the wing commanded by Huntley, the division under Lenox and Argyle, had broke their ranks, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of La Motte, the French ambassador, had rushed headlong on the enemy, imagining themselves sure of victory. But they soon found their mistake. Sir Edward Stanley's division stood firm; while Dacres, who commanded in the second line, wheeling about during the action, attacked them so furiously in the rear, that they could not sustain the shock; the greater part of them were cut to pieces, and the rest escaped by a disorderly flight. This misfortune did not, however, intimidate the divisions under the king and Bothwell. Animated by the valour of their leaders, they still made head against the English; and forming themselves into a circle continued the engagement till night put an end to the slaughter. The slain on both sides were nearly equal, being about five thousand men: but the morning soon discovered that the two armies were now unequal. The English had lost very few officers, while the whole flower of the Scottish nobility were slain. The king himself was missing; but whether he fell by the sword of the English, or by the poniard of an assassin, is not known. A body supposed to be that of the Scottish monarch, was found among the dead, and conveyed to London in a leaden coffin, where it remained some time unburied, as James lay under the sentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and opposition to the Holy See. Henry, however, obtained his absolution from the pontiff, and the body was accordingly interred.

Such was the event of the battle of Floudon; and Henry had now a fair opportunity of insisting on his own terms with Scotland, perhaps of conquering the whole country. But he generously listened to the request of his sister, who, on the death of her husband, became regent of the kingdom of Scotland during the minority of her son, and concluded with her a treaty of peace. At the same time he created the earl of Surry, duke of Norfolk; Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk; Charles Somerset, lord Herbert, earl of Worcester; and Sir Edward Stanley, lord Monteagle; Margaret of York, daughter to the duke of Clarence, obtained the title of countess of Salisbury, as heiress to her brother the earl of Warwick, beheaded by Henry VII. Wolsey, who was both the favourite and minister of Henry, was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln, and the pope permitted him to retain the revenues of the bishopric of Tournay.

A.D. 1514. Lewis was very desirous of restoring tranquillity to his dominions, and sheathing, by



an honourable peace, the sword of destruction. He appeared Leo X. by renouncing the council of Pisa, which had been transferred to Lyons; and the pontiff, in return, took off the excommunication that had been denounced against him and his kingdom. He offered to Ferdinand to give in marriage to either of his grandchildren, his daughter Renee, and to cede with her his claim to the duchy of Milan; and he engaged the emperor Maximilian in the same views, and that prince was easily induced to consent to proposals that were advantageous to his family. Henry was not averse to a peace; the perfidious conduct of his allies had convinced him that they were more intent on promoting their own interests, than in fulfilling their promises. A negotiation was therefore opened between the two princes, and a peace soon after concluded on the following conditions: That Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Richard de la Pole should be banished to Metz, and reside there on a pension assigned by Lewis; that Henry should receive a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that Lewis should marry the princess Mary, Henry's sister, who should bring four hundred thousand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as even the former queen of France, who was heiress of Brittany. It was also stipulated, that the two princes should mutually assist each other with troops in case either of them was attacked by an enemy. The princess Mary, one of the most beautiful and accomplished women of the age, was then in her twentieth year, and Lewis in his fifty-sixth. He met her at Abbeville, where the nuptials were celebrated with the utmost magnificence; but his passion for this amiable princess cost him his life. His constitution was too much impaired to withstand the excesses of pleasure into which he plunged. He died in less than three months after his marriage, and left his people to bewail his loss with the tears of affection. He was sincerely beloved by his subjects, and deservedly acquired the honourable appellation of "Father of his Country." His young queen soon after married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

A. D. 1515. While Wolsey was conducting the negotiation for a peace with France, the archbishop of York was poisoned at Rome by his chaplain, in revenge for a blow the prelate had given him. Information was immediately sent to Henry, informing him of this catastrophe, and that the pope had determined to keep the see of York vacant, till the king's pleasure should be known. He did not wait long, Henry immediately conferred it upon Wolsey, and the pontiff confirmed his election. That celebrated churchman now governed the kingdom, tho' he affected only to follow the inclinations of Henry. He seemed to be only the companion of his pleasures, but held in reality the reins of government. Preferments were heaped upon him with unbounded profusion. He was not only archbishop of York, but also bishop of Durham and Lincoln, and farmed, on very easy terms, the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, which were enjoyed by Italians who resided abroad. He soon after obtained a cardinal's hat, which augmented at once his pride and ostentation. His household was composed of eight hundred persons, among whom were several of the nobility. He was the first clergyman who wore silk and gold. But still his ambition was not satisfied; he wanted the great seal of England, then in the hands of Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. The primate was a person of great prudence and conduct; he had never engaged in any court intrigues; nor even gave offence to any party. Wolsey therefore did not attempt to deprive him of his post of chancellor, which perhaps he could not have effected, but took every opportunity of mortifying him, in order to provoke him to resign.

In order to this he prevailed upon the pope to appoint him legate a latere, which gave him precedence

in the province of Canterbury; and being thus empowered to have the legantine cross borne before him; he caused also that of York to be carried with it in an erect position. This privilege had formerly occasioned violent disputes between the two metropolitans; and was at last decided by the king's laying his express command on the archbishops of York, not to have the cross carried before them in the province of Canterbury. Warham remonstrated with Wolsey on his conduct in this particular, but without effect; and the primate being of a peaceable disposition, chose rather to retire to his see, and employ himself wholly to the duties of his office, than remain at court, where he was every day affronted. Accordingly he resigned the great seal into the hands of Henry, who, two days after, committed it to the custody of Wolsey. Fox, bishop of Winchester, who had so long directed the affairs of government, and even introduced Wolsey to the king's favour; could not bear to find himself neglected. He accordingly obtained leave to retire to his bishopric; and at leaving the council-board he told the king, that "he hoped he would not suffer the servant to be greater than the master." "Fear not, my good lord bishop," replied Henry, "it shall be my care that subjects shall obey, and not command."

Francis I. who ascended the throne of France on the death of Lewis XII. was a prince of great courage, and wanted only the talent of discretion to render him superior to all the princes of Europe. He renewed the treaty made by his predecessor with Henry, and, induced by the ardour of conquest, he passed into Italy. His design was to conquer the duchy of Milan, which Lewis XII. had lost, and to wrest it once more from the unhappy family of Sforza. He was supported by the Venetians, who wanted at least to recover the Veronese, of which they had been stripped by the emperor Maximilian. His opposers were pope Leo X. an active and intriguing prince, and Maximilian, worn out with age and infirmities: but his most dangerous enemies were the Swiss, irritated against France, by the refusal of Lewis XII. to fulfil the treaty concluded before Dijon, and inflamed with the harangues of Matthew Schaner, cardinal of Sion. They had assumed the title of "Defenders of the popes, and protectors of princes;" and indeed for the last ten years this appellation was not merely imaginary.

The French monarch on his march to Milan continued to negotiate with that nation. Practised in the art of dissimulation, which they had learned from the cardinal of Sion, they amused the king with empty promises, till they received advice that the military chest of France was arrived, when they descended from their mountains into the plain, though destitute of cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. A dreadful battle ensued at Marignan near Milan. The victory was contested with a perseverance hitherto unknown; and it required all the heroic valour of Francis to inspire his troops with courage to support themselves against the desperate assaults of these mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants. The king slept on the carriage of a cannon within fifty paces of a Swiss battalion. As soon as the dawn appeared, the action was renewed with redoubled fury; and it was not till the Swiss had lost their bravest troops, that they could be prevailed upon to retire. The field was strewed with twenty thousand slain on both sides; and the old marshal Trivulcio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, used to call this "The Battle of the Giants."

The victory of Marignan was followed by the reduction of the Milanese. Both the pope and the Swiss became allies of Francis. He compelled Maximilian to restore the Veronese to the Venetians; and procured for Leo X. the duchy of Urbino, which still belongs to the church. Sforza himself, tired with



with the vicissitudes of fortune, disgusted with the tyranny of the Swiss, and desirous of privacy and repose, put himself into the hands of Francis; and after stipulating for an annual pension of thirty thousand ducats, resigned his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and retired into France.

The glory acquired by Francis in this expedition excited the jealousy of the English monarch; and it was the interest of Wolsey to cherish this discord. The cardinal enjoyed the revenues of the bishopric of Tournay; but saw with regret, that the titular bishop of that see was protected at the court of France. The resentment and disgust of a minister are too often sufficient to kindle the flames of discord between two nations. An ambassador was sent to Maximilian, to engage him to renew the war in Italy. He made no difficulty of complying; but the enterprize was unsuccessful: the Germans were driven out of Italy. This unfortunate expedition disappointed Henry and Wolsey in their designs to lessen the power of France.

A.D. 1516. In the mean time, Charles V. the successor of Ferdinand the Catholic, who was born with superior talents, and who had been carefully educated, seemed desirous, though very young, to give disturbance to the French monarch; but thought it prudent to conceal his real design till his authority in his new dominions was sufficiently established. Francis appeared disposed to take advantage of this opportunity; but Charles diverted the storm, by making him an offer which gained his friendship. He engaged to marry the daughter of Francis, then an infant of a year old; to receive, as her dowry, all her father's pretensions to the kingdom of Naples; to pay him an hundred thousand crowns a year till the consummation of the marriage; and to give the king of Navarre satisfaction with regard to his dominions.

A.D. 1518. But notwithstanding this alliance, the increasing power of Charles gave Francis great uneasiness; and he was desirous of gaining the confidence and friendship of the English monarch; and took the only method of succeeding, by assiduously labouring to gain the affections of Wolsey. He flattered his pride, affected to consult him in his most secret affairs, and endeavoured to persuade him that he considered his directions as so many oracles. As soon as he perceived he had gained the cardinal's favour, Bonnivert, admiral of France, was sent ambassador to the court of London. That able politician addressed himself with so much art to the passions of the haughty cardinal, that he negotiated a treaty, in which the restitution of Tournay was one of the articles. It was stipulated, that the princess Mary of England should espouse the dauphin, though they were both infants; that Tournay should be her dowry; that Francis should pay Henry six hundred thousand crowns, as a reimbursement of his expences in building a citadel at Tournay; and that he should pay Wolsey an annual pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for the revenues of his bishopric.

While these negotiations were carrying on between the courts of France and England, Germany was agitated with those religious disputes which produced the Reformation. Leo X. by the encouragement he had given to learning, furnished arms against himself. Cardinal Pole complimented him upon his success in the propagation of the sciences; but at the same time reminded him, that it might be of dangerous consequence to make mankind too learned. The pontiff, however, proceeded in the noble course he had begun; and, by his magnificence, gave occasion to that remarkable revolution that happened in the Christian world during his pontificate. His predecessor, Julius II. under whose reign painting and architecture were so greatly improved, was desirous that Rome should be adorned with a structure superior to that of St. Sophia at Constantinople. He had the courage to undertake what he never could

finish. Leo X. was extremely fond of this noble project; but it required prodigious sums of money, and his magnificence had exhausted his treasury. He had therefore recourse to the sale of indulgences, in order to fill his coffers, and be enabled to carry on his intended design. A favourable opportunity offered. The Turks had just defeated the Mamelucks in Egypt, and it was apprehended that they would now turn their whole force against the Christians.

It was still believed that the pope, out of the inexhaustible treasure of the church, arising from the merits of Christ and the works of supererogation of the saints, had a power of distributing indulgences on certain conditions prescribed by him, to the greatest and most profligate of mortals, for a plenary remission of sin. These indulgences were at first supposed to extend only to the relaxation of penances and ecclesiastical discipline. Urban II. in the beginning of the eleventh century, was the first that granted a full remission of all sins to those who should take up arms for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels. This practice was continued by his successors; some of whom extended the benefit of their indulgences to such persons, who being unwilling, or unable to carry arms in person, maintained a soldier in their room. At length, these spiritual favours were distributed to those who took the field against heretics, or enemies to the Romish church. Great sums were raised by these means, but seldom applied to the purposes intended. The Augustins, as being most in favour with the lower class of people, were made the brokers of this scandalous commerce. Each friar, or agent, was entrusted with a set of indulgences of all prices, of all denominations, in all cases, and for all sins: and the better to collect the money arising from the sale of this pontifical merchandize, all Christendom was divided into different departments, in each of which a certain number of these priests were commissioned to recommend and enforce the utility of indulgences.

But Leo X. who now attempted to fill his treasury by this species of traffic, employed the Dominicans, who distinguished themselves by exaggerating the benefits to be derived from indulgences. The Augustin friars were highly affronted because this occupation was not, as usual, entrusted to them; especially as they had some time since been employed for the same purpose in Saxony, and had thence acquired both reputation and profit. Martin Luther, an Augustin friar, and professor of divinity at Wittenberg, stimulated to revenge, was loud in his declamations against the church of Rome. He was a person of great learning, genius, and spirit, inflexible and opinative; and there was no want of abuses whereon to found his invectives. A prodigious number of vain and superstitious ceremonies had been introduced into the exercise of religion: divinity was corrupted with subtilties: the clergy were given up to indolence and pleasure; and the court of Rome had been guilty of numberless frauds and usurpations. Religion, often prostituted, had become a cloak for the most fordid rapacity, and the most unpardonable ambition. An incessant cry of reformation resounded from all quarters, and Luther knew how to take advantage of it. He, however, confined himself, in his first writings, to expose the doctrine of indulgences, and, perhaps, had then no other design. But he went farther than he at first intended, as is the case in all disputes, and in almost all transactions. It has been said, and with an air of probability, that the best method of inducing this zealous reformer to change his opinion, would have been to have sent him a cardinal's hat; but the contempt in which he was held by the church of Rome, proved fatal to her power.

Luther no longer kept any measures with the pontiff. He exhorted all princes to throw off the papal yoke: he railed against private masses; and met with the greater applause, as he inveighed against the



the public sale of them. His writings, full of zeal and fury, spread over Europe; and were the more attended to, as he supported his opinions from scripture; and other ancient writings of the Christian church. The doctrines he inculcated were flattering to the princes of Europe, because they furnished them with a pretence for throwing off the pope's authority, and for enriching themselves with the wealth of the ecclesiastics. They flattered the vulgar by their novelty, and by the lessons they taught of equality and liberty; and by the rigour and austerity they inculcated, they served to excite chimerical ideas of perfection, almost as seducing to self-love as the tenet of a total relaxation of manners.

The Dominicans, supported by the pope's nuncios in Germany, caused his books to be burnt. The pontiff thundered out a new bull against him; but Luther, now protected by the princes of Germany, was not to be intimidated: he even ordered the pope's bull and the decretals to be burnt in the public market-place of Wirtemberg.

During these disputes in Germany, the English were cultivating with avidity the blessing of peace. The arts found encouragement; trade was improved; manufactures were carried on with success. Cardinal Wolsey made the noblest use of his power; he exerted it for the good of his country. His post of chancellor placed him at the fountain of justice, and never was it better administered. He was particularly careful to punish perjury, the worst of crimes: he was a firm supporter of the poor, and enforced several excellent laws for the protection of the mercantile and industrious part of the people. We have already observed, that he was a great friend to literature. At this time the English had very little learning, and were wholly destitute of taste. Wolsey saw this, and laboured assiduously to improve the one, and introduce the other. He spared no pains to discover persons of literary accomplishments, nor thought any reward too great to bestow upon them. He employed no ministers but such as were scholars; and under his administration the dignified offices of the law, the church, and the state, were filled with men whose literary merit was their only recommendation. He also founded lectures at Oxford for the improvement of learning; and Henry very readily gave his countenance to the noble and patriotic views of his favourite.

A. D. 1519. The death of the emperor Maximilian recalled the attention of Wolsey from his literary pursuits. Francis I. and Charles V. declared themselves candidates for the imperial throne. These competitors were worthy of each other: the former was distinguished by his candour, his generosity, and his valour; the latter by his prudence, his discretion, and his policy. Henry used all his interest to support the election of Charles; and by his assistance he was elected by a majority of one voice among the electors. The addition of the imperial crown seemed to have placed Charles on the summit of human grandeur. He before possessed the dominions of Spain, those belonging to the house of Austria, Burgundy, and Navarre, besides his vast acquisitions in the New World.

These two great rivals had contended for the imperial throne without discovering the least signs of personal enmity; but the preference given to the one could not fail of being disagreeable to the other. Henry was courted by both these princes; and he might have held the balance of power between them, had his policy been equal to his strength. But a monarch who is perpetually the dupe of his own passions, cannot pursue, with the requisite steadiness, the interests of his crown.

A. D. 1520. The character of Henry was well known to Francis, and he hoped to be able to gain his friendship and confidence by familiar conversation: he therefore solicited an interview near Calais. Wolsey, fond of displaying his riches, magnificence and power, seconded the request of the monarch;

and Henry, who was equally fond of pomp and honour, consented to the proposal. Charles was alarmed at this intended interview, and determined, if possible, to prevent its consequences: but he well knew, that unless he could gain Wolsey over to his interest, all his attempts to procure the favour of Henry would be in vain. The cardinal now directed all the affairs of government; he had no competitor in the cabinet. Nor was his pomp less remarkable than his power: he celebrated masques with all the state and magnificence of the Roman pontiff: he was served by bishops; and even earls and dukes presented him with the water and the towel. His dress was superbly magnificent: he wore regal vestments; his shoes were of silver gilt, set with pearls and precious stones. When he went abroad, two large crosses of massy silver, the legantine and that of York, were carried before him by two tall priests; together with two pole-axes, two pillars of massy silver, golden cushions, and a train of stately horses. Nor was he content with the great power, wealth, and authority he enjoyed in England, while there was one degree of ecclesiastical dignity to which he had not attained. He already began to concert measures for obtaining the papal throne. He established a legantine court, whose arbitrary authority resembled that of the inquisition. Though remarkable himself for the licentiousness of his manners, Wolsey became a rigid reformer of the actions of the laity; and what is, perhaps, still more singular, he joined with him, as a judge in that court, a man whom he himself, as chancellor, had condemned for perjury. The whole kingdom dreaded his power; and his vanity rose to such a height, that he considered even the archbishop of Canterbury as far beneath him. That prelate having wrote a letter to him, in which he subscribed himself, "Your loving brother." Wolsey complained of his presumption. The primate, when informed of the offence he had given, said coolly, "Know ye not that this man is intoxicated with prosperity?" But despotic exertions, when applied against the liberty of men's lives and manners, are particularly offensive. The complaints of the people at last reached the ears of the sovereign: he discovered his dissatisfaction, and Wolsey set bounds to his authority: the decisions of his court were made with more care and deliberation.

Such was the situation of Wolsey, when Charles V. in order to procure an interview with Henry, previous to that concerted with Francis I. landed at Dover. Wolsey was immediately dispatched to compliment his Imperial Majesty; and the next day he was met by Henry in person, who conducted him to Canterbury, where he was entertained with the utmost pomp and splendour. Charles paid his court to Wolsey in the most artful manner; and promised him his assistance in procuring the papacy, whenever there should happen a vacancy in the pontifical throne. There was, however, little appearance of this promise being claimed. Leo X. was a young man, and likely to fill the chair of St. Peter when Wolsey was no more. It soothed, however, the ambition of that powerful prelate, who, in consequence, devoted himself solely to the interest of the emperor.

The very day that Charles left England, Henry passed over to Calais, with his queen, and the whole court. Francis, attended in the same manner, came to Ardres, a small town a few miles distant from Calais. The interviews were at first carried on with remarkable precaution; the number of guards on each side were carefully counted, and every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted. Francis, whose soul was above distrust, determined to break through such idle ceremonies: he visited the English monarch without guards or attendants; and Henry, desirous to be excelled in so noble an instance of confidence, followed the example. From that moment they visited each other without the least precaution; a generous disdain of suspicion supplied the use of



precaution. They passed their time in feasts and tournaments, where they respectively distinguished themselves by their dexterity and address in those martial diversions; but they parted without entering into any serious business.

Though the emperor received daily information from the cardinal, of what passed at this interview, he was very uneasy with regard to the event. He came to Gravelines, where he was met by Henry, and the most cordial assurances of friendship and esteem passed between the two monarchs. At the same time, the emperor renewed his promises of assisting Wolsey in obtaining the papacy, and put him immediately in possession of the revenues belonging to the bishoprics of Bajadox and Palencia in Castile; an acquisition which rendered the revenues of Wolsey nearly equal to those of the crown itself.

A. D. 1521. But notwithstanding all the endeavours of Henry to prevent any ill consequences resulting from the enmity that had been for some time visible between Charles and Francis, it was not long before the sparks of that fire which was to extend its flames through all Europe were visible. The French sent an army into Navarre to re-place the family of d'Albert on the throne of that kingdom. Had the French general confined himself to the reduction of Navarre, his conduct could not have been considered as a breach of the peace between Charles and Francis; but he had no sooner subdued that country, than, finding the kingdom of Spain itself was in the utmost disorder from an insurrection of the people, he thought the opportunity too favourable to be neglected, and immediately laid siege to Logrogno in Castile. The Castilians were now convinced of their folly; the appearance of a foreign enemy put a period to their domestic dissensions; they attacked the French with so much fury, that they drove them from their intrenchments, and even expelled them from Navarre. Robert de la Marck, duke of Bouillon, had the imprudence to attack the emperor's dominions in the Low Countries; and Charles, not doubting but that Robert was instigated by Francis, raised a powerful army, and openly commenced hostilities against the French monarch.

Henry affected to observe an exact neutrality; and the two monarchs, having satisfied their revenge by committing the most dreadful ravages and devastations on the territories of each other, carried their complaints to Henry, as the proper arbiter between them. Conferences were accordingly opened at Calais; but Charles, who depended on the favour of Wolsey, demanded possession of Burgundy, and required to be freed from the homage which his ancestors had paid for Flanders and Artois. The emperor well knew that these proposals would be rejected; he made them with that intention, and, it is said, with the approbation of Wolsey. But however that be, the conferences were broke off, and the cardinal of York soon after made a journey to Bruges, where he was received by the emperor with the same state, magnificence and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself. And he concluded, in the name of his master, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France.

Soon after the return of Wolsey, he commenced a prosecution against the duke of Buckingham, constable of England, the first nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, who had unfortunately given the cardinal some cause of disgust. He was descended by a female line from the duke of Gloucester, son of Edward III. and being infatuated with the whims of judicial astrology, and the vain predictions of a visionary monk, he had flattered himself with the hopes of one day succeeding to the crown, and even meditated some project against the life of the king. He was tried by a jury of his peers, and declared guilty. But as his crime was rather founded on imprudence than malice, the execution of the sentence was generally imputed to the malice and revenge of the cardinal.

The religious disputes in Germany still continued, and several of the princes had already declared in favour of Luther's reformation. England also, where there were still a great many Lollards, who inculcated nearly the same tenets, would also have followed the German princes, had not the government firmly opposed the doctrines of the Wirtemberg professor. Capricious fate, which sports with the affairs of the world, so ordered it, that Henry himself should be engaged in this dispute. He had been strictly educated in an attachment to the court of Rome, and had contracted an aversion to Luther, because he had spoken disrespectfully of Thomas Aquinas, his favourite author. Vanity and resentment, more than zeal for religion, induced Henry to become an author, and to combat the doctrines of the German monk. The book was soon finished and sent to Rome, where it was received with rapture by the pope, who bestowed the title of "Defenders of the Faith" upon Henry and his successors. Luther, who made no difference between noble and ignoble writers, soon wrote an answer to Henry, and treated him with all the acrimony of stile, to which, in the course of his dispute, he had been so long accustomed. The controversy now became more illustrious by Henry's entering the lists; it engaged still more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran party acquired daily new converts in every part of Europe. It became a matter of competition to insult, with most indecency, the pope and the church. They called the pontiff antichrist, denominated his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expressions which however applied, were to be found in the scriptures, and therefore better calculated to act on the ignorant multitude than the most solid arguments.

Luther's cause found very few supporters in Italy. That ingenious nation, wholly intent upon intrigues and pleasures, took no share in these troubles. The Spaniards, notwithstanding their learning kept themselves quiet. The French, though they have the sensibility of those nations with a stronger passion for novelties, were a long time before they engaged in these disputes. It is a great problem whether Charles V. ought to have embraced or opposed the reformation. By throwing off the yoke of Rome, he would at once have taken ample revenge for all the injuries which the papal tiaræ had offered to the imperial crown, upwards of four hundred years; but, on the other hand, he would have been in danger of losing Italy. He was obliged to keep fair with the pope, who was to join him against Francis I. Besides, the inhabitants of his hereditary dominions were all catholics. At length it became absolutely necessary for him to declare himself either for or against the reformation; he chose the latter, tho' perhaps he really thought some of Luther's opinions were well grounded.

Charles summoned that reformer to come and give an account of his doctrine before the imperial diet at Worms. Luther, having obtained the emperor's safe conduct, made no scruple to appear, though he exposed himself to the same fate as John Huss; but this assembly being composed of princes, he trusted to their honour. He spoke before the emperor and diet, and defended his tenets with great resolution. It is said, that Charles V. was solicited by Alexander, the pope's nuncio, to order Luther to be seized, notwithstanding his safe conduct; as Sigismund had delivered up John Huss without paying any regard to public faith: but that Charles made answer, "he did not chuse to have cause to blush like Sigismund."

A little after this dispute with Luther, Leo X. paid the debt of nature in the flower of his age, and in the ninth year of his pontificate. He was a prince well qualified by his sound judgment, moderation and temper, to have retarded the progress of the reformation, which now made a very rapid progress. He was succeeded in the papal throne by Adrian VI. who had been tutor to Charles, the present emperor. This pontiff was a person of great integrity, candour,



dour, and simplicity of manners; but the prejudices of the reformers were so violent against the church, that he rather hurt the cause by his imprudent exercise of those virtues. He frankly confessed, that many abominable and detestable practices prevailed in the court of Rome.

A. D. 1522. Wolsey was not without hopes of being at this time chosen to fill the vacant chair, and had actually, at different scrutinies, nine, twelve, and nineteen voices. He, however, lost his election; but the advanced age, and numerous infirmities of Adrian, still allowed him to hope, that he should soon be able to satisfy his ambition. Charles V. never intended to place Wolsey in St. Peter's chair. He was desirous of having a pope who would be wholly at his devotion; and he was too well acquainted with the imperious temper of the cardinal of York, to think he would ever be submissive to the will of any person whatever. But in order to dissipate the chagrin of that haughty minister, he paid a new visit to the court of England; where, besides flattering the vanity of the king and cardinal, he repeated to Wolsey all the promises he had formerly made him of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. The insinuating address of Charles produced the desired effect; Wolsey concealed his resentment, the late treaty was renewed, and it was determined in the English council to declare war against France.

Clarenceux, king at arms, was accordingly sent to the French court, with a declaration, that his master looked upon Francis as the first aggressor, and therefore found himself under a necessity of taking part with the emperor. The bloody standard of war was now displayed; the ambassadors on both sides were recalled; the effects of the merchants were seized in both countries; and Henry fitted out a strong fleet for making prizes of the enemy's ships, and protecting the English commerce. The command of this fleet was given to the earl of Surry, who was now made lord high admiral of England; and the emperor also created him high admiral of his dominions. Surry, after taking some towns in Britany, landed at Calais, and laid siege to Hesden, but was not able to take the place.

The allies were, however, more fortunate in Italy, where the pope was entirely in their interest. A little before the death of Leo X. the artful cardinal of Sion found means to corrupt the Swiss in the French pay, and to bring them over to the interest of the allies, who were by that means vastly superior to the French army. Prosper Colonna, the pope's general, passed the Adda, and surprised Milan, where he had for some time held a correspondence with several of the principal inhabitants. This was followed by the reduction of Pavia, Lodi, Parma, Placentia, and several other places in the Milanese.

A. D. 1523. The duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, having renewed the ancient league with France, now made preparations for invading the northern counties of England. The earl of Surry was sent with an army to prevent his design. Surry entered Scotland, where he committed the most dreadful ravages, burnt the town of Jedburgh, with several villages and castles in that neighbourhood, and returned to Newcastle. Albany now approached the English borders, and sent a herald to Surry, offering to give him battle; but Surry telling him that he should never decline an engagement, though he did not chuse to follow the counsel of an enemy, Albany passed the Tweed, and invested the castle of Werk, with a part of his army. Sir William Lisle, the governor, knowing that the fortress was in no condition to support a long siege, made a desperate sally upon the enemy, and drove them from the works, with the loss of three hundred men. This so intimidated the Scots, that they returned into their own country, and a truce for one year was concluded between the two kingdoms.

The war with Scotland had prevented the army from passing over to Calais before the middle of

August. The duke of Suffolk was appointed commander; and on his arrival at St. Omer, he was joined by three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, in the Imperial service. It was now determined to march along the banks of the Somme, and, if possible, to provoke the enemy to a decisive engagement: but the French had learned prudence from past misfortunes; they contented themselves with harassing the van of the English army with flying parties; and depended on the strength of their frontier garrisons, and the advanced season of the year, to prevent the English from taking up their winter quarters in their country.

They were not deceived: for though the duke of Suffolk made himself master of Bray, Montdidier, Roye, and several other considerable places; and even advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, he found it would be impossible for him to canton his troops in the places he had conquered, as the duke of Vendome lay in Paris with a large body of troops, and the marshal Tremouille was forming another army by draughts from the garrisons of Picardy. He was therefore obliged to return to Calais, in order to put his army into winter quarters; but before he reached that fortress, many of his soldiers perished by the inclemency of the weather. In consequence of this retreat, most of the places he had taken during the campaign fell again into the hands of the French. Nor had Charles any better success in the attempt he made, at the same time, upon Gascony. His forces invested Bayonne; but the French general, Leutrec, made such a noble defence, that the Spaniards, after ravaging the adjacent country, were obliged to abandon the enterprize.

These miscarriages animated the French to exert themselves against the powerful alliance that was formed against their country; and, in all probability, Francis would have been able to have supported himself against all the efforts of his enemies, had not the constable of Bourbon, the most able of all his generals, persecuted by the hatred of the duchess of Angouleme, the king's mother, sacrificed to his resentment his duty and the love of his country, and entered into the service of Charles V. He was immediately created generalissimo of the emperor's armies, and marched into the dutchy of Milan, which the French had again invaded under admiral Bonnivet, his greatest enemy. A general thoroughly acquainted with the French troops, their strength and weakness, must have been of considerable advantage to Charles: but there were other circumstances still more in his favour. Most of the princes of Italy were in his interest. The people hated the French government; and he was assisted by the best generals in Europe, particularly the marquis of Pescara, Lannoy, and John of Medicis, names still famous in Europe.

Bonnivet was but an indifferent soldier, and a worse statesman. He crossed the Alps at the head of thirty-three thousand men, and made himself master of Novaro, and some other places of less importance in Italy; and had he marched directly to Milan, he might, perhaps, have recovered that city for his master; but he lost so much time in treating with the inhabitants, that the constable of Bourbon had an opportunity of putting the place into a posture of defence. The rest of the campaign was spent in several fruitless attempts upon Cremona, and other places, none of which he was able to reduce. The Italian generals saw his inabilities, and took care to cut off his provisions; so that Bonnivet was obliged to retire into Piedmont, where he put his army into winter quarters.

During these transactions, pope Adrian VI. paid the debt of nature; and Clement VI. of the Medicean family, was elected in his place, by the interest of the imperial party. Wolsey was now convinced of the insincerity of the emperor; and justly concluded, that he must never hope to mount the papal throne by his interest. He, however, dissembled his resent-



ment, congratulated the new pope on his election, and applied for a continuation of the legantine powers he had enjoyed under the two last pontiffs. Clement well knew the necessity of maintaining the friendship of this imperious minister, and not only granted his request, but sent him a commission for life; a very unusual concession, and by which Wolsey obtained the whole papal authority in England. He, however, made a noble use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, and another at Ipswich. He invited learned men from every part of Europe, to fill the chairs of these colleges; and, in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some of the lesser monasteries, and distributed the monks into other convents. These proceedings were countenanced at Rome: there was now an immediate necessity for learned men to defend the church against the forcible attacks of the reformers.

A. D. 1524. Bonnivet, the French general in Italy, having given offence to the Swiss by his haughty carriage, these hardy mountaineers abandoned the French army, and returned to their own country. Deserted by these forces, Bonnivet saw the necessity of a retreat. He left his camp, and was followed by the allied army. A sharp action ensued, in which the greater part of Bonnivet's rear was cut to pieces. The chevalier Bayard was mortally wounded in this contest: he was considered as the model of soldiers and men of honour; and obtained the title of the "Knight without fear, and without reproach." When this brave gentleman could no longer support himself on horseback, he ordered his attendants to set him under a tree, and turn his face towards the enemy, that he might die in that posture. Every person seemed to share in his misfortunes. The soldiers, as they passed, dropped a tear; and the allied generals, and among the rest the constable of Bourbon, came round him, and expressed their concern for his present condition. "Pity not me," cried he to Bourbon, "I die in the discharge of my duty: they alone are the objects of pity, who fight against their prince and their country."

Clement was now alarmed for Italy: the emperor seemed a more dangerous enemy than the French. The Florentines and Venetians were also satisfied with the advantage already obtained, and thought it prudent not to prosecute their victory. The pope proceeded so far in his opposition to Charles, that he ordered his muncio at London to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But however exasperated the cardinal might be against the emperor, he determined to have the whole honour himself in bringing about so great an alteration. Accordingly he persuaded Henry to refuse the pope's mediation; and a new treaty was concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France.

Accordingly the constable of Bourbon passed the Alps, and entered Provence at the head of ten thousand foot, two thousand horse, and eighteen pieces of cannon. The defenceless towns of Antibes, Frejus, Vignolles, and Aix, fell an easy conquest; and the constable sat down, on the nineteenth of August, before Marseilles, which was defended by a garrison of three thousand foot, and two hundred men at arms, besides nine thousand inhabitants, who took up arms on this occasion. About the same time, the Spanish admiral, who had been sent with a strong fleet from Genoa to assist the land forces, made himself master of Toulon. The siege was carried on with the utmost vigour for about a month; when the approach of Francis, at the head of forty thousand men, obliged the constable to abandon the enterprise, and retreat, with some precipitation, into Italy.

Had Charles been satisfied with defending his own dominions, in all probability, he might have rendered all the designs of his enemies abortive; especially as the English were by no means sanguine for carrying on the war with vigour. But he was desirous of recovering the Milanese, and accordingly crossed the Alps at Mount Cenis; and the constable being in no

condition to oppose him, he marched immediately to the capital of that duchy, and entered the city without opposition. The imperial forces fled to Lodi; and were preparing to abandon that place, when advice arrived that Francis had undertaken the siege of Pavia, one of the strongest fortresses in Italy, and well provided for making a stout defence. Francis pushed the siege with the utmost fury, and made several breaches in the walls; but the vigilance of Leyva, the governor, rendered all his attempts abortive; he instantly threw up new intrenchments behind the breaches.

A. D. 1525. The emperor, notwithstanding his immense possessions, had not money to pay his troops; so little progress had industry and commerce as yet made in Europe. Bourbon pawned his jewels; and with that money, assisted by his personal interest, he levied twelve thousand men, and joined the imperial generals Pescara and Lannoy, who had gathered forces from all parts of Italy. The junction being completed, the army advanced to raise the siege of Pavia, where Francis, as imprudent as he was brave, persisted in his design, though he met with invincible obstacles. Had Francis raised the siege, the imperial generals would, doubtless, have dispersed, and he might have reduced the duchy of Milan without any difficulty; but thinking his honour concerned, he resolved either to make himself master of Pavia, or lose his army in the attempt.

The French camp was surrounded with such strong intrenchments, that the imperial generals contented themselves with cannonading the enemy for several days; when the Swiss having recalled their troops from the French army, they attacked the intrenchments of the besiegers about midnight of the twenty-fifth of February. Upon the first alarm, Francis put himself at the head of two thousand cavalry, and fell with such impetuosity upon a body of troops commanded by Pescara, that the general was unhorsed, and dangerously wounded; and the whole corps would have been totally ruined, had not the duke of Bourbon, who had already made a dreadful slaughter in another part of the camp, hastened to his assistance. The contest was now unequal; but the French, to defend the person of their king; gathered round him, and fought with all the fury of men driven to despair. La Plèffe, la Tremouille, Galcas de San Severino, and admiral Bonnivet, were slain by his side. The king defended himself with astonishing vigour: his horse was killed under him, and he received a desperate wound in his leg; but he started up, and still fought on foot with amazing valour.

Pomerant, an officer of some distinction, who had followed the duke of Bourbon in his revolt, came up at that instant; and seeing the king in such a dangerous situation, drew his sword; and placing himself by the side of Francis, assisted him in keeping off the soldiers, who pressed forward to take him alive. At the same time, he desired that the duke of Bourbon might be called, to receive the king as a prisoner. But Francis, transported with rage, declared, that he would sooner perish than deliver his sword to a traitor. "Send for Lannoy, viceroy of Naples," continued he; "to him I will surrender." That officer accordingly appeared; and the king said to him, "M. de Lannoy, take this sword; it is that of a king, who is not a prisoner from cowardice, but the accidents of fortune." Lannoy received the sword upon his knee, kissed his hand with the profoundest respect, and presented him his own sword, saying, "I beg your Majesty will be so good as to receive mine, which has this day spared the lives of many Frenchmen. It does not become an officer of the emperor to leave a king disarmed, though a prisoner." Lannoy did not, however, think Francis safe in the army. He feared the German forces might seize his person as a security for their pay; and therefore carried him immediately to the strong castle of Pizzighitona, where he remained for some time under







Italy; a confederacy of which the king of England was declared the protector.

Irritated at this league, Charles determined to take ample vengeance on those allies that had deserted him in the time of danger; particularly the Roman pontiff, who, though he had chiefly owed his election to the good offices of the emperor, had so ungratefully abandoned the interest of his benefactor. He accordingly ordered the duke of Bourbon to advance towards Rome, and attack the pope in his capital. Bourbon executed the emperor's commands with the greatest bravery and conduct, but was killed as he was mounting a ladder to scale the walls. His death inspired his followers with fury and revenge. Rome, taken by assault, was pillaged, and became a scene of the most shocking barbarities. That renowned city never suffered more, even from Barbarians, than now from the hands of Christians. Whatever was respectable in modesty, whatever was sacred in religion, seemed only to increase the brutality of the soldiers. The pope himself was taken prisoner, and treated with every indignity. When intelligence was brought the emperor of the success of his arms against the Roman capital, he affected the utmost sorrow, put himself and his whole court into mourning, and ordered prayers to be offered up for the deliverance of the pope. But the artifice was too gross to impose even upon the ignorant and superstitious multitude. It was remarked, even by the vulgar, that a letter under his own hand, to his generals in Italy, would be more effectual than all his prayers.

It was very different with Francis and Henry: they were extremely concerned for the misfortunes of the pontiff, and determined to carry their arms into Italy. Wolsey himself crossed the seas to have an interview with Francis, who met him at Amiens; where it was stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should marry the princess Mary: and as it was apprehended that Charles would immediately summon a general council, both monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it, but to govern the churches in their respective dominions by their own authority, during the pope's imprisonment. Soon after, a new treaty was negotiated between the two monarchs; by which Henry renounced his ancient pretensions to the crown of France; and Charles, in return, bound himself and his successors to pay annually the sum of fifty thousand crowns. Spain was now become the terror of the English; and the animosity so long entertained against the French entirely subsided.

Charles, though alarmed at this alliance between France and England, refused to submit to the conditions insisted upon by the allies. He receded, indeed, from his demand of Burgundy, as the ransom for the two princes; but insisted that Francis should evacuate all his Italian conquests before they should recover their liberty. The conditions being rejected, the English and French heralds, pursuant to their instructions, declared war against the emperor, and set him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with great moderation; but reproached the Frenchman with his master's breach of faith, and answered him with insults. The French monarch retaliated this charge, by giving the emperor the lie; and challenges were formally sent to each other by these great princes. But though they were both undoubtedly brave, no duel took place. The practice of single combat was, however, at this time, very common in Europe, and even countenanced, in several cases, by the law. It was still the common method of terminating disputes between discontented warriors; and the challenges which reciprocally passed between Charles and Francis, greatly increased the evil.

During these transactions on the continent, the passions of Henry produced events as remarkable as any that are found in the history of any country. His consort, Catherine of Arragon, who was six years older than Henry, had lost his affections. She

was the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and niece to Charles V. had been married to Henry eighteen years, and brought him three children; one of whom, the princess Mary, afterwards queen of England, was still living. The queen could neither be reproached with barrenness, with bad conduct, nor even with that peevish humour which so frequently accompanies female virtue. But all her gentle and amiable accomplishments could not fix a heart devoted to pleasure. She had been first married to prince Arthur, elder brother to Henry; and upon his death, she was betrothed to him. This marriage had always been considered as illegal by most of the foreign states; had been strongly opposed as such by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; and his opinion had been confirmed by the two houses of Convocation. These authorities strengthened Henry's scruples; and it was thought that the pope had no power to dispense with a positive law of the Deity. Henry was the more affected, because all his children by Catherine, Mary excepted, had died in their infancy; and the curse of being childless is threatened in the Levitical law against the person who shall espouse his brother's widow. He considered himself as obnoxious to this malediction; and the more he was inclined to a divorce, he was the more solicitous to convince himself of the illegitimacy of his marriage. The great progress Henry had made in casuistical divinity, enabled him to examine this question thoroughly. The celebrated Thomas Aquinas, whose authority was great in the church, and absolute with Henry, had treated of that very case, and expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages. "The prohibitions (says that famous casuist) contained in Leviticus; and among the rest, that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine sanction; and though the pope may dispense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be set aside by any authority less than that which enacted them."

This decision was sufficient to convince Henry, that his marriage was unlawful; and an incident that now happened determined him to procure a divorce from Catherine. Anne Boleyn, a young lady celebrated for her beauty and mental accomplishments, had been lately created maid of honour to the queen, and soon acquired an entire ascendant over the affections of Henry. He endeavoured, by every method, to seduce her, but the virtue or ambition of Anne resisted all his arts; and the king perceiving that there was no other method of gratifying his passion, determined to make her his partner in the throne. But it was no easy task to repudiate the aunt of Charles V. Many difficulties opposed every step of the process.

A. D. 1527. Before any advances could be made, it was necessary that the bull of pope Julius should be annulled at Rome; a proceeding which no pontiff would be willing to adopt. Clement, though still a prisoner to Charles, was desirous of procuring the favour of Henry, who was alone able to assist him in his distress: he therefore listened to the proposals of that monarch, and seemed willing to annul the bull of his predecessor. He granted a commission to Wolsey to examine, as legate, the validity of the marriage, and promised to expedite a bull of divorce. But Clement, with all his dexterity and address, wanted intrepidity, firmness, and integrity. Charles V. discovered his intentions; and threatened, if he favoured the English monarch, to summon a general council, and cause him to be deposed, on account of his being a natural son of Julian of Medicis. At the same time, he flattered him with the hopes of re-establishing his family in the duchy of Florence, if he complied with his desires. The offers and threatenings of Charles were too powerful for Clement to withstand: he granted a new commission, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined with Wolsey, for trying the validity of the king's marriage. But he could not be induced to promise, that he would not recall





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*Cardinal Wolsey Resigning the Great Seal to the*  
**DUKES of NORFOLK and SUFFOLK**



recall this commission. Campeggio artfully protracted his departure for England; and when he arrived there with a bull in the file requested by Henry, he refused to communicate it to any person except the king and Wolsey. Nor could this bull be executed till the marriage was pronounced illegal; and accordingly the two legates proceeded to examine the validity of the marriage.

A. D. 1529. The king and queen were both cited to appear before this tribunal; and Henry, when called, answered readily to his name. But the queen, instead of answering to her's, rose from her seat, threw herself at the feet of her husband, and addressed him in the most pathetic terms. She began with observing, that she was a stranger in his dominions, destitute of friends, of counsel, of assistance; exposed to all the injustice which her enemies were pleased to heap upon her. She told him, that her conduct, ever since their marriage, had been irreproachable; and protested, that he had received her a virgin to his bed. She added, that in espousing him, she had followed the advice of those able princes, Henry VII. and Ferdinand the Catholic. She expressed her suspicion of the legates, appealed from them to the pope; and, after making the king a low reverence, she left the court, nor would she ever after appear before the legates. Henry did not attempt to reproach her with any crime: on the contrary, he declared that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the strictest rules of probity and honour. But he still insisted on the scruples with which he had been agitated. He mentioned the consummation of her marriage with his brother Arthur; declared his doubts of the validity of pope Julius's dispensation; and expressed his desire that the court might give judgment according to the rules of equity and religion.

The legates now proceeded in their commission, and first examined into the proofs of the consummation of Arthur's marriage with Catherine. And it must be owned by every impartial enquirer, that the fact was established as far as the nature of the transaction would admit of proof. Every person now expected that the sentence of divorce would be soon pronounced, but that moment was still at a great distance. Campeggio spun out the trial, till he received his final instructions from Rome; when he burnt the decretal bull, and declared that the cause was evoked to Rome. Henry thought himself sure of obtaining his wishes, when he was informed of this mortifying transaction. He suspected Wolsey of treachery, and from that moment we may justly date the fall of that powerful minister. Both the emperor and Catherine made the utmost efforts to ruin him in the king's opinion: they were at great pains to propagate reports, by means of their agents, wholly calculated to accomplish his destruction. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, at the head of a powerful party, exerted all their influence to supplant him in the royal favour, and embraced every opportunity of misrepresenting his actions. But, perhaps, all their endeavours, added to the envy and malignancy of the world, would not have been sufficient to have effected his disgrace, without the powerful assistance of Anne Boleyn, who had now gained an entire ascendancy over the mind of her royal lover. Afflicted by her powerful influence, Wolsey sunk under the complicated weight.

Every body expected that the disgrace of the cardinal would have immediately followed the evocation of the cause to Rome; but they were deceived. Henry had so much command over his passion, as not to intimate any dislike to the proceedings of his minister; but Campeggio had no sooner received his audience of leave, than Henry, in order to divert the chagrin resulting from his disappointment, made a progress through several of the counties adjacent to his capital, without taking the cardinal with him. From this neglect Wolsey prognosticated that his fall

was at no great distance. He, however, still continued to discharge the duties of his office; and observing no alteration in the behaviour of the courtiers towards him; he began to flatter himself that his disgrace was not absolutely determined. But his enemies, with Anne Boleyn at their head, had so prepossessed the king, during his absence, against the minister, that on his return to London, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, both sworn enemies to Wolsey, were sent to demand the great seal, which Wolsey thought proper to refuse, asserting, that he held it by patent during his life. The next day they returned with orders under the king's signet; and Wolsey immediately delivered the seal into their hands. The king immediately gave it to Sir Thomas More, a man of letters, virtue, and integrity. Wolsey was ordered to retire from York palace, which, though it belonged to the archiepiscopal see, was seized by Henry, and became afterwards the residence of the kings of England, under the title of Whitehall. A cupboard of massy gold, a thousand pieces of holland, which had belonged to him, with all his rich furniture, were converted to the king's use. Wolsey himself retired to Ather, a country-seat he possessed on the banks of the Thames, where he dismissed his numerous retinue.

Henry was, however, for some time, willing to suspend the blow which overwhelmed his favourite; but his enemies, particularly Anne Boleyn, so exasperated the king against him by false accusations, that he gave him up to the prosecution of the parliament. The House of Lords presented an accusation against the cardinal, consisting of forty-four articles; but all of them so vague and indeterminate, that the Commons rejected the bill. Thomas Cromwell, formerly one of his domestics, defended him in that assembly with a force and courage which, instead of hurting his fortune, as might have been expected, laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king. True merit sometimes acquires an ascendant over vicious minds. But the opposition of the Commons was not sufficient to divert the dreadful storm that threatened to overwhelm this once powerful minister. He was condemned, on pretence of his having solicited bulls from Rome, though the king had given his consent to that measure; and the cardinal was never able to recover from this disgrace: he fell a sacrifice to the envy and malevolence of his enemies. The king, however, would not suffer this prosecution to be carried to extremities: he even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and continued, from time to time, to intimate, that he still entertained for him his former affections.

Clement, by his duplicity, greatly augmented the prejudices already entertained by the English against the Romish church. This was sufficiently evident by the conduct of the parliament. The utmost freedoms were used with the characters of the sacred colleges. Some members of the House of Commons having attacked the impositions of the clergy, and the various attempts they had made to usurp an authority in civil matters, no offence was taken, though their invectives were remarkably severe. One of them had even the boldness to advance such tenets, that even the deists of our times would scruple to defend publicly. He said, That as the vast variety of theological opinions which had, at different times, prevailed in the world, could not possibly be known and examined by individuals, their wisest method was to suspend their judgment with regard to all; and that the only religion obligatory on the human race, was the belief of one Supreme Being, and the practice of virtue. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, complained, on this occasion, of the temerity of the Commons; and accused them of having formed a design, founded on heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk undertook their defence, but made use of terms perhaps



perhaps somewhat indecent. He said, "That the greatest clerks were not always the wisest men." "Your observation may be right," replied Rochester, "but I have not known, in my time, any fools that have proved great clerks." This reflection displeased the Commons, who complained of it to the king, and the bishop was obliged to put a favourable construction on his words. So greatly was the power of the hierarchy fallen in the opinion of this capricious monarch.

Henry, instead of condemning the Commons for their severe attacks, was pleased to find that the clergy must depend solely on his power. He had more than once determined to throw off all dependence upon Rome, though, at the same time, he trembled at the thoughts of heresy. He had defended the Catholic Church against Luther, and his pride would not suffer him to acknowledge that he was now convinced of his error. He had no hopes of succeeding in his solicitations for a divorce from Rome. The policy of Clement VII. and the intrigues and power of Charles V. had abundantly convinced him, that every attempt of that kind would prove abortive. A treaty had been lately concluded between the emperor and the pope; by which it was stipulated, "That the emperor should restore to the family of Medicis the duchy of Florence, on the same footing as before the war: that he should cause Ravenna and Cervia to be delivered to the pope: that he should put him in possession of Modena and Reggio: that he should assist him in making himself master of Ferrara: that Francisco Sforza should be restored to Milan: that the pope and the emperor should employ their temporal and spiritual arms against the heretics of Germany: that Alexander de Medicis should espouse Margaret, the emperor's natural daughter: that the pope should grant the emperor a fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues in his dominions, in order to enable him to carry on the war against the Turks; and that he should absolve all who had been any way concerned in the taking and sacking of Rome."

This treaty was soon after followed by another, between the emperor and Francis I. on the basis of that concluded at Madrid. By this treaty the emperor agreed to wave, for the present, his claim upon Burgundy. Francis engaged to pay two millions of crowns for the ransom of his children; to withdraw his troops from Italy; to cede to Charles the government of Flanders and Artois; to restore the county of Asti, with all that he still retained in the kingdom of Naples; to espouse Eleanor, queen-dowager of Portugal, the emperor's sister; and to re-establish the heirs of the late duke of Bourbon in all the estates of that family, which had been confiscated.

These treaties restored peace to Italy, and Clement no longer depended on Henry's assistance. It was therefore necessary to have recourse to some other expedient, or drop all thoughts of obtaining a divorce from Catherine. Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, discovered a method which seemed to promise the removal of every difficulty. He proposed to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point; alledging, that if they agreed to approve the king's marriage with Catherine, his Majesty's scruples must cease of course; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the opinion of all the learned, when joined with the solicitations of so great a monarch. Henry was highly delighted with this proposal, and determined to carry it immediately into execution. He also found, upon inquiry, that Cranmer was a person of acknowledged piety, learning, and moderation, and therefore determined to have him near his person. Accordingly he sent for him to court, entered into conversation with him, and conceived an high opinion of his parts and understanding. In the mean time, he dispatched his agents to collect the opinions of the universities of Europe,

A.D. 1530. It was not long before Henry obtained his desire. The universities of Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Thoulouse, Angiers, Venice, Ferrara, Padua, Bologna, Oxford and Cambridge, pronounced a decision agreeable to his wishes. They maintained, "That the marriage of a person with his brother's widow was contrary to the divine law; and, consequently, could not be authorized by any dispensation."

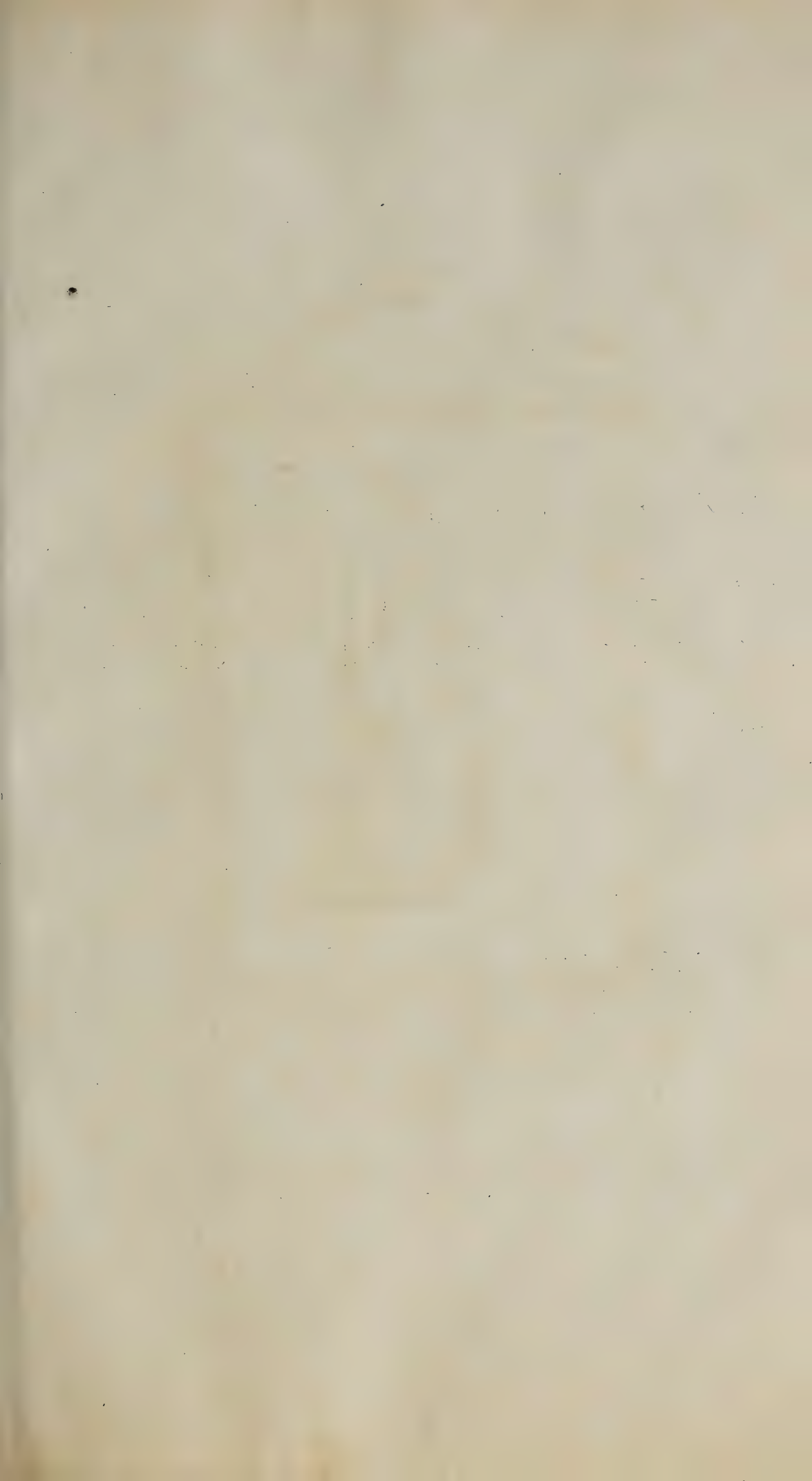
But this decision had no effect upon the court of Rome; they still refused to listen to Henry's remonstrances. A spirited letter was therefore written to the pope, signed by the principal prelates and nobility of England; in which, after mentioning the many good offices which the king had formerly done for his Holiness, the judgment of so many learned universities, and the little regard he had paid to all these weighty considerations; they plainly told him, "that if he continued to amuse and deceive the English monarch in the affair of the divorce, they would renounce their connections with the see of Rome, and do themselves that justice which they had so long demanded in vain from his Holiness."

During these transactions, Wolsey resided at a country-house at Richmond, a seat he had received as a present from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court. He had been reinstated in the revenues of his archbishopric, and those of the see of Winchester. He even entertained hopes of again recovering the king's favour. The courtiers were alarmed, and procured an order for him to remove to his archiepiscopal see. He immediately obeyed, and retired to Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he applied himself strictly to execute the duties of his ecclesiastical charge. Nor did he labour in vain. The assiduity with which he discharged his pastoral duties, his charity to the poor, his hospitality, and the obliging reception he gave to all who visited him in his retreat, soon gained him the love and esteem of all orders of men in the neighbourhood of his residence. Wolsey, for the first time, now became truly popular. But he was not long suffered to enjoy this happiness unmolested. The earl of Northumberland and Sir Peter Walshe were sent down to arrest him for high-treason, and to conduct him to London. No regard was paid to his ecclesiastical character; the privileges of the church were no longer regarded.

Wolsey made no opposition to the royal orders; he immediately set out for London with some degree of cheerfulness. They were met upon the road by Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, at the head of a party of the guards. But the cardinal, partly by the fatigues of his journey, and partly by the great anxiety of his mind, was seized with a disorder, which soon turned to a dysentery; so that he reached Leicester-abbey with the utmost difficulty. He perceived his dissolution was approaching; and told the abbot and monks, who advanced to receive him with great respect, that he was come to lay his bones among them. He was immediately carried to his bed, from which he never more arose. The folly of ambitious pursuits, and the vanity of human grandeur, now appeared in their genuine colours; and he sincerely regretted the time he had spent in assiduously studying the headstrong passions of an ungrateful prince. "Had I" said he, "served my God as diligently as I served my king, he would not have forsaken me in my grey hairs." With these reflections Wolsey paid the debt of nature on the twenty-third of November, in the sixtieth year of his age; and was interred, at his own request, in the chapel of Leicester-abbey.

This great minister exhibits a striking example of the folly and weakness of those who mistake the paths of ambition for the paths of happiness. His character has been loaded, perhaps unjustly, with the most violent reproaches. Great allowances should certainly be made for the obstinacy and violence of Henry's temper: Wolsey was often obliged to pursue measures his better judgment condemned. His successors







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efforts could not hold the helm of government with so steady a hand: they were far more criminal than the cardinal. The ambition he entertained of filling St. Peter's chair proceeded, perhaps, in part at least, from a desire he entertained of being serviceable to his country in that important station. Henry himself, when informed of the death of the cardinal, regretted his loss, and spoke of him in the most favourable terms: and it should be remembered, that a minister who is odious to the nation he governs, cannot be transmitted, in very favourable colours, to posterity.

A. D. 1531. The parliament that met soon after the death of Wolsey, made use of the same act that had destroyed the cardinal, to enrich the crown, at the expence of the clergy. The legantine power of Wolsey, though exercised with the king's consent, had been the cause of his fall; and the clergy were considered as having participated in his guilt, because they had submitted to an authority now declared illegal. The example of Wolsey had sufficiently convinced the ecclesiastics, that it would be in vain to offer any apology for their conduct: they submitted to the king's pleasure, and were glad to purchase a pardon at the expence of one hundred and eighteen thousand, eight hundred and forty pounds. It was also required of them, that they should acknowledge Henry "the protector, and supreme head of the church of England." Some of them, indeed, procured a clause to be inserted, which invalidated the whole concession: it ran in these terms, "So far as is permitted by the law of Christ."

The whole proceedings of Henry sufficiently shewed, that he was determined to humble his clergy. He knew he should be supported in all his measures by the Commons, who shewed a strong desire to mortify the ecclesiastics; nor did he apprehend any opposition from the temporal lords. The Protestant religion was at this time secretly favoured by many persons in England, where the writings and sermons of Wickliff and his disciples had, many years since, dissipated, in part, the mist of ignorance and superstition from the minds of the people; who being, at the same time, oppressed by the pope's usurpations, and scandalized by the lewd and immoral bulls of the late pontiffs who had filled St. Peter's chair, were very desirous of an opportunity to deliver themselves from such an intolerable and disgraceful yoke. But however desirous the Commons might be of humbling the clergy, they were greatly alarmed at the king's having revived the obsolete statute of provisors. Most of them had, in some manner or other, maintained causes in the legantine court, and therefore were as liable to the penalties of that statute as the clergy themselves; and the rigour with which Henry had treated that body, made them apprehensive for their own safety. They therefore presented a petition to the king, requesting that they might be included in the pardon preparing to be issued for the clergy. Their desire was granted, and the Commons extolled the clemency of Henry to the skies.

A. D. 1532. The parliament proceeded still farther at their next meeting, with regard to the power of the Roman pontiff in England. An act was passed against levying the annates, or first fruits, a tax hitherto paid to the pope for granting bulls to the new prelates. This statute declared, "That the kingdom was impoverished by the great sums paid to the Roman pontiff: that, since the second year of the late reign, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been sent to Rome on account of annates or first-fruits, palls and bulls for bishoprics: that the annates had been originally designed as a contribution for supporting a war against the infidels; but as they were not applied to that purpose, it was decreed, that they should not be paid for the future: that no more than five per cent. of the annual revenue should be given for the bulls of bishoprics: that if the pope should refuse to grant them upon these terms, the bishop elect should be presented by the king to the

metropolitan of the province; in order to be consecrated; but should the metropolitan refuse consecration, on pretence of wanting palls and bulls, two prelates appointed by the king should perform the ceremony, and the elect should then be considered as lawfully consecrated. The parliament, however, at the same time, declared, that the king should be at liberty to annul or confirm this act, within a limited time; and if, in that interval, he should compromise his difference with the court of Rome, it should obtain the force of a law; but should the pope, on account of this act, endeavour to disturb the peace of the kingdom with the sentences of excommunication and interdict, these censures should be utterly disregarded. All ecclesiastics were forbid to receive or publish such censures, and enjoined to celebrate divine service in the same manner as if they had never been issued." After passing this act, they proceeded to examine the oath to the pope, administered to the bishops on their installation; and were on the point of abolishing it, when the breaking out of the plague at Westminster occasioned their being prorogued.

It was now sufficiently evident to the whole nation, that Henry's intention was to marry Anne Boleyn; and either force the pope to agree to his measures, or withdraw his obedience from the holy see. The chancellor, Sir Thomas More, a man of strict virtue, incapable of making his religion submissive to his interest, and, at the same time, too much a philosopher to be over solicitous to advance his fortune, begged leave to resign the seals, and retired from that elevated station with more joy than an ambitious person would have felt in being placed in that exalted seat of power. Soon after the resignation, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature; an event which gave Henry no small satisfaction, as he flattered himself he should now easily procure the affair of his divorce to be determined in his own dominions. For though the deceased prelate was convinced that Henry's marriage with Catherine was unlawful, yet he was too much devoted to the see of Rome to do any act, or exert his own authority in opposition to the papal power. The king named for his successor Dr. Thomas Cranmer, and he was soon after placed in the archiepiscopal chair.

Henry had exerted all his influence to prevail upon Catherine to withdraw her appeal from Rome; but all his attempts proving abortive, and a treaty of offensive alliance being concluded with Francis I. he privately married Anne Boleyn on the fourteenth of November. Her father, mother, and brother, together with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and archbishop Cranmer, were present at the ceremony.

A. D. 1533. The queen soon became pregnant, and Henry publicly owned his marriage. This circumstance rendered it necessary that Catherine's divorce should now be finished; and it was determined in the council, that the archbishop should pronounce the sentence. Accordingly Cranmer repaired to Dunstable, in the neighbourhood of which the queen resided, and cited Catherine to appear. As she took not the least notice of the citation, she was declared contumacious, and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were produced; the opinions of the universities were read; together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York: and after these preparatory steps, Cranmer annulled the king's marriage with Catherine, as unlawful. He also, by a subsequent sentence, ratified the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was soon after publicly crowned with the greatest pomp and ceremony. On the seventh of September, the new queen was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and afterwards swayed the sceptre of England with such honour and applause. Henry immediately conferred on her the title of prince of Wales, though she was only the presumptive heir to the crown.



The intelligence of these transactions no sooner reached Rome, than the whole consistory was in the most violent ferment. The cardinals of the imperial faction urged the pope to launch the dreadful bolt of excommunication against the English monarch; but the pontiff could not be prevailed upon to proceed any farther than to threaten Henry with that sentence, if he annulled not the criminal acts he had committed within a limited time. The mediation of Francis I. who had entered into a negotiation with Clement for the marriage of his second son, the duke of Orleans, with Catherine of Medicis, the pope's niece, seemed, however, likely to produce an accommodation. Henry was prevailed upon to submit his cause to the holy see, provided the cardinals of the imperial party were excluded from the Roman consistory during the trial; and the pope was disposed to gratify his desire. A day was even appointed for the return of the messenger with Henry's definitive answer; but the courier who carried the king's acquiescence in writing, was detained by accident beyond the limited time. In vain did the bishop of Paris request the pope to wait a few days for the messenger: Clement was so highly exasperated, that he would listen to no remonstrances. He entered the consistory enflamed with anger; and, with a precipitation fatal to the power of the Roman see, pronounced the legitimacy of Henry's marriage with Catherine, and declared him excommunicated if he refused to obey the sentence. Two days after, the messenger arrived; but the evil was not to be redressed. The obedience of England, one of the richest jewels in the papal crown, was lost by this hasty decision. A kingdom the most devoted of any in Europe to the apostolical see, was become its irreconcilable enemy. Two days patience would have prevented this alarming event.

A.D. 1534. The parliament met on the fifteenth of January, and continued to enact laws wholly subversive of the papal authority. They had already proscribed all appeals to Rome, and all the rights and regulations of the apostolic chamber. The people had for some years been persuaded, that a general council was far superior to the Roman pontiff; it was now publicly maintained, that the pope was only a bishop, and that his power extended no farther than the limits of his own diocese. The people, the parliament, and even the clergy, adopted this opinion. The statute of Henry IV. against heretics was moderated. By another statute it was declared, that no synod or convocation of the clergy should be assembled without the king's permission; that his majesty should nominate sixteen persons from the parliament, and as many from the clergy, to examine the canons and constitutions of the church, with a power to abolish such as were useless, and confirm those that were necessary. The parliament next confirmed the statute against annates: it was enacted, "That for the future the pope should have no share in the election or confirmation of bishops; but that, when a see became vacant, the king should send to the chapter a *congéd'elire*, or licence, to elect a new bishop; and if the election should not be made in twelve days after the date of the licence, the right of choosing should fall to the king: that the bishop elect should swear fealty to his majesty: that no person should presume to apply to the bishop of Rome for bulls, palls, or any other religious purpose: that Peter-pence, together with all procurations, delegations, bulls, and dispensations, issued by the court of Rome, should be entirely abolished: that the archbishop of Canterbury should be empowered to grant such dispensations as were consistent with the law of God, provided that part of the money thence arising should be paid into the king's exchequer: that all religious houses, whether exempted or non-exempted, should be subject to the visitation of the archbishop: that the king's marriage with Catherine should be deemed null and void; and that the succession should be settled upon the issue of his lawful wife Anne, whether male or female." This parliament also passed an act of attainder against

Elizabeth Barton, commonly called, "The holy Maid of Kent," and her accomplices, in a treasonable attempt to raise disturbances in the kingdom.

This woman had been long subject to hysteric fits, during which her body was thrown into unusual convulsions, and she frequently uttered many strange and incoherent expressions; whence the ignorant and credulous multitude were induced to believe that she spoke by the inspiration of heaven. The party who still supported the pope's authority, considered this person as a proper instrument to gain proselytes to their party, and condemn the methods that had been taken to procure the divorce. They, however, waited till the belief of her having an immediate intercourse with heaven was established with the people. This being effected, they taught her to declaim against the new doctrines, which she called heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government, and against the king's divorce from Catherine. She even at last had the boldness to assert, "that if the king prosecuted his divorce, and married another woman, he should not wear the crown a month longer, but should die the death of a villain." Henry, for some time, neglected to take any notice of this woman; he considered her pretended prophecies as the effects of a disordered brain, and which would be disregarded as soon as they ceased to be a novelty. But finding that she was supported, not only by the monks, but also by the pope's agents in England, he resolved to proceed against her with the utmost severity. Both the maid herself and her accomplices were accordingly examined in the Star-chamber, where they readily confessed all the particulars of their guilt, and suffered the punishment inflicted by the parliament. The detection of this imposture tended greatly to injure the credit of the ecclesiastics, especially the monks, who now became the objects of Henry's resentment.

During these transactions, intelligence of the excommunication fulminated by Clement reached England, and added greatly to the general ferment. The appeal of the king to a general council of the clergy was affixed to all the gates of the churches. The convocation declared, that the bishop of Rome had no authority in England; and that the power which he and his predecessors had hitherto exercised there, was nothing more than an usurpation tolerated by its kings. Thus was the church of England totally separated from the authority of the Roman see; and those who pretended that no great kingdom could throw off the subjection of the pope without the most imminent danger, now saw that a single blow was sufficient to overthrow this venerable Colossus.

Soon after the rising of the parliament, Henry sent commissioners through the whole kingdom, to administer the oath of allegiance and succession to all his subjects; and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, refusing to take it, were committed to the Tower. But though Henry had renounced the pope's authority, he was far from being a friend to the reformers. Their tenets were, however, embraced by great numbers of the English, and all ranks of men were disposed to favour their attempts to remove many of the superstitious practices from the public worship. The king's book against Luther had done him honour with the Catholics; and the answer of that reformer, who treated him with a sovereign contempt, failed not to wound his vanity. He did not, therefore, abandon the tenets of the Roman church, though he denied the authority of the pontiff. His ministers and courtiers knew not which religion to adopt; they wavered between both, and seemed extremely cautious of declaring their real opinions. The duke of Norfolk, and Gardener, bishop of Winchester, who were firmly attached to the ancient religion, though they pretended to acknowledge the king's supremacy, used every method in their power to exasperate Henry against the reformers. On the other hand, the new queen, with archbishop Cranmer, and secretary Cromwell,



Cromwell, who were friends to the protestants, artfully excited his resentment against the Holy See, while they themselves professed the established faith. Thus the professors of both religions were equally obnoxious to persecution. It was as criminal to acknowledge the pope's supremacy as to embrace the tenets of Luther. The prior of the Carthusian monks, the prior of Hexham, Benafe, a monk of Sion college, and John Haile, vicar of Illeworth, together with three monks of the Charterhouse, were put to death for denying the king's supremacy. This severity was a prelude to those sanguinary scenes that disgrace the close of Henry's reign.

At the same time, the reformers felt the weight of Henry's violent hand. The spirit of liberty cherished by that whole sect alarmed the rapacious monarch, and he was determined to employ persecution and violence against them; but he should have remembered, that the zeal of sectaries is always increased by opposition. A gentleman of the Temple, and a clergyman, having embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, were seized by the government, and put to the torture. Their sufferings proved too strong for their zeal; they abjured the tenets of Luther, and were set at liberty. But feeling afterwards the deepest compunctions for their timidity, they boldly preached against the superstitions of the established religion, and were condemned to the flames. It was expected by their enemies, that they would again recant when brought to the stake; but they were mistaken: they suffered with the most unshaken intrepidity; and even in the midst of their torments, gloried in the tenets they had before inculcated. Another disciple of the reformers, when surrounded with the flames, embraced, with a transport of joy, the faggots which were to put a period to his life. It was not, indeed, easy to avoid the danger of incurring the king's displeasure; his misplaced zeal considered the most innocent actions as heretical. To teach children the Lord's prayer in the vulgar tongue, to read the translation of the New Testament, to speak against pilgrimages, and to neglect the fasts of the church, were considered as highly criminal, and punished with the utmost severity. The jealousy and cruelty of the Spanish inquisition seemed to direct the proceedings of the English government.

Nor were these instances of his zeal for the tenets of the Romish church sufficient to satisfy the Catholics: they considered his revolt from the pope to be equally criminal with denying the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. One Peyto, a Franciscan friar, who preached before him, had the boldness to declare, "That many lying prophets had deceived him, but he, as the true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs should lick his blood, as they had done the blood of Ahab." The king, notwithstanding the violence of his temper, took no notice of this insult. But the next Sunday, he ordered Dr. Corren to preach in the Royal Chapel; and he justified the king's proceedings, and called Peyto a rebel, a slanderer, a dog and a traitor. He was interrupted in the midst of his harangue by another Franciscan, who told him he was one of the lying prophets, who endeavoured to establish the succession to the crown by adultery. Henry imposed silence on this petulant churchman, and he was summoned before the council. But this did not intimidate the friar: for being told by one of the counsellors, that he ought to be thrown into the Thames, he answered, "That the road to heaven was not longer by water than by land."

A. D. 1535. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were still confined in the Tower. They were both men of great parts and learning. Fisher had, for many years, enjoyed the confidence of Henry, and was a prelate of great virtue and erudition. The pope, who considered his sufferings as the consequence of his attachment to the holy see, sent him a cardinal's hat during his confinement in the Tower. But this promotion could not exempt

him from punishment. He was at last brought to his trial; and refusing to take the oath of supremacy, was found guilty, and condemned to lose his life. He received the notice of his execution with great composure, and submitted to the fatal blow with calmness and intrepidity. Great pains had been used to prevail upon Sir Thomas More to take the oath of supremacy; but he refused every offer, and fell a victim to the sanguinary malevolence of Henry. When conducted to the scaffold, neither the serenity of his mind, nor the usual cheerfulness of his temper, forsook him. He begged the executioner to stay till he had put aside his beard, "for (added he) it never committed treason." The humour, the virtue, and the resolution of this great man, will be remembered with applause, while the malevolence of his enemies will be recollected with detestation.

Paul III. who had lately succeeded Clement VII. in the papal chair, had flattered himself with being able to reconcile Henry to the Roman see. He had always favoured Henry's cause before his advancement to the papacy, and even gained the friendship of that capricious monarch. Sensible of the loss the apostolic see must sustain by a breach with England, he was very desirous of putting a friendly period to this alarming dispute. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and seemed to promise a favourable issue, when the news of Fisher's execution re-kindled the rage of the sacred college. A cardinal put to death in defence of the rights of the holy see, merited the severest vengeance, and the pontiff hastened to fulminate the thunders of the Vatican. Henry was cited to appear at the pope's tribunal, with all his adherents, within ninety days; and in case of disobedience, the king was declared to be excommunicated, and his marriage with Anne Boleyn illegitimate; his subjects were freed from all oaths of allegiance; his kingdom was given up to the ambition of the first invader; and his leagues with all Catholic princes were dissolved. Paul, however, thought proper to delay the publication of these censures till it should appear that an accommodation with England was absolutely desperate; and till Charles V. at this time violently pressed by the Turks and the protestant princes of Germany, should be in a condition to execute the violent measures of the consistory.

Henry was not in the least intimidated by the threatenings of the pope: the thunder of the Vatican was no longer terrible to the English. The league of Smalcalde, in which the German reformers assumed the name of Protestants, had composed a formidable barrier to the ambition of Charles V. The kings of France and England made some advances to be admitted into this confederacy. They well knew, that a conformity of sentiments, as well as of political interests, was necessary for this purpose; and the rigid treatment their reformed subjects had experienced in both kingdoms, must induce the German princes to think they could not rely upon them as sincere allies. Francis and Henry, therefore, pretended to a conformity of sentiments with them, and that they were desirous of establishing the Reformation in their dominions. But as the German princes suspected the sincerity of their declarations, they refused to enter into an alliance with them, but upon certain conditions. Those delivered to the English ambassadors were in substance as follows:

"That Henry should approve and embrace the Augsborg confession of faith, and defend it in a free council with all his power: that he should approve of no place for holding a council without their consent; that if the pope should call a council by his own authority, Henry should join with them in protesting against it: that he should accept of the title of Protector of the League: that he should never return to the obedience of the pope: that he should not assist their enemies; and that he should pay one hundred thousand crowns towards the defence of the league; but if any part of that sum remained at the conclusion of the war, it should be restored." These



articles, however disagreeable, were not rejected by Henry; but it soon appeared, that their sentiments, with regard to religion, were so very different, that no alliance could be concluded between them.

A.D. 1536. While the greatest powers of Europe were thus agitated with religious disputes, queen Catherine was seized with a dangerous distemper, which put a period to her life on the sixth of January, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender and pathetic letter to the king, whom she styled "her most dear lord, king, and husband." Henry was greatly affected with this last proof of Catherine's affection, given at a time when she was tottering on the brink of eternity, and just going to appear before the Judge of the whole earth. The queen's behaviour was very different: she openly expressed her satisfaction at the death of Catherine, and seemed to take a pleasure in communicating it to the public. She little thought that she herself would soon fall a victim to the unbounded passion of her husband. The remains of the unfortunate Catherine were deposited in the abbey-church of Peterborough, which Henry afterwards converted into an episcopal cathedral.

The great breach between Charles and Henry had been chiefly occasioned by the exertions of the former to revenge the dishonour of his aunt. But as that prince's was now no more, the emperor considered himself at full liberty to regain, if possible, the friendship of Henry. He accordingly offered to renew the former amity, on these conditions: That he should be reconciled to the court of Rome; that he should assist him in his war against the Turks; and that he should join him against Francis I. who was preparing to conquer Milan. But Henry had too often experienced the duplicity of that prince to form an alliance with him, and therefore politely refused his advances. He declared, that he should not refuse the friendship of the emperor, provided he would acknowledge, that the former breach between them proceeded entirely from himself; that his conduct with regard to the pope had been just, was ratified by the parliament, and could not now be revoked; that when peace was firmly established among the princes of Christendom, he should very readily join in a war against the infidels; and that when the former friendship between him and the emperor was restored, he should not fail to employ his good offices to reconcile him with Francis; or, if these proved ineffectual, to assist the injured party with all his forces. Charles, though defeated with regard to his attempt of forming an alliance with Henry, lost not sight of the projects he had formed. He invaded Provence and Picardy, but was repulsed with loss. He himself laid siege to Marseilles, and his generals to Peronne, but neither of them succeeded.

Henry now determined to take a severe revenge for all the affronts he had received from the monkish clergy. That numerous body of men, knowing that their power was so closely connected with that of the Roman see, that they must stand or fall together, exerted all their influence to depreciate the Reformation, and load Henry with the most atrocious crimes. They declaimed, with the utmost violence, against the followers of Luther; while the religionists, in their turn, imputed to the monks those frequent faults which oppressed the industrious to enrich the idle; those superstitious rites of devotion which were often considered as more meritorious than a discharge of the moral duties; those vain subtilties which adulterated theology; and that captious casuistry which tyrannized over the reason and consciences of men. But, perhaps, the revenues of the convents had inspired him with a desire of being master of their riches. He was, however, fearful of the consequences that might result from this attempt, as religious retreats had so long been considered as sacred and inviolable. A council was therefore summoned, where the affair was considered with the utmost attention; and it was resolved, that a general visitation should

be made of all the monasteries; that a strict inquest should be taken of all their titles and revenues; and that the morals of the religious, and the regulations observed in each order, should be closely inspected. Cromwell was created vicar-general, and inquisitor-general of all the monasteries, and other privileged places. The visitation was accordingly performed with the utmost rigour; and, if credit may be given to the reports of the visitors themselves, they discovered such abominations and scenes of vice, debauchery, and imposture, as were not only disgraceful to religion, but even shocking to human nature. The report of the visitors was published, in order the more effectually to excite the horror and detestation of the people.

Recourse was now had to the parliament, where an act for the dissolution of the lesser monasteries was passed into a law. The preamble to this bill declares, "That small religious houses, under the number of twelve persons, had been long and notoriously guilty of the most abominable vices, and consumed and wasted the church lands belonging to them: that for above two hundred years, many visitations for reforming these abuses had been made without success, their vicious method of life daily increasing; so that unless the small houses were dissolved, and the religious distributed into the greater monasteries, no reformation could be expected." It was therefore declared, that all houses, whose revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds a year, should be suppressed, their revenues converted to better uses, and the religious compelled to reform themselves.

This act was no sooner passed, than orders were issued, that all nuns and friars under twenty-four years of age should be immediately dismissed and absolved from their vows; and that all others above that age should have free liberty to leave their houses and retire wherever they pleased. No less than three hundred and seventy-six of these lesser monasteries were thus dissolved; and their revenues, which amounted to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were given to the king, together with their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at one hundred thousand pounds. While the parliament was engaged in passing an act for suppressing the lesser monasteries, the convocation deliberated upon a proposition of the utmost importance to the reformers. This was a new translation of the Bible. Tindal, some years before, had published a version of the scriptures; but it being found, upon examination, to be inaccurate and unfaithful, it had been committed publicly to the flames by order of the government. It was therefore now proposed to publish a new translation, which should be free from those objections. This motion was strongly opposed by the popish party, and as warmly supported by the friends of the Reformation, who considered it as the only means of discovering to the people the many errors and superstitious absurdities of the church of Rome. After a long contest, the motion was carried, and a new translation of the Scriptures was ordered to be made by persons esteemed equal to the undertaking.

But the reforming party now lost their principal support. Anne Boleyn, who had so long continued her ascendancy over the heart of Henry, had now lost the power of pleasing. Jane Seymour, one of the maids of honour to the queen, and a lady of singular beauty and merit, had inspired him with a new passion, and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of his appetite. Anne was of a lively and gay disposition; and, though strictly virtuous, she was not sufficiently careful of her behaviour. She had been bred at the court of France, and contracted the easy carriage so familiar to that sprightly people. Calumny converted her imprudence into vice; and the Austrian party, who had been exasperated at the divorce of Catherine, improved the report, to render the king suspicious of her virtue. The passions of Henry were all in the extremes: he had no sooner conceived a jealousy of the queen, than



her destruction was determined. He caused her to be arrested, and accused her of adultery before a committee of the House of Lords, on such slight circumstances, that to mention them is sufficient to confute them. The countess of Rochford, who had married the queen's brother, a woman of the most infamous character, accused her of carrying on a criminal correspondence with her own brother, but was not able to bring the least proof of her assertion. The parliament, however, always subservient to the monarch's passions, passed sentence of death upon the queen, though no evidence was produced against her. She protested her innocence to the last, and sent the king, as she was going to mount the scaffold, a very pathetic letter, which at once indicates the serenity of her mind, and that she met death with that decent confidence which always attends a mind conscious of its own integrity. "You have (said she) been continually raising me: from a private gentlewoman, you made me a marchioness; from a marchioness, a queen; and as you can raise me no higher in this world, you are this day sending me to be a saint in heaven." She was beheaded on the nineteenth of May, and buried privately in the Tower.

Thus fell the celebrated Anne Boleyn, who had so long reigned sovereign of Henry's affections. Her unhappy fate was deplored by the people, who considered her as the innocent victim of her husband's inordinate passion. If this opinion needed any confirmation, the behaviour of Henry himself was sufficient for that purpose. He married the lady Jane Seymour the very next day after her execution, so eager was he to satisfy his brutal appetite. His obdurate heart was not the least affected by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had for several years been the object of his most tender affections. Nor was he satisfied with this sanguinary action: he caused his marriage with Anne to be declared illegal, under pretence of a pre-contract of marriage with the earl of Northumberland. By this cruel process, Elizabeth, as well as Mary, became illegitimate.

Elizabeth was about three years of age when her mother fell a sacrifice to Henry's jealousy. She had been hitherto styled princess of Wales, but was now divested of that title. The princess Mary, whom he had treated with great severity on account of her tender attachment to her mother, and her refusing to renounce the pope's supremacy, was now persuaded by the Romish party to attempt a reconciliation with her father. Accordingly she subscribed to the king's supremacy, renounced the authority of the bishop of Rome, and acknowledged the illegality of her mother's marriage, in order the more effectually to remove the princess Elizabeth from the king's presence and affections. But Henry, though he was reconciled to Mary, continued his affection to Elizabeth: he caused her to be educated at court with all the care and tenderness of a father.

The late events rendered it necessary for the king to call a new parliament; and he soon found that the same obsequiousness prevailed in this as in the former assembly. They confirmed the late queen's divorce, declared the children by the king's two first marriages illegitimate, and adjudged the crown, after his decease, to the issue of his present queen, or any other person he might marry after her death. At the same time, they gave Henry full power to settle the mode of such succession, either by will, or letters patent under the great seal; and pronounced all those who maintained the validity of his two former marriages guilty of high-treason.

The suppression of the lesser monasteries now occasioned great disturbances in different parts of the kingdom; and the pope having repeated the sentence of excommunication against Henry, laid the kingdom under an interdict, and forbid his subjects to pay him any obedience. The monks exerted all their influence to persuade the people, that they were under an indispensable duty of taking up arms against a prince who had trampled under foot all their civil

and religious liberties. The ignorant multitude eagerly listened to these insinuations; they had been always taught to consider as sacred what was now devoted to destruction. Upwards of twenty thousand men assembled in Lincolnshire, under the command of Thomas Mackerel, prior of Barlings. This undisciplined multitude published their grievances in a petition to the king, complaining of the suppression of the monasteries, the subversion of the ancient religion, the establishing new tenets, &c. Henry sent an answer to this petition, and dispatched the duke of Suffolk, at the head of a small body of troops, to reduce the insurgents to obedience. But they were in no condition to contend with regular forces; and on being promised a pardon, dispersed of themselves. Their leader, however, fell into the hands of the royalists, and paid his life as a forfeit to his temerity.

This insurrection was hardly suppressed, before another was excited in Yorkshire, which seemed to threaten more important consequences to the government. The rebels were headed by one Aske, a gentleman of fortune in that county, and well adapted, by his natural talents, to head a popular insurrection. The insurgents were joined by a little army of ejected monks, carrying before them a banner, on which a crucifix with five wounds, and a chalice, were painted. They wore the same device upon their sleeves, to animate them in the support of their religion. They styled their march "The Pilgrimage of Grace," and all who joined them were obliged to take an oath, "That they entered into the Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preservation of the king's person and issue, the purifying the nobility, and expelling all evil counsellors; not for any particular profit of their own, nor to kill any man through envy; but to support the true faith; procure the restitution of the church, and suppress heretics and their opinions." The people were deluded with these specious pretences; they flocked to this religious standard; and Aske soon found himself at the head of forty thousand men. Their first attempt was against the castle of Pontefract, which was considered as a place of strength, but soon surrendered to the insurgents. York and Hull were also easily reduced; and Aske obliged all the nobility in the county to join him, except Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, who defended Skipton-castle against all the attempts of the rebels.

The government was greatly distressed for want of troops; five thousand men only could be raised on this emergency. The duke of Norfolk, however, advanced, at the head of this little army, against the rebels; while Henry, in order to amuse them, published a proclamation, commanding all the nobility to meet him at Northampton on the seventh of November. The royalists were encamped at Doncaster, and the insurgents advanced into that neighbourhood. The river Till only separated the two armies; and the rebels attempted twice to pass it, in order to venture a battle, and were twice prevented from executing their purpose by violent falls of rain, which rendered the stream impassable. A superstitious terror now filled the breasts of the insurgents: they were persuaded that heaven itself opposed their design; and listened to the offers of the duke of Norfolk, who promised them a pardon. They dispersed, and returned to their respective habitations.

But this peace was but of a short continuance. The priests renewed their practices for disturbing the public peace; and soon collected a numerous body of men, who were persuaded that religion itself depended upon their defending the ancient superstitions of the church. The duke of Norfolk found it necessary to continue in the north during the winter; but by putting the martial law into strict execution against every one who refused to take the oath of supremacy, he, instead of lessening, increased the disorders. Two gentlemen, Musgrave and Treby, putting themselves at the head of eight thousand



peasants, made an unsuccessful attempt on Carlisle, and were afterwards entirely routed by the duke of Norfolk. Musgrave made his escape; but Treby, with about seventy of his followers, being taken prisoners, were all hanged on the walls of Carlisle.

A. D. 1537. Exasperated at these frequent disturbances, Henry sent for the chiefs of the rebels to court, in order to prevent their engaging in any other insurrection. Afke readily obeyed the summons, and was received with kindness; but the lords Darcy and Hussy, together with several other chiefs of the rebels, refusing to obey the king's mandate, were seized, and beheaded on Tower-hill. These executions intimidated Afke: he retired into the country without a licence from the government, and was soon after hanged at York. Fortunately for Henry, the Scottish monarch, James V. was in France during these disturbances in the north of England; so that the rebels could receive no assistance from that kingdom.

Henry was now so used to slaughter, by the frequent executions, that he seemed to delight in blood. He ordered Thomas Fitzgerald, son to the late earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles, who had suffered a long confinement in the Tower for an insurrection in Ireland, to be executed, in order to intimidate the people, who seemed ripe for a revolt. But Stephen Fitzgerald, the earl's youngest son, escaped to the continent, and retired to cardinal Pole, who made use of him in the designs he had formed of recovering England to the obedience of the holy see.

While Henry was thus employed in chastising his rebellious subjects, his queen was delivered of a son at Hampton-Court, to the inexpressible joy of the nation in general, and of Henry in particular. He had now obtained the object of his ardent wishes; he was blessed with a son, the undoubted heir of all his dominions: but his satisfaction was greatly lessened by the death of the queen, which happened soon after her delivery. She was the most beloved of all his wives, and highly celebrated for her humble deportment, her goodness, and her affability. The king was so afflicted with his loss, that he secluded himself from all company several days. The young prince was baptized by the name of Edward, and three days after declared prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester.

A. D. 1538. The birth of a prince tended greatly to confirm Henry's power: he was feared by his subjects, and his friendship courted by the greatest princes of Europe. He now considered the monks as his greatest enemies, and determined to render them unable to give him any disturbance for the future. In order to this, he procured addresses from the two universities; wherein the pernicious nature of religious houses, which harboured only a multitude of lazy drones and swarms of impostors, were fully displayed, and the king requested to remove so great an evil. A visitation was accordingly appointed, and the visitors confounded guilt and innocence. Time and the passions had indeed introduced many corruptions into the cloisters; but it is not reasonable to believe, that the manners of the ecclesiastics should be totally depraved. In some of the religious houses, inventions to impose on popular credulity were discovered; false relics were employed, and false miracles were performed. Some impostures of a more artificial nature were also found by the visitors. At Hales, in Gloucestershire, had been shewn, for several ages, the blood of Christ, said to have been brought from Jerusalem; and it is natural to suppose, that a relic of such importance must be held in the highest estimation. This relic was supposed to be attended with very important circumstances: the sacred blood was not visible to any person in mortal sin, even when placed before him, till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution. At the dissolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was discovered. Two monks, who were entrusted with the secret, had

taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week. This they put into a phial, one side of which was clear and transparent, and the other thick and obscure. Furnished with this instrument of deception, they used it to their own emolument. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to shew him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his crimes; or rather till his money, faith, or patience, were nearly exhausted; when they turned the bright side of the phial, and blessed him with the sight he had so long and earnestly desired.

At Boxley, in Kent, was a crucifix remarkably famous, held in the highest veneration, and distinguished by the appellation of the Road of Grace. It had been often seen to move, to bend and rise itself, shake its head, hands and feet, roll its eyes, and move its lips. This instrument of religious deception being brought to London, it was broke in pieces at St. Paul's Cross, by Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, before a multitude of spectators; who, with their own eyes, beheld the springs and wheels by which it had been actuated.

It is no wonder that discoveries like these raised a general indignation. The authors of such scandalous abuses were detested; the monasteries were considered as infamous; and the crimes of a few were extended to the whole body of the religious. This gave Henry the advantage he desired; and the monks, convinced that it would be madness to make any opposition, surrendered their monasteries, and many of them received pensions for their subsistence. No less than six hundred and forty-five monasteries were dissolved, twenty-eight of which had abbots, who enjoyed seats in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in the several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free-chapels; and one hundred and ten hospitals. The whole annual revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand one hundred pounds; a sum which did not much exceed the twelfth part of the national income.

Whilst Henry was thus employed in demolishing the basis of superstition, it could not be supposed he would overlook the most famous and respected of all the instruments of popish idolatry, the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Becket was indebted, for the honour of being ranked among the saints, to the vigorous efforts he had exerted in defence of the authority of the Holy See; and a saint of that character must be highly obnoxious to Henry, who was determined to abolish the power of the Roman pontiff in England. He could not bear the thought, that such a furious and obstinate rebel to his prince should be held in the highest veneration by the people, his tomb frequented by pilgrims, and enriched with supererogatory presents. It was not uncommon, in these times, to carry on processions against the dead, and Henry availed himself of the practice. The life of Becket underwent a strict examination; his actions were condemned by the generality of the people; and the miracles pretended to be wrought at his tomb were proved to be forgeries. His name was therefore ordered to be erased out of the Calendar, the office composed for his festival expunged from the Breviary, his bones to be burnt, and his ashes dispersed by the winds. The rich shrine of the saint had also attracted the rapacity of Henry, who converted the whole to his own use. Among the spoils was a diamond esteemed the most valuable in Europe. It was a present from Lewis VII. of France, who made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas. This jewel was, by Henry's orders, set in a ring, and worn afterwards by that monarch on his thumb. At the same time, Henry, in order to reconcile the people to these innovations, erected six new bishoprics, gave large donations to his courtiers, and settled salaries on the abbots and monks. It was also pretended, that the crown would never more have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, by the acquisition of the church-

lands,



lands, to defray all expences of government. The people were, however, soon convinced, that those pleasing promises had no foundation, and that all the riches of the nation would not be sufficient to supply the prodigality of their monarch.

Intelligence of these proceedings no sooner reached Rome, than that city was filled with libels and satires against the person and conduct of Henry: he was represented as the most impious and sacrilegious tyrant that ever disgraced the royal title or dignity: he was compared to Belsazzar, Nero, Domitian, Dioclesian, and particularly to Julian the apostate, whom he was said to resemble in his learning and apostacy, though greatly inferior in moral duties. Cardinal Pole's style was easily distinguished in these invectives, which were soon dispersed over all Europe. Henry, whose vanity and sanguinary disposition daily increased, determined to revenge the insult. The cardinal himself was beyond his power; but several gentlemen of distinction, among whom were his two brothers, were arrested, as his accomplices in a conspiracy against the king's life; and all of them were executed, except Sir Geoffrey Pole, who was pardoned on account of his having discovered all he knew of the cardinal's intentions.

The Roman pontiff had hitherto suspended the bull of excommunication formerly passed against Henry, in hopes of being one day able to accommodate his difference with that monarch; but finding that the late proceedings in England had rendered a reconciliation impossible, he published the bull with great solemnity, and endeavoured to excite the neighbouring powers against a prince whom he had conigned to destruction. He even offered the English crown to James of Scotland, provided he was able and willing to wrest it from Henry's head.

But the prince that had dared to drive the religious from their retreats, and committed to the flames the remains of Becket, was not to be intimidated. He knew that the thunder of the Vatican had lost its force; and that the cultivation of reason had removed a corner of the veil which ignorance and superstition had formed to conceal the rays of truth from the eyes of mankind. Henry therefore set the pope's power at defiance; and exacted a new oath from the clergy, by which they renounced the authority of the Roman pontiff. The new translation of the Bible was also now finished, and presented to the king by Cromwell, who was persuaded that nothing could so effectually eradicate the popish superstition as a free toleration of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue. But Henry, who halted half way between the Catholics and the Protestants, would not permit an indiscriminate use of the Scriptures; he would only allow a copy of the translation to be deposited in each parish church, where it was ordered to be fixed by a chain; and took care to inform the public by proclamation, "That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodness and liberality to them; who therefore should use it moderately, for the increase of virtue, not of strife: and ordered, that no man should read the Bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest while he sang mass, nor presume to expound doubtful passages without the advice of the learned." This indulgence was, however, considered as a great acquisition by the friends to the Reformation; especially as they obtained a royal warrant, enjoining the clergy to read the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in English. At the same time, they were ordered to recommend good works; and to teach the people, that relics, rosaries, and other superstitious trifles, were unnecessary to salvation.

A. D. 1539. Notwithstanding Henry had proceeded with such animosity against the Roman pontiff, he piqued himself on his zeal for the Catholic faith: he was even ambitious of defending it by disputation, as well as by persecution; and the doctrine of the real presence, or that of transubstantiation, the most incomprehensible of all the dogmas in the Romish religion, was the point he maintained with

the greatest obstinacy. One Lambert, a schoolmaster of London, had ventured to doubt of the real presence; and being cited to appear before the bishops, he appealed to the king. Henry was charmed with having so fine an opportunity of displaying his theological talents. He thought it no derogation from his dignity to hold a public disputation with that reformer. Notice was accordingly given that the king intended to enter the lists against Lambert, and the prelates, the nobility, and many gentlemen of distinction were assembled on this occasion. The king himself appeared in all the ensigns of majesty seated upon his throne: and in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, and required to defend his opinion against his royal antagonist.

The conference was opened by the bishop of Winchester, who informed the schoolmaster, that the king had taken the present opportunity of convincing him of his errors; adding that if he still continued to persevere in his heretical opinions, he must expect the severest punishment. Lambert defended his opinion with great intrepidity: but the king assisted by ten bishops, who all engaged in the dispute, if indeed so partial a contest deserves the name, effectually confounded the disputant, after the conference had lasted five hours. But though confounded and reduced to silence, he was not convinced: and when the king asked him whether he would live or die? Lambert replied, that he threw himself entirely on his majesty's clemency. The king replied, that he protected not heretics, and that he must either abjure his opinions or perish. Lambert chose the latter; and died with the utmost intrepidity amidst the most dreadful tortures.

Intoxicated with the praises that had been lavished upon him during his dispute with Lambert, Henry exacted with more violence than ever, a submission to his religious sentiments. To think different from him on theological subjects, was equal to committing a capital crime; and he took the advantage of the fervility of his parliament, to make his own opinion the standard of orthodoxy in England. The chancellor informed the two houses, that it was his majesty's desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion with regard to religion; and a committee was immediately appointed to draw up a bill for effecting that purpose. But it was soon found that such a diversity of sentiments prevailed among the members of the committee that there was no hopes of their ever making a report. A bill was, therefore, drawn up, either by Henry himself, or some member of the privy council, and presented to the house, where it was passed into a law. It was called "the bill of the Six Articles," or as the protestants justly termed it, "The Bloody Bill." By this law the presence in the eucharist; communion in one kind; the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity; the celibacy of ecclesiastics; the utility of private masses; and the necessity of auricular confession, were established. Whoever denied the real presence was subjected to death by fire; nor was he even admitted to abjure his error. The punishment of the other articles was also remarkably severe; for though abjuration was admitted, the offender was punished by the confiscation of goods and chattels, and imprisonment. Those who continued obstinate, or who relapsed, were capitally punished. The clergy, who ventured to marry were also subject to death; and fines and imprisonment were inflicted on all those who refused to confess themselves, or to receive the eucharist at appointed seasons. It is difficult to conceive the idea of regulations more unjust and severe. Cranmer alone had the courage to oppose this bill; but when it was passed into a law, he immediately separated himself from his wife, and Henry was satisfied with this proof of his submission. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishoprics on account of this act, and were committed to prison.

Nor were the parliament more tenacious of their civil than their ecclesiastical liberties; for by one single act, without scruple, and almost without deliberation,



ration, they totally subverted the English constitution. They passed a bill, by virtue of which the king's proclamation obtained the same force as a statute enacted by the whole legislative power.

By another act the king was empowered to nominate any number of bishops, sees for bishops, and cathedral churches, as he thought proper, and to endow them with such possessions as he might judge convenient. An act was also passed, by which the parliament invested in the crown all the abbey-lands, upon the false pretence, that the surrenders made by the abbots, priors, and superiors, had been "without constraint, of their own accord, and according to the due course of common law." Nor did any of the mitred abbots, who still kept their seats in the House of Peers, enter any protest against this statute; though it was sufficiently known that arts of all kinds had been employed; that every motive, calculated to work upon the frailty of human nature, had been set before them; and that it was at last with the utmost difficulty those dignified ecclesiastics agreed to a concession, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interests, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself.

The parliament also gave another instance of their condescension and meanness. They passed bills of attainder against cardinal Pole, the countess of Salisbury his mother, the marchioness of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley, without hearing any evidence to convict them of the crimes which were laid to their charge. The two gentlemen were executed, the marchioness was pardoned, and the countess received a reprieve.

As the libraries of several abbeys were well furnished with books, Henry, desirous of preserving whatever was valuable in these repositories, employed the famous antiquary John Leland to collect the most useful manuscripts, and other monuments of antiquity. He also intended to found a college for the study of the civil law, the purity of the Latin and French languages, and the knowledge of foreign affairs; to serve as a seminary for ministers of state and ambassadors. But the king's own prodigality, and the rapacity of his courtiers, rendered this, and several other similar designs, abortive.

The slavish concessions of the parliament had rendered Henry's will the law of the land; and both the Protestant and Popish parties cultivated his favour with the most abject submission. Bonner, lately made bishop of London, though in secret a zealous partizan of the pope's authority, found means, by the most profound dissimulation, to obtain letters patent for enjoying both the spiritual and temporal revenues of his see during the king's pleasure; and Gardiner, a bigotted son of the Romish church, maintained his influence by the most extravagant submission. These prelates encouraged the Catholics to be extremely vigilant in informing against all who refused to subscribe to the six articles; and no less than five hundred persons were soon thrown into prison. But though Cromwell and Cranmer had not interest enough to prevent the act from passing, they were able, for some time, to elude its execution: they even remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents, and obtained permission to set them at liberty. Thus the uncertainty of Henry's temper gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in their turn. The law of the six articles, which seemed intended to extirpate the reformed religion, was soon followed by a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family; a concession regarded by the Protestants as a decisive victory over the Catholics.

While the contest thus continued in suspense, both parties seemed to be persuaded that the final decision would, in a great measure, depend upon the choice of a future queen, the king having given several intimations of his intention to enter into a new marriage. He first cast his eyes on a daughter of the duke of Guise, but was informed that this princess was al-

ready betrothed to the king of Scotland. Cromwell therefore proposed Anne of Cleves, youngest sister to the dukes of Saxony. A flattering picture of that princess, drawn by the hand of Hans Holbein, determined Henry to apply to her father; and the marriage was soon after concluded, notwithstanding the negotiation was opposed by the elector of Saxony, and the princess was sent over to England. The marriage of Henry with this princess would, in all probability, have frustrated all the attempts of Gardiner and his party, had she answered the great character given by her friends of her beauty and accomplishments. But when Henry, who was impatient for a sight of his consort, saw her privately at Rochester, he was so disappointed, that he swore, "she was a great Flanders mare;" and declared, he could never bear her any affection. His aversion was increased, when he found she could speak only German, a language he did not understand; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. He would even have broken off the match abruptly, had not his affairs required the friendship of the German princes. A good understanding had, for some time, prevailed between the emperor and the king of France; and even such marks of union appeared, as occasioned great jealousy in the court of England. Henry therefore determined to complete his marriage; and told Cromwell, that since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke.

A. D. 1540. The marriage was accordingly performed on the sixth of January; and Cromwell, who knew how greatly his own interest was concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his spouse any better. The king answered, that he hated her more than ever; that her person was more loathsome on a near approach; and that he was determined never to meddle with her. He, however, continued to behave very kindly to the princess; nor gave any intimation of the disgust he had conceived against Cromwell for the share he had taken in this transaction.

The parliament meeting on the twelfth of April, Cromwell opened the session with a speech; in which he informed both houses, that the king, in order to terminate all disputes about religion, had appointed commissioners to examine the contested articles, that a standard of faith might be established on the solid basis of the sacred Scriptures; and that after the truth should be thus made known to his people, he was resolved to punish, with the utmost severity, all those who should presume to prefer their own opinion to the established articles of belief. Cromwell's speech was received with the highest applause; and the peers, in order to flatter the king in the person of his minister, declared, that he was worthy, by his deserts, to be vicar-general of the universe. At the same time, the minister seemed to be in the highest favour with his master, who created him earl of Essex, and installed him a knight of the garter.

The only religious order that now remained in England, was that of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or of the Knights of Malta. The valour this order had exerted against the infidels, acquired them the favour of the people, and they resolutely refused to yield up their revenues to the king. Henry, determined not to suffer any society to exist in England that professed obedience to the pope, had recourse to the parliament for the dissolution of this order. But their revenues, though very large, were far from satisfying the rapacity of Henry; they were soon squandered away, and the king was obliged to have recourse to his parliament for a supply. He had always found that assembly very lavish of their liberties and the blood of their fellow-subjects, but very frugal of their money; and accordingly they strongly opposed the demand of this tyrannical monarch; nor was it without the utmost difficulty that he obtained the grant.



The king's marriage with Anne of Cleves, which had been principally effected by Cromwell, greatly lessened the power of that minister: Henry was secretly disgusted, and the favours he had lately conferred upon him were deceitful. The duke of Norfolk and Gardiner observed this prognostic of the minister's fall, and determined to improve it. They well knew, that he was hated by the nobility, because they saw themselves eclipsed at court by a person of mean extraction; that he was odious to the catholics, because they regarded him as a sworn enemy to the church of Rome; and that he was suspected by the protestants of having betrayed their interest through timidity. They did not, however, think it prudent to attack him abruptly, but to have recourse to stratagem. They introduced Catherine Howard, a beautiful young lady, and niece to the duke of Norfolk, at court. The king was highly pleased with Catherine; and Gardiner, at once the pander and the priest, made frequent entertainments at his own house for the royal lover and his mistress. The stratagem succeeded; Henry was so pleased with his mistress, that he offered to make her his partner in the throne.

In consequence of this new connection, the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner acquired the highest credit in the cabinet, and made use of the vilest insinuations to ruin the minister. They represented to Henry, that the nation in general was dissatisfied with his administration, and persuaded that Cromwell had abused his majesty's confidence. They added, that as these complaints and murmurings chiefly regarded religion, it would be prudent to satisfy the people by examining his conduct strictly, and even, if necessary, to sacrifice the vicar-general, in order to procure the tranquillity of the kingdom. Henry, who was exasperated against Cromwell, readily listened to these insinuations, and it was determined that the minister should fall a victim to the resentment of the public. He was accordingly arrested at the council-board, and immediately committed to the Tower. Cromwell now experienced the common fate of degraded ministers, that of being forsaken by all his friends: Cranmer alone endeavoured to support him. The more the parliament had flattered him in his prosperity, the more they insulted him in his disgrace. They accused him of heresy and treason, and condemned him to death without examination, and without evidence. In vain he implored the clemency of the king in a letter written in the most affecting strain, and containing the most earnest supplications. Henry was deaf to the soft whispers of humanity; his brutal heart was a stranger to mercy. The minister was executed without delay; and all his services disregarded or forgotten. Cromwell was a man of industry and ability, and worthy of a better master, and a better fate. Though raised from a plebeian origin, he behaved with no insolence to his inferiors; nor forgot in his prosperity to return the obligations he had received during his low condition: no person had cause to complain of his ingratitude.

Henry had now the pleasure of perceiving that the obstacles which had hitherto prevented his divorce, were removed: the two powerful monarchs Charles V. and Francis I. were no longer friends. Charles having occasion to visit Flanders to suppress an insurrection, had begged permission of Francis to pass through his dominions. The request was very readily granted; he was received by Francis with unsuspicious courtesy, and even intrusted with the secrets of his allies. Charles was no sooner out of reach of danger, than he profitted by this indiscretion; he exposed Francis to the resentment of the king of England; and though by acting so treacherous a part, he proved himself unworthy of all confidence, he found means to procure the friendship of a prince, who knew no other rule of conduct than his passions and his caprice.

It was now determined by Henry to procure a divorce from Anne of Cleves; and found no diffi-

culty in obtaining a decision from the convocation in his favour. It was said that there had been a pre-contract between the queen and the marquis of Lorraine; that the king had not "inwardly" given his consent, and that he had never consummated his marriage. These objections were certainly very frivolous, but as the queen made no opposition, they were thought sufficient, sentence was pronounced for a dissolution of the marriage, and the decision of the clergy was ratified by the parliament. The queen expressed no dissatisfaction. She was satisfied on being informed, that the king, would, by letters patent, declare her his adopted sister, and give her precedence before all the ladies of England, except his own wife and daughters; that an estate of three thousand pounds a year should be allotted for her maintenance; and that she might either live in England, or return to her own country. She chose the former, and was even prevailed upon to write a letter to her brother, the duke of Cleves, informing him, that she had been treated in the most tender and generous manner by the king, though she could not have him for her husband; and conjuring him not to break the harmony that subsisted between the two courts, on account of any thing that had happened to her in England. Thus was the marriage with Anne of Cleves dissolved on the most frivolous pretences that ever were urged before any court of justice.

This obstacle being removed, Catherine Howard was declared queen of England, after having been for some time privately married to Henry. But this marriage had no effect on the conduct of Henry; cruelty seemed to have taken possession of his soul. Papists and reformers were equally the objects of his infernal passion; they both suffered for the tenets of their religion. The former denied the king's supremacy, and the latter the real presence in the sacrament; both were contrary to the religious establishment of Henry, and therefore both equally obnoxious to punishment. Dr. Barnes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming minister, and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, were condemned to the stake for heresy; but they did not suffer alone, three bigotted catholics shared the same fate, and perished in the same flames, for denying the king's supremacy. Barnes discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the debate between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocation of saints, he said, that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but if they could he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. This promiscuous punishment of protestants and catholics gave occasion to a foreigner, then in England, to say, That it was of no consequence whether they were for or against the pope, since both lost their lives for their opinions.

But it could not be expected that such despotic cruelty could be executed without exciting the hatred of the people; they conceived an abhorrence for the authors of such detestable proceedings, and some alarming symptoms of an insurrection appeared in several parts of the kingdom. The king's suspicion fell upon cardinal Pole; and this was to him a sufficient reason for putting the countess of Salisbury, the mother of that prelate, to death. She was the last of the Plantagenet race, and venerable both for her age and her virtues. She was led to the place of execution; but even in those distressful circumstances she did not lose her courage. She refused to submit to a sentence pronounced without a trial; and, running about the scaffold, she told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he must win it in the best manner he could. Nor was it till after he had aimed many blows at her neck, that he at last gave her the fatal stroke.

The frequent insurrections of popish faction in the northern counties had so often alarmed Henry, that he now determined to visit those parts in person, in order, if possible, to terminate these disorders, by punishing, with the utmost severity, all who had



dared to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. The inhabitants were no strangers to his cruel disposition, and therefore wisely determined to deprecate his vengeance, by offering him a considerable sum of money. Henry accepted of the commutation, and desisted from carrying his inhuman designs into execution. Before he left London, he had dispatched Sir Ralph Sadler into Scotland, to propose an interview with James V. and the Scottish monarch had agreed to meet him at York, in order to concert measures for preserving the peace of both kingdoms.

Scotland had, for some time, felt the zeal and fury of sectaries, as well as England: the torch of civil discord flamed both in the northern and southern parts of the British isles. Patrick Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, destined for the church, having, about the year 1527, been sent abroad for his education, imbibed the opinions of the reformers; and, on his return to Scotland, diffused not his religious sentiments. A Dominican, who had insinuated himself into his friendship, perfidiously accused him before the archbishop of St. Andrews. He was tried, condemned to be burnt for his errors, and suffered with all the resolution of an hero. At the stake he cited his accuser to the tribunal of Jesus Christ; and the Dominican, either astonished at his constancy, or overcome with remorse, soon after lost his senses, and expired. The death of Hamilton, who was now considered both as a prophet and a martyr, brought over a great number of profelytes to the Reformation. Among others, was friar Forest, who became a zealous preacher, and professed an extreme attachment to the holy scriptures; which, in those times, was considered as a sure characteristic of heresy. Forest was therefore soon after brought to his trial, and condemned to the flames. While the priests were deliberating on the most proper place for his execution, one of their hearers advised them to burn him in some cellar; "for (said he) the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton affected all those on whom it blew."

Such was the state of religious disputes in Scotland when James received the invitation from Henry to meet him at York. The nobility persuaded him to accept the offer; hoping, that if an union was formed between the two princes, they should be able to enrich themselves with the spoils of the church. The clergy were alarmed; they dreaded the consequences of such an interview; and determined, if possible, to prevent it. They represented the danger of making any innovations in the established religion; the pernicious consequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himself in the hands of the English; and the dreadful situation of his country, should he, by pursuing such impolitic measures, lose the friendship of France. At the same time, they offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds Scots, and promised that the church should be always ready to contribute liberally to the necessities of the state. These representations, assisted by the influence of the queen, induced James to change his resolution. He delayed his journey for some days, and then sent excuses to Henry, who waited for him at York. The English monarch was not of a temper to bear tamely this affront: he vowed the most severe revenge; but an event, which happened soon after his departure, rendered it necessary for him to return to his capital, and defer, for a season, his revenge against the king of Scotland.

While Henry continued at York, one Lascelles informed the archbishop of Canterbury, that the queen, in the former part of her life, had been little better than a common strumpet. He offered to confirm his information by the evidence of his sister, who had lived as a servant in the old dutchess of Norfolk's house, where the queen had been educated, and where she had carried on a criminal intrigue with Derham and Mannoek, two menial servants. Struck with this intelligence, which it was dangerous

either to conceal or discover, Cranmer communicated it to the chancellor and the earl of Hertford, and requested their advice with regard to the most prudent method of proceeding in so delicate an affair. They knew that Henry, though extremely scrupulous in every particular that regarded his honour, was captivated by the youth, beauty, and agreeable disposition of Catherine. He had even put up a prayer in his chapel, returning thanks to heaven for the felicity he enjoyed in the conjugal state; and had desired the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of thanksgiving for that purpose. But notwithstanding these demonstrations of the king's esteem for Catherine, it was resolved that the matter should not be buried in silence, and that the primate himself was the most proper person to disclose it to his Majesty. Cranmer, unwilling to speak upon so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole proceeding, and sent it by a special messenger to the king. It is impossible to express the surprize and confusion of Henry when he received the archbishop's relation of the queen's infamous conduct; but, at the same time, he was so fully convinced of his consort's fidelity, that he at first gave no credit to the information, and declared that he looked upon the whole as a malicious forgery; but as he could not rest till he knew the certainty of the matter, he ordered it to be inquired into with such precautions as might preserve the queen from any scandal, should she be found innocent. It was therefore resolved, that the lord privy-seal should examine Lascelles. This he accordingly did, and found him steady in his information. The sister of Lascelles was next examined, and she confirmed the testimony of her brother by undeniable evidence. It was now thought necessary to arrest Derham and Mannoek, which was easily done, as they had not the least suspicion of their danger. They both confessed repeated acts of impurity with the queen before her marriage; and it was also proved, that she had since entertained one Culpepper a whole night in her chamber.

When Henry received the report of these examinations, his grief and distraction deprived him of speech; he vented his distress in a torrent of tears. He appointed the primate, the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffolk, and the bishop of Winchester, to interrogate the queen on this subject. She at first denied the charge; but finding her illicit amours were fully discovered, she confessed the whole to the archbishop, who wrote the narrative from her mouth, and she signed it with her own hand. Henry was now convinced of the infidelity of his queen, and determined to take a severe revenge on her, and all her accomplices.

A.D. 1542. A parliament, the usual instrument of Henry's tyranny, was immediately summoned; and the queen's confession being laid before them, they presented an address to his majesty, in which, after entreating him not to be concerned at this untoward misfortune, to which all men are subject, they desired leave to frame a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices. They received a gracious answer; and proceeded immediately to attain of high-treason the queen, and the countesses of Rochford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this act both Derham and Culpepper were included. They also passed a bill of attainder for misprison of treason against the old dutchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother, lord William Howard and his lady, the countess of Bridgewater, and nine other persons; because they were acquainted with the queen's illicit amours, and did not make the necessary discovery before her marriage. Under this tyrannical government the ties of natural affection became crimes; and it was expected that relations should expose the secret failings of each other. Nor were the parliament ashamed to assist the fury and madness of the king. They passed an act, whereby it was declared, that any person who knew, or vehemently suspected any guilt in the queen, and did not, within



twenty days, reveal it to the king or council, should be guilty of treason; and that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason, unless she previously revealed her guilt to him. The people made themselves extremely merry with this extravagant clause. It was pleasantly remarked, that the king must, for the future, look out for a widow, as no reputed maid would ever venture to incur the penalty of the statute.

These acts being passed, the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded, the twelfth of February, upon Tower-hill. The queen confessed her misconduct in the former part of her life; but endeavoured to persuade the world, that she had never transgressed the rules of virtue since her marriage with the king. Lady Rochford found very little pity from the spectators: her execution was considered as a judgment from heaven for her having been the principal cause of the death of Anne Boleyn, and that of her own husband; and this notorious instance of her profligate life tended greatly to clear their characters in the opinion of the world. With regard to the dutchess dowager of Norfolk, and the other persons attainted of misprision of treason, Henry himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of their sentence, for he soon after granted them a pardon.

These domestic distresses would have diverted from theological disputes the mind of any prince less jealous than Henry of extending his opinions. He had some time since nominated commissioners for ascertaining the proper articles of belief, in order to establish an uniformity of sentiments in matters of faith and religion; and the parliament passed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which ought to be acknowledged; and in which they declared they had no other rule, either in religious or temporal concerns, than the will of their master. The produce of the labours of these commissioners, or rather the caprices of Henry, was a small work, intitled, "The Institutions of a Christian Man." This book was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible standard of orthodoxy, though it consisted partly of Catholic, and partly of Protestant doctrines. But Henry was not long pleased with his own production. He published another work, intitled, "The Erudition of a Christian Man;" and this, though it differed considerably from the former, was established as the genuine Creed of the professors of Christianity. It was necessary for the people to change their opinions as often as their sovereign. He now retracted the permission he had so lately given his subjects in general to read the Scriptures, restraining that concession to gentlemen only; and even these were allowed to read in such a manner, "That it be done quietly, and with good order." He also made alterations in the missal; ordained that the name of the pope should be erased or blotted out of every book where it was mentioned; and by endeavouring to set bounds to the spirit of disputation, he increased the ardour of zeal, and irritated the taste for innovation. But amidst all the ridiculous creeds which he imposed upon his subjects, he was always attentive to inculcate a passive obedience to his power, and held both the clergy and people in the most slavish subjection.

Henry was now determined to revenge the affront he had received from the Scottish monarch. He published a manifesto, in which he reproached James with the breach of his promise, with having afforded an asylum to several English rebels, and with retaining some territories which belonged to England. He also revived the old claim of the dependence of the crown of Scotland, and summoned James to do homage for his kingdom. The Scottish monarch made no answer to this declaration; but employed his whole attention to raise an army, in order to disappoint the ambitious designs of Henry. His resentment was greatly increased by the French ambassador, who had brought with him considerable supplies of men and money, and was extremely lavish of the

promises he made, in the name of his master, of effectual assistance and support.

The command of the English army was given to the duke of Norfolk, who rendezvoused his forces at Newcastle. The earl of Southampton was appointed to command the van; but he died at Newcastle, universally regretted for his abilities as a statesman, and his approved courage and prudence as a general. On the twentieth of October, the English army entered Scotland, and were met by a herald from James, who expostulated with the duke of Norfolk on the injustice of invading the kingdom before any declaration of war had been published. But his remonstrances were in vain: the English general ravaged all the country bordering on the Tweed, and retired to Berwick on account of the severity of the weather. The earl of Huntley had indeed been sent by James, at the head of ten thousand men; but his forces were so far inferior to the English, that he was obliged to act wholly on the defensive.

This invasion did not, however, terrify the Scottish monarch: he levied an army of fifteen thousand men; and being joined by the earl of Huntley with a train of artillery, he determined to invade England on the western side of the Solway Firth. James repaired thither in person; but as soon as every thing was ready for crossing into England, he left the army under the command of his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, who was hated by the Scottish nobility. The consequences of so imprudent an action were soon apparent. The officers chose to sacrifice their king, their country, and their own honour, rather than serve under a person they detested. Accordingly, when Sinclair read his commission at the head of the army, the nobility retired from their posts; and the soldiers following their example, threw down their arms, so that the uproar and confusion became general thro' the whole army. A body of five hundred English forces, under the command of Sir Thomas Wharton, who hovered round the Scottish camp to observe the motions of the enemy, perceiving the disorder that prevailed among their ranks, attacked them with so much fury, that they sought their safety in a precipitate flight. The earls of Caillies and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, and Gray, the general Sinclair, with about two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred common soldiers, were taken prisoners, and all their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the English.

This action, or rather rout, happened at Solway Moss, in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. James was then at Caerlaveroc, where he received the alarming intelligence of the defeat and dissipation of his army by an handful of English forces. He could not support the disgrace: his rage and regret so affected his spirits, that he repaired immediately to his bed, and soon after expired, in the flower of his age. Before his death, news arrived that his queen was safely delivered; on which he asked, with some emotion, whether she had brought him a son or a daughter? Being told the latter, he turned about in his bed, and exclaimed, "How many miseries await this poor kingdom! Henry will be master of it, either by arms or by marriage."

The death of James, and the birth of a daughter, heirs of a kingdom whose friendship was of so much importance to England, gave a new turn to the deliberations in the English council. It was now determined not to drive the Scots to despair, by taking the utmost advantage of the late victory: on the contrary, a scheme was formed for uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage between Edward prince of Wales and the young queen of Scotland. The Scottish prisoners were accordingly interrogated on this subject; and as they were well disposed to encourage the contrivance, they were all set at liberty, on condition of their promising to return to London, if the project should become abortive.

A.D. 1543. The English parliament meeting on the twenty-second of January, were so well pleased with



with the success of Henry's arms against the Scots, that they granted him a considerable subsidy. They afterwards passed an act for permitting the nobility, gentry, and merchants, to have English bibles, and other religious books mentioned in the statute, in their houses, for the instruction of their families. This act, which was procured by the influence of Cranmer, contained a clause, which mitigated the punishment of those who should be found guilty of heresy; but the king was empowered either to repeal or suspend the force of the act whenever he found it expedient.

The Scottish prisoners, on their return, found their country involved in confusion. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, was, after the infant prince, the next heir to the crown. He was a nobleman of a weak capacity, of a peaceable disposition, and a friend to the Reformation; but not at all adapted to hold the helm of government in these tempestuous times. The friends of the reformed religion, who were now pretty numerous in Scotland, exhorted him, however, to claim the regency, by virtue of his proximity of blood. Arran listened to their importunities, and resolved to demand it at the meeting of the next parliament. He was powerfully opposed by the popish faction, at the head of whom was Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland; a priest of unpopular manners, a zealous Roman Catholic, and of a persecuting spirit. He published the will of the late monarch soon after his death, by which that prince had left the government to him, in conjunction with the earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Murray. By virtue of this instrument, which is said to have been forged by that ambitious churchman, he took possession of the government; and having joined his interest with that of the queen-dowager, sister to the duke of Guise, he obtained the consent of the convention of the states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

He did not, however, long enjoy the power he had usurped. The return of the Scottish prisoners enabled Arran to make the most powerful opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the nation being exasperated at his forgery, the majority of the parliament declared in favour of Arran, and the cardinal was committed to prison. A negotiation was immediately opened with Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador; and a treaty of marriage was concluded; by which it was stipulated, that the queen should remain in Scotland till she was ten years of age; that she should then be sent to England, in order to be educated; that six Scotch noblemen should be sent as hostages to Henry; and that Scotland, notwithstanding its union with England, should still preserve its laws and privileges. But Beaton, having found means to escape from prison, excited the ecclesiastics against this treaty, and awakened the natural antipathy of the Scots against the English. The popish party were indefatigable in persuading the people, that an union with England must be productive of their own slavery. Their endeavours had the desired effect; the English ambassador was insulted by the populace, and the regent had no longer any power to protect him. Persuaded that these violent proceedings must occasion a rupture between the two kingdoms, Sadler summoned the prisoners to return to England, pursuant to their engagements; but all of them refused to obey, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis, who preferred his honour to his liberty. Henry was so pleased with this noble behaviour, that he received him with great marks of esteem, loaded him with presents, and gave him his liberty without ransom. Beaton was not at all displeased at this refusal of the prisoners, though it reflected disgrace upon their country. He well knew that they must now depend wholly on the government for support, and oppose the English with all their power. A war was now expected between the two kingdoms, and Francis engaged to support the interest of Scotland.

But however desirous the French monarch might be of assisting his Scottish allies, the war he was already engaged in with the emperor rendered it very difficult to send forces sufficient to support them against the power of the English monarch. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, was then at the French court; and Francis being informed that he was engaged in an ancient and hereditary enmity with the family of Hamilton, by whom his father had been murdered, proposed that he should visit his native country, and join in supporting the cardinal and the queen-mother; promising, that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should be sent after him. He was also flattered with the hopes of espousing the queen-dowager; and in case of the death of Mary, the infant prince, of ascending the Scottish throne in preference of the earl of Arran, whose legitimacy was liable to some objections. Tempted by these alluring prospects, Lenox returned to Scotland, and, on his arrival, exerted all his interest for breaking off the marriage treaty. He assembled a considerable number of forces, in order to wrest the young queen from the hands of the regent; who being unable or unwilling to contend with his enemies, agreed to an accommodation. This important point being gained, the queen and the cardinal, who had now no farther occasion for the assistance of Lenox, desired Francis to recall him; but the earl, informed of their design, withdrew to his castle at Dumbarton, and the following year threw himself into the arms of the English.

Henry, exasperated at the behaviour of Francis, determined to join the emperor against him. He had, indeed, some grounds for complaint against that monarch, besides his behaviour with regard to Scotland. He said, that Francis had engaged to separate himself entirely from the see of Rome, and had not performed his promise; and that he had refused to pay the sums which were due to him. These reasons were sufficient for Henry to abandon the alliance of Francis, and to conclude with the emperor an offensive and defensive league against France. A message was now sent to the French king, requiring him to renounce his alliance with the Turks, and to make reparation for the damage the infidels had done in Christendom. Francis refused the haughty demand, and a declaration of war was the immediate consequence. Charles V. affected to consider Francis as guilty of the greatest crime, by having formed a league with the sultan Solymán; though he should have remembered, that his own ambitious projects had obliged him to court the friendship of the Turks.

An event happened about this time, which gave the Protestants some hopes of enjoying their religion unmolested. The king, on the twelfth of February, married Catherine Parr, widow to Neville, lord Latimer; a woman of great virtue and prudence, and well affected to the reformed religion. By this marriage Henry fulfilled the prophecy uttered in jest, that he would be obliged to espouse a widow. But this event did not put an end to the persecutions carried on against the reformers. A few days after the king's marriage, Anthony Personne, a priest; Robert Testwood, a singing-man; and Henry Fulmer, a taylor; were, at the instigation of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, burnt at Windsor, for reading the writings of the reformed. At the same time, the bishop's own secretary was executed, for denying the king's supremacy.

The league formed between Charles and Henry threatened Francis with the loss of his kingdom. The French monarch, therefore, took the field early, and was successful. The duke of Cleves, an ally of Francis, opened the campaign with a victory over the Imperial forces; and Francis made himself master of the whole dutchy of Luxembourg, and afterwards of Landrecy. But Charles had no sooner assembled his army in the Low Countries, than he took almost every castle in the dutchy of Cleves, and reduced the duke to submit to very rigorous terms. He was soon



after joined by six thousand English, under the command of Sir John Wallop, and immediately invested the town of Landrecy. Francis, however, found means to throw succours into the place; and the season being far advanced, Charles was obliged to raise the siege: he, however, made himself some amends, by taking the city of Cambray.

A. D. 1544. The winter season having put a period to military operations, Henry convoked a parliament, where the princesses Mary and Elizabeth were restored to their right of succession. But, what is very singular, Henry would not suffer the parliament to reverse the statute which declared them illegitimate. At the same time, he prevailed upon both houses to invest him with a power of still excluding them, whenever he might think proper. Two very singular acts were also passed this session, and both, in the highest degree, dishonourable. The first gave a full remission to the king of the several debts he had lately incurred by a general loan exacted from his subjects; and even ordained, that those of them who had already received payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the sums they had received to the exchequer. The other established a new oath for the security of his ecclesiastical institutions, and it was enacted, that all those who had taken the former oaths to that purpose, should be supposed to have taken the new one; an absurdity which has, perhaps, no equal in parliamentary proceedings. Henry was, however, afraid of the usual economy of the parliament, and would not expose himself to the mortification of a refusal. But as his usual prodigality had drained his treasury, and as he was unable, without money, to prosecute his wars against France and Scotland, he exacted new loans from his subjects, levied a benevolence, and employed every expedient which the prerogative at that time allowed him.

As soon as the season would permit, Henry sent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The fleet amounted to near two hundred sail, and had on board a body of ten thousand men. Dudley, lord Lisle, commanded the navy, and the earl of Hertford the land forces. The troops were landed in the neighbourhood of Leith; and, after defeating a small body that opposed their landing, they took that town, and thence advanced to Edinburgh, the gates of which were soon forced; and the city, after being pillaged by the soldiers, was set on fire. The regent and the cardinal being in no condition to oppose so great a force, retired to Stirling. No opposition being made to the English, they continued their ravages, burnt Haddington and Dunbar, and retired into England, having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. This incursion has been censured as ill-concerted: for it is said, if Henry intended to solicit an alliance, he behaved with too much violence; and if he meant to make a conquest, he neglected to improve his success. It may, however, be observed, that having, in conjunction with the emperor, formed the project of an invasion of France, he was solicitous of employing his whole force on the continent.

The plan formed by these two powerful princes, was to invade France at the head of an army of above one hundred thousand men; and it was agreed to march directly to Paris, without entering upon any siege, and thence proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. Had this plan been executed, France would, in all probability, have been ruined; for Francis could not oppose to these formidable preparations above forty thousand men. But fortunately for the French monarch, the emperor, at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, had taken the field before Henry landed at Calais; and not to lose time while he was waiting for his confederate, Charles sat down before Luxembourg, and soon made himself master of the place. He thence proceeded to Cambray on the Meuse, which soon surrendered. Ligny met with the same fate; but St. Dezier on the Marne, which he next besieged, made a brave resistance, under the command of Sancerre, the governor.

While the emperor was employed in reducing these places, Henry landed at Calais at the head of thirty thousand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; the earls of Arundel, Oxford, and Surry; the lords St. John, Ferrers of Chartley, Montjoy, and Grey of Wilton; Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan; and a great number of the most opulent persons in the kingdom. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand infantry and four thousand horse. Henry finding the emperor employed in taking places, imitated his example, and invested Montreuil and Boulogne. These sieges necessarily produced delays; and Charles finding the season considerably advanced, and that the scheme for subduing France was likely to prove abortive, concluded a separate peace with Francis. In consequence of this treaty, the count de Buren withdrew his forces from the English army, and Henry was obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil. He had, indeed, taken Boulogne; but this acquisition was of little consequence, when compared with the immense expence of his military preparations.

A. D. 1545. Francis, determined, if possible, to distress Henry, employed the whole winter in fitting out a fleet to invade the coasts of England. They sailed early in the month of July; and on the eighteenth, advanced towards the English fleet, then riding at St. Helens. Here a cannonade began, which lasted several hours, but with very little effect, the art of gunnery being then in its infancy, and the guns and tackle very ill adapted to the intended purpose. Finding their attempt to destroy the English ships abortive, they landed on the Isle of Wight, where they committed the most dreadful ravages, till the militia of the country advanced against them, and drove them to their ships.

Henry now found it impossible to support this expensive war without having recourse to his parliament, who granted him a small subsidy. The clergy were more liberal; and it is remarkable, that during the establishment of the Catholic religion, greater sums were always contributed by the church than the laity. Hence the emperor, when he was informed of the suppression of the English monasteries, and of Henry's profuse donations of their revenues among his courtiers, is reported to have said; "That he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs." But though the parliament were so remarkably tenacious of their own money, they were amazingly profuse with regard to the substance of others. They now bestowed upon Henry all the revenues of the universities, chapels, and hospitals; a liberality that regarded the property which ought, perhaps, in justice, to have been the last to have been disposed of. The king, however, took care to inform the universities, that he meant not to encroach upon their endowments. Some idea may be formed of the prostitution of this parliament by one of their statutes, in which they acknowledge, that the king had been always, by the word of God, supreme head of the church of England: that the bishops, and other ecclesiastics, had no manner of jurisdiction, but by his royal mandate; and that he alone was invested with full authority to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins. The king made a long and elaborate speech to this parliament, in which he complained of the dissensions that prevailed among his subjects with regard to religion. He told them, "That the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; where one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious terms of papist and hypocrite: that he had permitted his people the use of the scriptures, not in order to furnish them with matter for dispute and railing, but that he might enable them to reform their consciences; and instruct their children and families: that he was grieved to the heart to find how that precious jewel was prostituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every alehouse and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the spiritual and legal



pastors: and that he was sorry to observe, that the word of God, while it was the object of so much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that though an imaginary knowledge so greatly abounded, charity was daily going to decay." These observations were certainly just; but the example of the king, who encouraged speculation and dispute, was ill adapted to promote that charity and peaceable submission to the established opinion he so strongly recommended.

A. D. 1546. The subsidies voted by parliament enabled Henry to make new preparations for carrying the war into France; but an accident happened at the opening of the campaign, which gave very little hopes of success to the English. The earl of Surry, who commanded the English forces in Boulogne, attempted to intercept a convoy of provisions going to the fort of Outre Eau, which the French had built at the mouth of the port; but was obliged to return with some loss, without effecting his purpose. This was followed by a more considerable defeat. The earl, not the least intimidated by his late unsuccessful attempt, attacked the Marshal de Biez, who was conducting a much larger convoy. But Fortune again declared for the French: the English general was routed, with the loss of about eight hundred men killed on the spot, and one hundred and twenty taken prisoners, among whom was Sir Edward Poyning.

These misfortunes induced Henry, whose animosity against Francis was neither violent nor personal, to think of listening to the terms which had been offered for a peace. He had sufficiently gratified his capricious humour by the short war he had carried on against his former ally; and having reason to apprehend, from his great increase in corpulency, and visible decay of strength, that his end was approaching, he was desirous of finishing a quarrel which might prove dangerous to the kingdom during the minority of his son. Francis was still more desirous of a peace, and it was concluded on the following conditions:

"That the king of France should pay regularly the pension settled by former treaties.

"That Francis should pay in eight years the sum of two millions of golden crowns, in consideration of the pension, and the expence Henry had been at in reducing Boulogne."

"That the king of England should keep possession of Boulogne, together with its territories, till the whole debt was discharged.

"That when all the sums should be paid to Henry, Boulogne should be restored to France, in the same condition as when taken by the English."

The emperor was included in this peace: and with regard to Scotland, Henry agreed, that it should enjoy the same benefit, provided the Scots gave him no cause to make war upon them. Thus Henry terminated a war which had cost him above one million three hundred and forty-three thousand pounds sterling; and all he acquired in return, was only a bad security for a debt which did not amount to one-third of the value. All Henry's expeditions were nearly of the same kind.

But neither experience nor reflection could cure Henry of the madness of introducing new systems of faith, and endeavouring to establish an uniformity of opinion among all ranks of people. He had hitherto strictly ordered divine service to be performed in no other language than the Latin; but he now permitted the Litany to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and added to it one petition, "to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities." Cranmer endeavoured to make still farther innovations; and had probably succeeded, had not Gardiner, who was then at the court of the emperor, as ambassador from Henry, wrote to the king, informing him, that if he continued to carry his opposition against the Catholic religion any farther, the emperor would break off all commerce

with him. About the same time, Cranmer lost a sincere, and one of his most powerful friends, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to the king. That nobleman was well affected to the Reformation, took every opportunity to support its professors, and had always maintained a cordial and steady friendship with the king. Henry was sitting in council when he was informed of Suffolk's death, and dropped a tear to his memory; declaring at the same time, that during his whole life, he had never made any attempt to injure an adversary, nor ever whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. Deprived of this sincere and generous friend, Cranmer himself was exposed to the cabals of the courtiers. His enemies, under the mask of a zeal for orthodoxy, represented the primate as an encourager of heresy. Henry saw their malice, and reproved them in the severest terms. He told them, that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their envy and malevolence. Adding, that he was determined to crush all their cabals; and since gentle methods were in vain, to teach them, by the severest discipline, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his service.

But though the primate himself was beyond the reach of his enemies, the spirit of persecution was far from having subsided: the good and the virtuous still felt the fiery hand of a bigotted zeal. Anne Ascue, a young woman of great merit, who had entered into a strict connection with the queen, was accused of having denied the real presence in the sacrament. Bonner drew from her a recantation; but she qualified it in such a manner as did not satisfy that furious prelate. She was therefore thrown into prison; and her courage being rather roused than depressed by this severity, she wrote to the king, declaring, that with regard to the mystery of the eucharist, she believed as much as Christ had revealed of it, and as much as the Catholic church required; but as she presumed to question the king's explanation of this tenet, this declaration was considered as an insult. The chancellor Wriothesley, a person intoxicated with religious zeal, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies with whom she had been intimate. But this scheme proved abortive: she refused to discover any of her friends: and though she was put to the torture in the most cruel manner, she still continued resolute in preserving an inviolable secrecy. She was immediately carried to the place of execution, and burnt alive, without having shewn the least inclination to retract. Three other persons suffered with her, and imitated her courage and constancy. All the arguments used by the bishop of Salisbury to prevail upon them to recant their errors, were urged in vain. They maintained their tenets in the midst of the flames, and seemed to glory in their sufferings.

The fidelity and secrecy of Anne Ascue preserved the queen, who had been her principal confidant; but she soon after found herself in the utmost danger of falling a victim to the dogmatical zeal of her husband. Henry, who was now very corpulent, and of a bad habit of body, was afflicted with an ulcer in his leg, which threatened his life, and at the same time greatly increased that peevish and passionate temper to which he was always subject. The tenderness of Catherine was remarkable on this occasion; she attended him with the utmost assiduity, and used every method in her power to soothe his pains, and prevent those dreadful gusts of humour so frequent and fatal in their consequences. The king's favourite topic was theology, and Catherine was frequently obliged to discuss the more abstruse tenets of religion with him. Whether her arguments were too strong for the king to answer, or whether she inadvertently dropt some expressions that shewed she was attached to the Lutheran principles, is not absolutely known; but the king was highly provoked at her presuming to differ from him in any theological speculation. He even complained to Gardiner of the queen's obstinacy; and that furious prelate, pleased at having





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Bishop Gardiner coming with a Guard to seize Catherine Parr,  
Who was walking in the Garden with **HENRY VIII.***



an opportunity of crushing the very head of the protestant party, persuaded the king to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. The chancellor seconded the arguments of Gardiner, and soon after brought the articles to be signed. Fortunately for Catherine, the chancellor dropped the fatal paper, which was found by one of the queen's party, and immediately put into her hands. Sensible of the danger to which she was exposed, she determined, if possible, to avert the storm by prudence and discretion. She accordingly paid her usual visit to the king, whom she found in a more serene disposition than usual. The conversation failed not to turn upon the subject of theology; and Henry challenged her to maintain her usual arguments in divinity. Catherine told the king that such profound speculations were above her comprehension, and, in her opinion, very ill suited to the natural imbecillity of her sex. She added, that though she had often engaged in these speculations, it was only to divert his pains, and profit by his instructions; that his elucidations had withdrawn the veil of obscurity which she had so long wished to be removed, and to effect which she had made use of arguments, though she knew when she urged them they were not conclusive. "And is it so sweet-heart, replied Henry, then, by St. Mary, we are perfect friends again." At the same time he embraced her with great tenderness, and sent her away with assurances of his kindness and protection.

The next day, while Henry and Catherine were walking in the palace garden, the bishop of Winchester, who knew nothing of this reconciliation, appeared with forty of the pursuivants, to seize the queen, and commit her to the Tower. The king no sooner saw the prelate approach, than he took him aside, and was observed to speak to him in a very angry tone of voice. The queen was greatly alarmed, especially on overhearing the terms knave, fool, and beast frequently repeated. The prelate retired in great confusion, and the queen generously interposed to mitigate the passion of the king, who replied, "Poor soul! you know not how little that man is intitled to your favour." The queen was very careful for the future not to offend the petulant humour of her husband; and Gardiner was never able to recover the good opinion of the monarch.

A. D. 1547. This attempt of Gardiner and Wriothesley exasperated the king and the catholic party, and the duke of Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surry, soon felt the weight of his resentment. The duke of Norfolk was, by his birth, allied to the throne; and had distinguished himself by a long series of services to the state. He was uncle to two of Henry's queens, and always considered as the greatest subject in the kingdom. He was an implacable enemy to the reformation, and had taken every opportunity to enforce the laws against them. The earl of Surry, son to the duke of Norfolk, was a young nobleman of great merit, but of very little discretion. Hurried away by his ambition, and exasperated by some affronts he had lately received, he very imprudently irritated the peevish humour of Henry by some menacing expressions; and the king, persuaded that he entertained views of marrying the princess Mary, determined to prevent the great power of his family from becoming formidable to the government during his son's minority. Both Norfolk and Surry were accordingly arrested, and sent to the Tower. Surry was accused of entertaining in his family some Italians, who were suspected to be spies sent by his holiness; and of carrying on a correspondence with cardinal Pole, because one of his domestics had paid a visit to that prelate in Italy: and because the earl quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor upon his escutcheon, he was suspected of aspiring to the crown; though it was well known that both himself and his ancestors had openly, during many years, and even by the approbation of the heralds, maintained that practice. But however frivolous these accusations may now appear, they were then thought suffi-

cient to find him guilty. He was condemned by the lord chancellor, who presided at his trial, and beheaded upon Tower-hill on the nineteenth of January.

The innocence of the duke of Norfolk was still more apparent, though his dutchess, and Elizabeth Holland his mistress, gave information of all they knew against him. The greatest crime of which he was accused was that of having said, that the king was sickly, and could not hold out a long time, and that the kingdom would fall into disorders on account of the diversity of religious opinions. Henry well knew, that all the accusations he could alledge against him would not be sufficient to find him guilty in a trial before his peers, and had therefore, recourse to the usual instrument of his tyranny. He ordered a bill of attainder to be preferred against him, and he was declared guilty of high-treason, without being heard in his own defence. Cranmer, though a friend to the Reformation, and well knew, that Norfolk was a sworn enemy to all innovations in religion, refused to have any share in a transaction that must reflect disgrace on all that were concerned in it. He was therefore no sooner informed that the commons had passed the bill, than he retired to his seat at Croydon, and appeared no more at court, till he was sent for to assist the king in his last moments.

Though the attendants of Henry had for some time perceived that the hour of his dissolution was at hand, no person had the courage to inform him of his dangerous situation. An act had been passed in his reign, which rendered it capital for any person to foretel the king's death, lest, in the violence of his passion, he should cause the law, in all its rigour, to be executed on the author of such friendly intelligence; especially as his late treatment of the Howard family had demonstrated his cruelty did not subside as the springs of life decayed. At length Sir Anthony Lenny ventured to disclose the fatal secret, and exhorted the king to prepare for that awful change which was so near at hand, as his legs were already mortified. Henry, contrary to all expectation, thanked him for the information, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but before the archbishop arrived, the king was speechless. The prelate beseeching the king to give him some sign of his trusting in God, through the merits of our Redeemer, he squeezed his hand with great fervency, and immediately after expired, on the twenty-eighth of January, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.

A few days before his death Henry had issued his royal mandate for the execution of the duke of Norfolk; but expired the night before the day appointed for that purpose; and it was thought improper to stain with blood the commencement of the new reign, especially as the sentence was considered as unjust and tyrannical.

The king, about a month before his death, had made his will, in which, pursuant to the power given him by the parliament, he had settled the succession to the crown of England in the following manner: First, upon the prince of Wales and his posterity. Secondly, upon the children of his present queen, or those of any future marriage he might contract. Thirdly, upon the princess Mary and her issue, but with this express condition, that she should marry with the consent of the executors of his will. Fourthly on the princess Elizabeth, with the same proviso. Fifthly, upon the lady Frances Brandon, daughter to his sister, the queen of France, by the duke of Suffolk. Sixthly, on the lady Eleanor Brandon, younger sister to Frances. Lastly, in failure of all these, upon the next lawful heir. By another clause in his will he named the following sixteen executors: The archbishop of Canterbury; the lord chancellor; the earl of Hertford, uncle to young Edward; the lord St. John; the lord Russell; the lord viscount Lisle; Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown; Sir Edward Montague; the chief-justice Bromley; Sir William Paget; Sir Anthony Denny



Denny; Sir William Herbert; Sir Edward Watton; and his brother Dr. Watton. To the lords who were his executors, he left five hundred marks, and to the commoners three hundred, and ordered his executors to pay all his debts. He made the prince of Wales heir to all his moveables, but strictly charged him to be subject to the advice of his council till he was eighteen years of age. He left three thousand pounds a year to each of his daughters, with ten thousand pounds addition, as their whole fortune, if his executors thought proper. To the queen he left three thousand pounds in plate and jewels, and a thousand pounds in money. Another clause in his will sufficiently suggested, that he was far from being settled with regard to his notions in religion: he left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he had destroyed all those institutions, established by his ancestors and others, for the benefit of their souls, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith he published during the latter years of his reign, yet he was determined to take care of the future repose of his own soul, by adhering to the safer side of the question.

Perhaps a more difficult task cannot be imposed upon an historian, than that of giving a summary of Henry's qualities. Lord Herbert very justly remarked; That his history is his best character and description. He was absolutely different and inconsistent with himself, in different periods of his life. While the natural modesty of youth restrained the violence of his turbulent passions, his government was the admiration of foreigners; and he was almost adored by his people; but in his more advanced age, his conduct was entirely changed. He became rapacious, arbitrary, froward, fretful, and so cruel, that he seemed to delight in shedding the blood of his subjects. The grand object of all his pursuits was the gratification of his own brutal appetites: to this he sacrificed every obligation of justice, every dictate of conscience, every feeling of humanity: the cruel fate of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn will fix an eternal mark of infamy on his character. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that with all his vices, follies, and imperfections, Henry possessed many great and agreeable qualities. He was not only liberal and indulgent to his court and family, but also to strangers. He was at once a lover and encourager of the arts and sciences, and his court was fuller of learned men than many of the universities; he made them his companions as well as his counsellors, and advanced them to the highest dignities both of church and state. He was particularly careful of the education of his own children, and his authority induced the nobility to follow his example. The treatment he met with from the court of Rome, provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his superstitious subjects, seemed to require the most extreme violence. He laid the foundation of English liberty by delivering the English church from her slavish and disgraceful subjection to the see of Rome; though he was perhaps actuated more by his unruly passions, than by the motives of conscience and religion. Foreign nations respected his power, his own subjects forgot his vices, and it is history only that regards him as a monster.

Henry had the following issue. By his first wife,

Catherine of Spain; he had two sons and one daughter, viz.

Henry, born Jan. 1, 1511, and died on the twenty-seventh of February following.

Another son, who died soon after his birth, which happened the latter end of the year 1514.

Mary, born February the eleventh, 1516, and who ascended the throne on the death of her brother Edward.

By his second wife, Anne Boleyn, he had the famous queen Elizabeth, and a male child still-born.

By his third wife, Jane Seymour, he had a son named Edward, who succeeded him immediately in the throne.

He had no issue by his three last wives, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr.

By Elizabeth, widow of Sir Gilbert Taillebois, he had a natural son named Henry Fitz-Roy, created duke of Richmond and Somerset, and afterwards made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The beauty of his person, the quickness of his parts, his expertness in all kinds of military exercises, his excellent disposition, and the uncommon endowments of his mind, gained him the character of the finest youth of the age, and raised the expectations of the people very high in his favour. These accomplishments, the honours he had received, and the extraordinary fondness which Henry always expressed for him, occasioned an opinion, that, in defect of legitimate male issue, the king would have found a way to raise this natural child to the throne. But whatever designs he had formed in his favour, they proved abortive by the death of this youth, which happened in the eighteenth year of his age.

Henry VIII. summoned ten parliaments, and twenty sessions were held, though the whole time which they sat during this long reign, did not exceed three years and a half. The absolute will of the king being the law of parliament, and the members being desirous of returning as soon as possible to their country seats, business was soon dispatched; a motion was made and generally carried without the least opposition. Hence these many absurd and tyrannical laws, which multiplied crimes and punishments during the reign of Henry VIII. Had these, indeed, been strictly executed, every man without exception must have been obnoxious to the penalty of high-treason. For example, it was treasonable for any person to assert the validity of Henry's marriage either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn; and it was equally criminal to say any thing to the disparagement of the princess Mary and Elizabeth, the descendants of those marriages. Even a profound silence upon these topics might be dangerous; for when the marriages were declared illegitimate by statute, it was also enacted, that whoever refused to answer upon oath to any point contained in that act, was subject to the pains of death. In order, therefore, to find a person a traitor, it was only necessary to interrogate him concerning the legality of either of the king's former marriages. If he was silent, he was a traitor; and if he answered either in the negative or affirmative, he was equally guilty. Thus the subjects were oppressed under the authority of laws, which ought to have been the guardians of their happiness and security.







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



## E D W A R D VI.

A. D. **T**HE late king was persuaded that he had fixed the government, during the minority of his son, on so firm a basis, that it could not be shaken. But he should have remembered, that his power would cease with his existence; and that the commands of the most absolute monarchs are disregarded, when, by their deaths, they have ceased to inspire terror. Accordingly, the regents had no sooner settled the form of government agreeable to Henry's will, than a change was proposed. It was observed, that it would be very troublesome for the people, and particularly for foreign ministers, to be obliged to apply to fourteen persons of equal authority; and, to remove this difficulty, it was moved, that one should be chosen as their president, with the title of protector of the king's realm, and governor of his person: but though he should enjoy all the exterior symbols of the royal dignity, he should yet be bound, in the exercise of power, to follow the opinion of the executors.

This change, however reasonable, and even necessary, it might appear to the majority, was strongly opposed by Wriothesley the chancellor, a person at once very ambitious and very active. He had no superior in the council, except the primate; and Cranmer having little inclination to mix in public affairs, he flattered himself that the chief direction of the business of the kingdom would fall into his hands. He strenuously asserted, that they had no power to depart from the tenor of the late king's will, authorized by an act of parliament. His remonstrances, however, had no effect on the council; they determined to chuse a protector, in order the more effectually to provide for the public tranquillity. No difficulty occurred with regard to the person proper for this exalted station. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, maternal uncle to the king, and the more interested in his preservation, as he had himself no pretensions to the crown, was appointed to fill this dignified station, and immediately created duke of Somerset. At the same time, the chancellor was created earl of Southampton. But this mark of favour was far from satisfying the ambition of that turbulent minister; he determined to oppose all the measures of the protector, and render him uneasy in his high station.

In order to this, he resolved to devote his whole time to the affairs of the cabinet; and as his office of chancellor necessarily engrossed a considerable part of his attention, he ventured, without any warrant from the king, protector, or regency, or any other authority than his own, to put the great seal in commission; and appointed four lawyers to execute, in his absence, the office of lord high chancellor of England. A measure so replete with arrogance and presumption could not fail of giving umbrage to the government; and it was determined to suppress the haughty spirit of the ambitious chancellor. The judges being consulted on this occasion, declared, that the commission he had granted was contrary to the laws of England; and that the earl of Southampton, for taking such an unconstitutional step, had not only forfeited his high office, but also rendered himself obnoxious to the severest punishment. A council was now summoned, and the chancellor ordered to attend. But he was so far from making any submission, that he defended his own power in the most haughty manner, and with very indecent language. He called the authority of the council

and protector in question, and told them he would not submit to any sentence they might pronounce against him. He was therefore deprived of the seals, and committed a prisoner to his own house, where he continued till the twenty-ninth of June; when he entered into a recognizance of four thousand pounds to pay whatever fine they should think proper to impose upon him. The Catholic party lost a powerful friend by his removal: he was at once an able advocate, and a zealous defender of the Romish religion.

The fall of Southampton increased the ambition of the protector: he now thought himself at full liberty to engross the sole management of the affairs of government. He accordingly procured a patent from the young king, by which he was enabled to overthrow all the appointments of Henry. It invested him, under the title of protector, with the whole regal authority. He appointed a council, consisting of all the former members, except Southampton; but he enjoyed the power of chusing other counsellors, and to consult with such only as he thought proper. With this council he was enabled to execute any measure that might be thought serviceable to the government, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture, inflicted by any law, statute, or ordinance, whatsoever. No resistance was made to this usurpation of power, though it was sufficiently evident that the protector was, in effect, absolute master of the kingdom. Perhaps the people, habituated by custom to the tyrannical government of Henry, might prefer a single person to a council of regency, and think the public tranquillity would be much better secured by the exclusion of parties from the government.

While the English were thus employed in settling the government, Francis I. king of France, paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded by Henry II. a prince of vigour and ability, but less ready in his resolutions than his predecessor, and less enflamed with animosity against the emperor Charles V. He was, in a great measure, governed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, brothers to the queen-dowager of Scotland; and being zealous champions for the papal authority, and the Roman Catholic religion, they determined to prevent the intended marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland. Accordingly they persuaded Henry to attempt the recovery of Boulogne, and to reject the late treaties which had been concluded with Henry by Francis I. This perfidious behaviour did not, however, intimidate the protector: he determined, if possible, to execute the dying injunctions of his late master, relative to the marriage between those infant sovereigns, and by that means unite the two kingdoms. But before he proceeded to carry this design into execution, he thought it necessary to provide for the tranquillity of the public, and place the Reformation on so firm a basis, that it might be able to baffle all the attempts of its open and concealed enemies.

The attachment of Somerset to the reformed religion was open and declared. Young Edward had imbibed the same principles. Many of the counsellors having profited by the destruction of the monasteries, were now disposed to plunder the secular clergy; and others were animated against them by the prejudices of opinion, rather than the prospect of interest. Cranmer, who was a Protestant as well as the protector, being consulted on the subject of



advancing the reformation, recommended moderate measures. He observed, that it would be very dangerous to introduce a change of religion by violence and persecution; that reason rather than force was the proper instrument for convincing mankind of their errors; and that the people should be conducted to a change in religion by gradual and insensible innovations. He was also desirous of letting the enthusiasm of the reformers grow weaker by time; because the fervors of a new sect always lead to superstition, and to a devotion too pure and spiritual to be adopted. The primate had already procured several of the best books written by the German divines against popery, to be translated and published in England. The queen dowager, Catherine Parr, not only assisted in publishing, but translated great part of the paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament.

Cranmer's plan was readily adopted; and the protector, by virtue of a proclamation, to which the parliament had given the force of a law, suspended, for a time, the exercise of the episcopal power, and appointed a general visitation to be made of all the dioceses in England. But those who were charged with this duty were enjoined to proceed with the greatest caution and prudence. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them. They were enjoined to correct immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, wherever they were found; to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. At the same time they were enjoined to retain, for the present, all images which had not been abused to idolatry; and to instruct the people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated; some particular superstitions only were to be retrenched, such as the sprinkling their beds with holy water, the ringing of bells, or using of blessed candles, in order to drive away the devil. By pursuing such gentle methods the reformation proceeded without tumult of confusion; the people were convinced of their errors without being seized with the spirit of enthusiasm; and parted gradually with their ancient superstitious practices, without throwing the government into convulsions. This visitation was the first attempt to execute the design already formed for completing the reformation, which was only begun in the preceding reign.

The greatest difficulty experienced by the visitors, consisted in correcting the zeal of the catholic preachers, among whom were several old monks, who inveighed with all the force of bigotted and disappointed zeal against the reformation. Orders were therefore issued to restrain them in the topics of their sermons: twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people; and they were prohibited from preaching any where but in their own parish churches. In the mean time the protestant divines enjoyed an unbounded liberty by virtue of special licences, which were easily obtained. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, strongly opposed these innovations, and particularly the homilies, which he represented as very improper, because the delicate and mysterious points of justification and grace, were defined with the most metaphysical precision. The knowledge of these tenets he asserted to be far above the comprehension of the vulgar, and therefore superfluous to the generality of Christians. One of the Calvinistical writers is very angry with Gardiner for this opposition; he calls him "an insensible ass, and one that had no feeling of God's spirit in the work of justification." It was a general opinion at this time, among the protestants, that they could penetrate into the depths of these profound mysteries; and therefore entertained a sovereign contempt for all who confessed their ignorance of them. But though Gardiner opposed the homilies in particular, his objections were not solely confined to them: he remonstrated strongly against the great imprudence of making perpetual innovations, and on the necessity of ad-

hering to some system. "Tis a dangerous thing," said he, to use too much freedom, in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to flow farther than you intended. If you indulge the humour of novelty, you cannot put a stop to the people's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure." His remonstrances had, however, no effect, the visitors proceeded with great prudence in demolishing the ancient superstitions.

The whole attention of the protector was now turned towards prosecuting the war with Scotland. He assembled an army of eighteen thousand men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which were ships of war, and the other loaded with ammunition and provisions. The command of the fleet was given to lord Clinton; while he himself, assisted by the earl of Warwick, lead the land forces. Alarmed at this powerful armament, the French ambassador applied, by orders from his court, to the regency, desiring that a negotiation might be opened, in order, if possible, to restore peace between the two kingdoms, without the effusion of human blood. The request was complied with, and Tunstall, bishop of Durham, and Sir Thomas Rowe, were appointed to meet the Scottish commissaries at Newcastle, where the conferences were opened on the fourth of August. But the English plenipotentiaries refusing to proceed in the negotiation, unless the marriage between the two sovereigns was previously settled, and the Scottish commissioners declaring they had no power to consent to the marriage, the negotiations became abortive, and the protector entered Scotland on the second of September.

But before he commenced hostilities he published a manifesto, in which he recapitulated the reasons that induced the English to have recourse to arms, and urged, by a variety of arguments, the expediency and even necessity of the marriage of the young queen of Scots and Edward being immediately concluded. These arguments were drawn from the situation of the two kingdoms, which nature, by surrounding them by the ocean, seemed to have designed for one empire; from the similarity of the inhabitants in their laws, language, customs, and manners, whereby they were naturally adapted to be united, and to become one people; from the equality of the young king and queen, with regard to age and fortune; from the imminent danger to which Scotland was perpetually exposed from the hostile attempts of a richer and most powerful neighbour; and from the many advantages that must result to the inhabitants of both kingdoms from living in a state of peace and security. The protector added, that exclusive of these considerations, positive engagements had been made for concluding this alliance; and that the Scots were bound in honour to perform, what their interest and safety so strongly demanded.

This manifesto, however, produced not the intended effect: all the protector's remonstrances were rendered abortive, by the arts and intrigues of the queen dowager of Scotland, who was warmly attached to the interest of France, and the Roman catholic religion. Somerset therefore found himself obliged to have recourse to arms, in order to compel the Scots to adopt a measure which no motives of policy or prudence could induce them to embrace. He accordingly continued his march towards Edinburgh without meeting with any opposition, except from a few castles, which were easily reduced.

The Scottish government had not, however, been idle; the earl of Arran had collected the whole force of the kingdom, and his army, which was double to that of the English in numbers, had taken post at Musselburgh, on a very advantageous spot of ground, secured by the banks of the river Esk, about six miles from Edinburgh; while the English lay encamped at Preston-Pans. In this situation several skirmishes passed between the light troops of each army, but without any thing decisive; and Somerset, finding it impossible to draw the Scots to an engage-



ment, and fearing he should soon be distressed for want of provisions, sent an herald to Arran, offering to abandon his enterprize, and to pay all the damages the Scots had suffered from his troops, provided he would give his promise, that the young queen should not be given in marriage to any foreign prince, till she reached the age of chusing a husband for herself. These moderate terms induced the Scots to imagine that the English were intimidated, and that, if the enemy was attacked, the victory would be certain. The priests and monks, who had come to the camp in great numbers, laboured assiduously to propagate this opinion; adding, that they had now an opportunity of inflicting vengeance on their heretical enemy. A movement made by the English towards their ships, confirmed them in this opinion; and that the protector was going to embark his forces. Elated with this idea, and determined to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp, crossed the river Esk, and advanced, with great precipitation, into the plain, where the Scottish regent drew up his army in three divisions: the first, which consisted of the best troops, was commanded by the earl of Angus; the second by the regent himself; and the third by the earl of Huntley. The earl of Argyle headed a body of Highland archers, who formed a guard to the artillery.

The protector was greatly pleased when he saw the Scots leave their advantageous camp; as he should now have an opportunity of bringing on a decisive action. He drew up his troops in two lines; the earl of Warwick commanded the first, and the protector himself the second. The lord Grey of Wilton lead a reserved body of cavalry, and had orders to fall upon the flank of the van of the Scottish army, as soon as they were engaged in close fight with the first line of the English.

Such was the disposition of both armies, when the Scots advanced to the charge; but a dreadful fire from the cannon of the ships threw the Highland archers into great confusion, and even the whole van began to stagger. Lord Grey perceived the situation of the enemy, and could not resist the opportunity of attacking them before they recovered from their surprize. But he soon perceived he had acted with too much precipitation. The spot occupied by the enemy was fallow land, broken ridges, and separated from him by a slough and a ditch. These impediments rendered the shock of his body of horse feeble and irregular; and the Scottish infantry standing firm, he was repulsed with considerable loss: he himself was dangerously wounded; lord Edward Seymour, son to the protector, was unhorsed; and the English standard in danger of being taken. But the earl of Warwick and the duke of Somerset advanced with so much celerity to support the English horse, that they soon formed behind the infantry, and the battle now became general. The English artillery, planted on a neighbouring eminence, played full on one of their flanks, while the cannon of the ships galled them on the other; and the lord Grey, eager to repair his error, charged them in front with so much fury, that their first line gave way, and an orderly retreat was begun: but the Highland archers betaking themselves to flight, spread a panic through the whole army; the retreat was changed into a precipitate flight, and the whole became one general scene of confusion, terror, and consternation. The bravest of the Scots were put to the sword, and the route and slaughter became so general, that from the field of battle to Edinburgh, the whole ground was covered with the dying and the dead. The priests and monks received no quarter, for having engaged in an enterprize so foreign to their profession. Few victories have been more decisive or more complete. Above ten thousand perished in the engagement and pursuit, and about fifteen hundred surrendered themselves prisoners. The English lost not more than two hundred men. This action, which is known in history by the name of the Battle of Pinkie; from a

nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood, seemed to have put a period to opposition, and destroyed for ever the French interest in Scotland.

The regent fled with the queen dowager to Sterling-castle, and the Scottish army was so entirely dissipated, that Arran found the utmost difficulty of checking the incursions of small parties of the English. The protector marched directly to Leith, which made no opposition; but he failed in his attempt against Edinburgh castle. He, however, plundered the town, while the fleet under lord Clinton, burnt all the places on the sea coasts, and took all the shipping in the frith of Forth. Had the duke pursued all the advantages of his late victory, he might have given law to the conquered. But a cabal having been raised against him at London, he hastened his return, leaving Warwick with full powers to negotiate a treaty with Arran, who had desired leave to send commissioners for that purpose. The latter, however, meant only to gain time till succours could arrive from France; and accordingly no Scottish commissioners appeared at the place appointed for the conferences.

When the protector arrived at London, he found that his brother Thomas, who had married Catherine Parr, the queen dowager, and had lately been created lord high-admiral of England, was become his greatest opposer. He had not only joined in the cabals of his enemies, but also made several vigorous efforts to supplant him in the high post he enjoyed. He had already gained such an ascendancy over Edward, that he had persuaded the king to write a letter with his own hand to the house of commons, recommending him to their choice as governor of the king's person. Though this attempt struck at the foundation of the protector's greatness, he still endeavoured to reclaim his brother by gentle and munificent methods; but finding he was still determined to pursue his scheme, Somerset found it necessary to summon a parliament, as the only authority that could support him against the machinations of his brother.

But before the session was opened he informed the council of the letter his brother had obtained from the young king, and which he proposed to lay before the house at the meeting of the parliament. The council were alarmed at this circumstance, and several lords were deputed to dissuade the admiral from pursuing a scheme which might involve the government in distress, and ultimately terminate in his own destruction. But he continued firm to his purpose, till the council threatened to deprive him of all his posts, commit him to the Tower, and indict him upon the statute which made it death for any person to disturb the established government. These menaces awakened his attention: he saw the consequences that might result from his disobeying the council, and thought proper to abandon his enterprize; but he was never thoroughly reconciled to his brother.

The late victory over the Scots had greatly raised the reputation of the protector, who now obtained a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench, on the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges which had usually been possessed by any princes of the blood, or uncles of the kings of England. These honours were invidious to the old nobility, and created the duke many powerful enemies. But if the protector discovered his vanity and weakness in assuming so much state and grandeur, he merited the highest applause on account of the laws, enacted through his influence in this session of parliament; for by these the rigour of former statutes was greatly mitigated, and some steps taken for securing the liberties of the people. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the limits assigned it by the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the third; together with all laws enacted during the late reign, for extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against the Lollards or heretics; and the bloody statute



statute of the six articles: no person was to be accused of words but within a month after they were spoken. That statute which gave the force of laws to the king's proclamations, was also repealed. Thus were some of the most severe laws ever enacted in England totally abrogated, and the people began to flatter themselves with the hopes of enjoying some share of religious and civil liberty. Hereby, however, still continued to be a capital crime, and punishable by fire. But as there now remained no precise standard by which that crime could be ascertained, it entirely depended upon the rigour or lenity of the judges.

Several laws were enacted, which greatly contributed to promote the Reformation. The cup was restored to the laity; private masses were abolished; the king was invested with the power of creating bishops, without any election of the chapter; and all processes in the bishops courts, those of Canterbury excepted, were to be carried on in the king's name, and sealed by his seal, as in the courts of common law. But the most remarkable bill passed by this parliament, was that which gave the revenues of chantries and colleges to the crown. The preamble to this statute premises, that these funds should be employed to good and godly uses, in erecting grammar schools, in farther augmenting the revenues of the universities, and in making better provision for the poor and needy. But the rapacious courtiers had already, in their imaginations, devoured the prey; and it was not long before it was shared out among them. Cranmer, and several other prelates, were of opinion, that the revenues of the church, by the appropriation of tithes, and other methods of alienation, were already too much reduced. The primate, therefore, strenuously opposed the bill, and was joined by the bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Winchester, and Chichester: but notwithstanding this opposition, it was passed into a law. By this act no fewer than two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries, colleges, and other religious foundations, fell to the crown.

A. D. 1548. Several alterations were now made in the ceremonies of the church, which increased the discontents of the Catholics. Orders were issued that candles should not be carried about upon Candlemas-day, nor ashes on Ash-Wednesday, nor palms on Palm-Sunday; that no images should be suffered to remain in the churches; that auricular confession should be left free, and considered as indifferent. These particulars struck at the root of the Catholic religion; but still the progress of the Reformation was greatly obstructed among the people, by the sermons delivered by the clergy of opposite sentiments. Several attempts were made to remove this inconvenience; but these proving ineffectual, a total silence was imposed upon all preachers in general, which put an end to all the polemics of the pulpit. But this restraint, from the very nature of things, could only be temporal. The protector reflected not, that in proportion as the ceremonies of public worship were retrenched, the people became the more desirous of sermons, which alone could supply the place of sensible objects. The Protestants in particular, who were fond of being addressed from the pulpit, remonstrated strongly against this injunction; and it was thought expedient to establish a practice, which seems essentially connected with the very spirit of Christianity.

Several of the Catholic party opposed these alterations in religion with all their power. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was at the head of this opposition, and defended his opinions with great boldness before the council. He laid before them the reasons on which his opposition was founded with all the force of eloquence; and concluded his speech in the following manner: "For my part, my sole concern is to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage.

Provided this point is secured, I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already, by nature, condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this sentence, nor so much as procure me a reprieve. To speak my mind freely, and to act as my conscience directs me, are two branches of liberty I can never part with. Sincerity in speech and integrity in action are entertaining qualities; they will stick by a man when every thing else takes its leave, and I must not resign them upon any consideration. The best of it is, if I do not throw them away myself, no man can force them from me; but if I give them up, then am I ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all my preferences." This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council, and he was committed to the Tower; an act of severity which intimidated the Popish party, and no farther opposition was made to the new ordinances.

The Scots having sent no commissioners to the conferences for a peace, the war was renewed, but without force or vigour. Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, was sent into Scotland, to command the English forces, in the character of lieutenant-general. In the mean time, the lord Grey of Wilton took and fortified Haddington, which made him master of the most fruitful part of Scotland, and whence he made excursions to the very gates of Edinburgh. The Scots were in no condition to oppose the English, till the succours from France landed at Leith about the beginning of June.

These troops, which consisted of six thousand men, under the command of Dese, revived the courage of the Scots, and the siege of Haddington was immediately undertaken. The Scots, who were only formidable in a desultory war, were very unfit for this undertaking: even with the assistance of the French, they despaired of taking the place by assault, and depended entirely for success upon the hopes of starving the garrison. They, however, repulsed several sallies made by the besieged, and shut them up closely within their fortifications.

While the army was employed in the siege of Haddington, the parliament were deliberating on the most proper method of preventing their young queen from falling into the hands of the English, as her marriage with Edward must be productive of an union between the two kingdoms. The earl of Huntley, who at first was disposed to favour the proposal of Somerset, but had changed his opinion by the late violent measures pursued by the English, said pleasantly, "That he was not averse to the match, but that he disliked the manner in which the princess was courted." Several weighty reasons were, however, urged, both for and against the marriage; but at last it was determined to send their young queen to France; and, what was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. She was accordingly embarked on board the French galleys, and after a tempestuous passage, arrived safely at Brest; whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after betrothed to the dauphin. This event was a fatal blow to the projects of the protector, who now saw, that the marriage he was so desirous of completing was now impossible.

The siege of Haddington was still continued; and the Scots had the good fortune to surprise and cut off a party sent to its relief, under the command of Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer. But on the approach of the earl of Shrewsbury, at the head of twenty-two thousand men, they raised the siege, and retired with great precipitation. Shrewsbury, however, made no attempt to distress the enemy; he contented himself with reinforcing the garrison, and leaving a large supply of provisions and ammunition in the place. This was effected without the least opposition, and the earl immediately returned to England.

While the war was thus carrying on in Scotland, the protector was indefatigable in completing the Reformation.



Reformation. The public offices of the church were reviewed, a new catechism was published by Cranmer, and a new liturgy was received by the convocation, though not without a long and strenuous debate. The parliament met on the twenty-fourth of November, and confirmed all the orders of council issued for the reformation of religion: Priests were permitted to marry, though the preamble to the act passed for that purpose expressly declared, that it were better for the priests and ministers of the church to live chaste, and without marriage; and it were much to be wished they would of themselves abstain. The new liturgy, drawn up by a select committee of bishops and divines, was confirmed, and ordered to be used in all churches and chapels in the kingdom. This liturgy was nearly the same with that at present used in the Church of England.

But the attention of the protector was now diverted from promoting the progress of the Reformation. His brother had renewed his former practices, and carried them to a much greater length. The queen-dowager, his wife, had some time since died in child-bed; and he flattered himself with the hopes of espousing the princess Elizabeth, who was then in her sixteenth year, and seems to have listened to the insinuations of a man possessed of every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from the succession, if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded, that he proposed to effect his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. He endeavoured to seduce the young king and the courtiers into his interest; he inveighed openly against his brother's administration; and he drew to him a great number of partizans from all the classes of the people. He could depend upon the attachment of ten thousand of his servants and retainers, and had provided arms for their use.

A. D. 1549. The protector, informed of these particulars, attempted to bring him back to his duty and allegiance by gentle methods; but his attempts were in vain; he rejected every offer, and set his brother at defiance. Somerset now laid the whole affair before the council; and a charge, consisting of thirty-three articles, was drawn up against him; and he was committed to the Tower. Dudley, earl of Warwick, son to the obnoxious minister of Henry VIII. was a person of great talents, which qualified him to shine both in the cabinet and the field. But all his virtues were obscured by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an insatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of justice. Warwick happening to rise to eminence on the ruin of the two brothers, determined to widen the breach between them; and engaged Somerset to proceed with the utmost violence against his brother, lord Seymour. Commissioners were now sent to interrogate him in prison; but he refused to answer the captious questions that were put to him; desired that his trial might proceed in the legal method; that the witnesses might be confronted with him, and that the heads of his accusation should be laid before him. These demands, however reasonable in themselves, were denied; the laws had long since yielded to force, and it was in vain to expect that the method of proceeding would now be altered. A bill of attainder was preferred against him, and passed without any material opposition in the House of Lords. The Commons were more scrupulous: some of the members objected against the whole method of proceeding by bills of attainder passed in the absence of the accused; and required that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. This opposition alarmed the ministry. A message was sent from the king, requiring them to proceed; and offering, that the same narratives which had satisfied the lords should be laid before them. This concession produced the desired effect; the bill passed in a very full house: near four hundred voted for it, and not above nine or ten

against it. The royal assent was soon after given to the bill, and the admiral was beheaded. His behaviour on the scaffold was very undaunted; and he persisted, with his last breath, in declaring, that he had never committed, or intended to commit, any act of treason against the government. The protector was greatly blamed for proceeding in this manner against his brother, and denying to grant him a fair and impartial trial. But arbitrary judgments were become so common, that it is something singular that the least shadow of evidence should be sought for to justify the condemnation of those who opposed either the court or the minister.

The new liturgy, though received and approved of by all that wished well to the Reformation, yet met with very great opposition from the Catholic party. They were unwilling to abandon the tenets of their ancient religion, and exerted their whole interest to raise disturbances in the nation. A great variety of opinions prevailed, and all attempts to reduce them to an uniformity were frivolous and vain. The government appointed commissioners to enquire after and examine the enemies to the new ritual; and if these were obstinate, and refused to be converted, they were ordered to be delivered over to the secular arm, and punished for their opinions. Several were prosecuted for their heresy, but the greater part of them recanted, and were pardoned. A woman, named Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who denied the incarnation of Christ, persevered in her error, and was condemned to the flames. Cranmer, though of a mild disposition, thought it necessary to punish her; and having engaged Edward to sign her sentence, the young monarch told him, with tears in his eyes, that if any wrong was done, the guilt should be entirely on his head. Cranmer used every argument to reform the woman; but finding all his attempts abortive, he suffered the sentence to be executed, and she perished in the flames. Soon after, one Van Paris, a Dutchman, was condemned for having embraced the heresy of Arius, and suffered with so much resolution and fanatical zeal, that he embraced with transport the faggots which consumed him. But these severities were ill calculated for removing the evil; they tended rather to increase than exterminate heresy. They produced, however, a temporary effect; a conformity to the new liturgy was established, and the murmurs against the late innovations seemed to be lulled asleep on the couch of forgetfulness. The princess Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and absolutely refused to admit the reformed modes of worship.

During the last session of parliament, an act had passed the House of Lords, for giving licence to every person to inclose his own grounds, but had been thrown out by the Commons. Irritated at this opposition, the nobility determined to carry the project into execution, notwithstanding their bill had proved abortive in parliament. This occasioned an universal discontent among the lower class of people, who were persuaded that a scheme was now formed for reducing them to an absolute state of slavery. Extreme indigence, to which they had been reduced by various causes, contributed to spread the flame of civil commotion into divers parts of the kingdom. The suppression of the abbeys and monasteries, though doubtless of the utmost advantage to the nation in general, tended greatly to promote the oppression of the poor and indigent. It not only deprived the idle of a resource, but the peasant and the farmer lost a sure market for the fruits of their labour. Besides, the nobility, who were now become the owners of the church-lands, not only raised the rents of the farms, but also distressed the tenants by every method that avarice could invent. The woollen manufacture was carried to a great height in the Netherlands; and the large quantity of bullion imported from America, enabled the grandees of Spain to purchase the finest pieces of their cloth at very high prices. Hence the English wool found a sure and advantageous market among the Flemings. The natural consequence of



this was, that the nobility turned their farms into pasture lands, and agriculture, which required the labours, and therefore afforded subsistence, to the husbandmen, was neglected. Hence the tenants and labourers were considered as a burden; and a multitude of people were reduced to beggary. The poorer classes of men could neither maintain their cattle nor themselves. What contributed still farther to oppress them, was the adulteration of the coin, begun in the reign of Henry VIII. and continued by Somerset to answer the necessities of the state. In consequence of this impolitic measure, the good coin was either hoarded up or exported; base metal only circulated, and the poor became unable to provide bread for their families. An alarming stagnation of commerce took place, and the loudest complaints resounded from every part of England.

The protector, dreading the consequences of this universal discontent, exerted himself to quiet the minds of the people. He published a pardon, even after the insurgents had committed overt-acts of rebellion, and appointed commissioners to enquire into and redress their grievances. In consequence of this, many of the inclosures were thrown down, and the nobility were exasperated against the protector, while the people received very little mitigation of their sufferings. The evil was of too complicated a nature to be easily redressed. The inhabitants of almost every county of England gave indications of their being ready to take up arms, and procure by open violence the necessities of life, which they could not obtain by their labour. In Devonshire and Norfolk, the spirit of rebellion threatened the most fatal consequences.

A priest of Stamford-Courtney, had the address to give the disturbances in the west of England, a religious turn, and fed the flame of discontent by every artifice which a misguided zeal could inspire. This artful change of the subject from temporal to religious objects, increased the number of the insurgents, and many of the gentry, particularly Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount, joined the populace. They were now formed into a kind of regular army, amounting to near ten thousand men. Lord Ruffel, who commanded a small body of forces in Devonshire, being unable to meet the rebels in the field, had recourse to negotiation. But they insisted on the most extravagant articles, declaring that they would never lay down their arms till they were granted. They demanded, that all the general councils and ancient canons of the church should be observed: that the law of the six articles should be executed: that the mass should be said in latin, and the priest alone receive the eucharist: that the host should be elevated and worshipped, and that those who refused to perform that adoration should suffer as heretics: that the sacrament should be only administered to the people at Easter, in one kind: that baptism should be administered at all times, and at any seasons: that holy bread, holy water, and palms, should again be used, and all the images restored; together with all the ancient ceremonies: that the new liturgy should be laid aside, and both the old offices and the processions, be restored: that all preachers before their sermons, and priests in their celebrating mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory: that the people should be forbid to read the bible: that every gentleman should be restrained from having more than one servant for every hundred marks of yearly income: and that half the abbey-lands should be taken from the present possessors, and adjudged to two of the chief abbays in each county.

These demands were received by the regency with that contempt they deserved; and as soon as the rebels found they were rejected, they determined to have recourse to arms in order to force a compliance from the government. Accordingly they marched directly to Exeter, carrying before them crosses, banners, holy water, candlesticks, and other implements of the ancient superstition; together with the host,

placed on a canopy. The siege of the city was formed on the second of July; but as the rebels were wholly destitute of cannon, they were repulsed in every attempt to take the place by storm. The citizens were, however, soon reduced to extremity; but they held out till they were relieved. The lord Grey having joined the lord Ruffel with a considerable body of forces, they advanced against the rebels, who were totally routed. Many of the insurgents were executed by martial law. Arundel, and the other leaders were sent to London, where they suffered for their crimes. The priest of Stamford-Courtney was hanged on the top of his own tower, dressed in the popish robes of his order, and a chaplet of beads suspended at his girdle.

But this defeat did not in the least intimidate the rebels in Norfolk. They were headed by one Ket, a tanner, who exercised his authority with the utmost insolence and outrage. They were more numerous than the western rebels, their number being at least twenty thousand. Intoxicated with power, Ket made the most exorbitant pretensions. He demanded that the gentry should be suppressed; that new counsellors should be placed about the king; and that the ancient rites of religion should be re-established. These demands being rejected, the insurgents marched to Norwich, and took post at Mouthold-hill, which overlooks the city. Here Ket, who affected great austerity, and regularity of conduct, erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation. Here he issued his ordinances; and committed a thousand enormities, under pretence of redressing some abuses.

Somerset endeavoured to heal these disorders by lenient methods; but the rebels having refused, with the most provoking insolence, a pardon which was offered them, it was determined to reduce them by force. The marquis of Northampton was accordingly sent against them, with about a thousand English infantry, and a body of Italian horse. But the marquis advancing to Norwich, contrary to his orders, his forces were routed with the loss of about an hundred men, among whom was John lord Sheffield. This defeat alarmed the government, and the king proposed to send Somerset at the head of a powerful army, in order to crush the rebels before their numbers increased to a more formidable number. But the protector, who affected popularity, chose not to appear in person against the rebels; but dispatched the earl of Warwick, at the head of six thousand men levied for carrying on the war against Scotland. Warwick marched with the utmost expedition, and came up with the insurgents at Dussingale. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the rebels were totally defeated, and above two thousand of them slain on the spot. Ket was hanged on the walls of Norwich castle, his brother on the top of Windham steeple, and nine of his principal followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation. This defeat intimidated the rebels of Yorkshire, where a considerable party were already in arms. The success of Ket had animated them to pursue the same measures for obtaining redress of their grievances; and his defeat struck them with despair: they threw down their arms and obtained a pardon.

But though the royal authority acquired strength by the suppression of these rebellions, they proved very detrimental to the king's affairs in foreign countries. The forces destined for Scotland were detained in England; and M. de Thermes landing there with fresh succours from France, he had leisure to reduce the distracted state of that unhappy country to some order. He took the castle of Boughtry, and put the whole garrison to the sword. Haddington, however, held out against all his efforts, and it was determined to reduce the place by famine. But this was not easily effected, supplies were continually thrown into the place during the summer, so that all his efforts proved abortive. At last winter effected what his whole power could not perform. The inclemency of the



the weather was an obstacle not to be surmounted by the English. The earl of Rutland, warden of the East Marches, received orders to dismantle the place. He accordingly marched thither at the head of a strong body of forces, demolished the fortifications, and brought off the garrison. Nothing was now left to the English of all their conquests in Scotland, except the castles of Lauder, Douglas, Eymouth, and Roxburgh.

Nor were these all the ill consequences that resulted from the late commotions. Henry II. of France, encouraged by the intestine troubles of England, made an effort to execute his favourite scheme of recovering Boulogne. The court had for some time been apprehensive that he had formed that design, and sent over secretary Paget to the court of Charles V. in order to conclude an alliance with that powerful monarch. But Charles having formed a design of extending his dominions by acting the part of a champion for the catholic religion, listened not to the advances made by the court of England for entering into a strict confederacy. In the mean time Henry II. entered the territory of Boulogne at the head of a numerous army, took several castles, equipped a powerful fleet, and attempted a descent on the islands of Guernsey and Jersey; but a squadron of the English ships being immediately fitted out, fell upon the enemy, and drove them from the islands with the loss of above a thousand men.

Disappointed in receiving the expected assistance from the emperor, Somerset was desirous of concluding a peace with France and Scotland; especially as he was in no condition to support the necessary expences, and had experienced the difficulties and dangers that attended ministers in demanding and raising new subsidies: at the same time, he was determined to complete the great work of the Reformation successfully begun. He therefore determined to sacrifice Boulogne, in order to gain the friendship and assistance of Henry. But when he proposed the restitution of that place in the council, he met with the strongest opposition from his enemies; who knowing he was in no condition to carry on the war, were determined; for that very reason, to oppose every measure that had any tendency to procure a pacification, and to embrace the first opportunity that offered for depriving him of his dignity.

The unbounded authority enjoyed by Somerset exposed him to danger. The haughtiness of his carriage, his ambition, the contempt he expressed for all those who refused to be directed by his sentiments, joined to the consideration of his limited and inferior capacity, irritated daily the discontented. Warwick, the most powerful, and therefore the most dangerous of his enemies, formed a very formidable party against him. He had provoked the nobility and gentry by the preference he had shewn the people with regard to the inclosures, and the commotions that followed: they even dreaded a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had created a court of requests in his own house for the benefit of the poorer class of people, and readily embraced every measure calculated to promote their interest and safety. But tho' Somerset courted the affections of the people, his power among them was not considerable: the popish party, which still formed a principal part of the illiterate commonalty, were his inveterate enemies, and readily embraced every opportunity to condemn his conduct. All his actions were misrepresented; he was reproached with the execution of his own brother; a crime so unnatural in the eyes of mankind in general, that he was represented as a monster rather than a human being. Add to this the great parade he made of his wealth in erecting that magnificent palace in the Strand, which still bears his name; the parish church of St. Mary, and three bishops houses, having been pulled down, to furnish ground and materials for that structure. These imprudent and impolitic actions had given Somerset's

enemies too many advantages over him; they magnified all his imprudences into crimes.

After several complaints, disputes, and fruitless treaties for an accommodation, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other counsellors, met, on Sunday the sixth of October, at Ely-House, where the earl of Warwick resided; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London; and after arraigning the protector's conduct, and charging him with the most enormous crimes, commanded them to obey no orders but such as were issued by themselves. Informed of this separate meeting, the king sent secretary Petre to know the reason for so uncommon a proceeding. He was very readily admitted, but not suffered to depart till they had deliberated on the state of the nation.

Somerset, on being informed of this defection of the counsellors, removed the king from Hampton-Court to Windsor-Castle; and arming his friends and servants, seemed determined to defend himself against his enemies. But finding that Cranmer and Paget were the only persons of rank that adhered to him, that he was abandoned by his partizans, and that the people did not seem to interest themselves in his favour, he lost all hopes of success, and offered to submit to the decisions of the council, provided they would promise to treat him with candour. This was promised him. He was, however, sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and adherents; among whom was Cecil, afterwards so famous in the reign of queen Elizabeth. On the fourteenth of October, he was brought before the council, and articles of accusation exhibited against him, of which the following were the chief: That he had not observed the conditions on which he had been made protector: that he had treated with ambassadors, without notifying it to the council; and had, by his own authority, disposed of governments and bishoprics: that he had held a court of requests in his own house: that he had debased the coin: that he had issued proclamations in the affair of inclosures, contrary to the opinion of the whole council: that he had not taken care to suppress the late insurrections; but had, on the contrary, supported and encouraged them: that he had occasioned the loss of the forts in the territory of Boulogne, by neglecting to furnish them with provisions and ammunition: that he had endeavoured to instil into the king a bad opinion of his counsellors, by persuading him they intended to destroy him: that he had caused the lords of the council to be proclaimed traitors: that he had maliciously, not only put the king in great fear, by carrying him so suddenly to Windsor, but thrown him into a dangerous disease: that he had armed himself and his servants; and that he intended to fly to Guernsey or Jersey.

As the duke had received no previous notice of these articles, he was not prepared to give his answer, and was therefore remanded back to the Tower. The marquiss of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Southampton, the lords St. John, Russell, and Westworth, were appointed governors of the king's person; and the principal administration of the government entrusted with the earl of Warwick, but without any title that might give him the least authority over the other counsellors. A revocation of the protector's power was also published under the great seal. But all the arts of Warwick could not persuade the well-meaning part of the council to believe the duke guilty of any thing intentionally bad, either against the king or the constitution of his country: they indeed thought him too obnoxious to the landed interest of England, to continue longer at the head of affairs; and therefore willingly engaged in measures for removing him from the seat of power, as well as for excluding him from ever regaining it for the future.

The Catholic party greatly exulted at the fall of the protector. They flattered themselves that Warwick, who was always considered as a friend to the



Romish religion, would restore the ancient faith and mode of worship; but they were mistaken. Warwick always made religion subservient to his interest; and knowing that the king had imbibed a strong attachment to the Protestant doctrines, he was resolved not to oppose his inclinations, nor forfeit his own power by pursuing any violent measures. He accordingly declared his intention to promote the Reformation; and so strongly opposed the measures of Southampton, who was considered as the head of the Catholics, that he retired from court in disgust, and soon after died of vexation. Several other changes were also made in the council; but they all tended to convince the Romanists, that they had nothing to expect for their having been instrumental in the fall of the duke of Somerset. The earl of Warwick was made lord-high-admiral of England; the lord St. John was created earl of Wiltshire, and made treasurer, in the room of the duke of Somerset; Wootton, secretary of state, in the room of Smith; Russell was created earl of Bedford; the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, besides the office of chamberlain of the household, obtained the two large manors of Stepney and Hackney, which had been torn from the see of London.

Somerset wanted spirit to support his disgrace with dignity; and he was prevailed upon to confess, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of the charge exhibited against him; a submission that disgraced him in the eyes of the nation. The parliament deprived him of all his offices, and condemned him in a large fine. But Warwick thinking he had now sufficiently humbled the haughty Somerset, and that his abject behaviour had effectually destroyed the small remains of his authority, he readmitted him into the council; and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter to Somerset.

A. D. 1550. But though Warwick and his associates had so strenuously opposed a peace with France when proposed by Somerset, they changed their opinion when they had no longer the same motives for their opposition: they were now convinced that a peace was absolutely necessary, and a negotiation was accordingly entered into with Henry's ministers. But the French king, even at the opening of the conferences, declared, that he would not pay the pensions stipulated by his predecessor, being determined not to be tributary to any monarch upon earth. He, however, offered to pay a sum of money for the immediate restitution of Boulogne; and it was accordingly agreed to surrender the place for four hundred thousand crowns; one half to be paid immediately, and the other at the end of six months. Scotland was included in this treaty; and it was stipulated, that the English should restore Lauder and Douglas, and demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eyemouth.

This peace was celebrated with great rejoicings, though it was very far from being agreeable to the people. The restitution of Boulogne, which had been considered as so great a crime even to have proposed it, in the duke of Somerset, opened the eyes of the people: they were now convinced, that the ambition of the courtiers, not any regard for the glory of the king and the welfare of the nation, had raised the storm that had swept Somerset from the seat of power. The murmurs became general, and soon reached the ears of the aspiring Warwick, who, to divert the public attention, and prevent their resentment from proving fatal to the administration, undertook the popular office of enquiring into certain misdemeanors of those who had been intrusted with the management of the public money, some of whom were severely punished.

Warwick had already declared his design to complete the Reformation, and he now began to carry his promise into execution. Several bishops, though

they had extended their complaisance very far with regard to the measures of the court, were still friends to the tenets of the Roman church, and it was now determined to seize their revenues. The prosecution was begun with the famous Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, in several instances, had rendered himself obnoxious to the administration. He was required to acknowledge his former misbehaviour, and confess the justice of his confinement; to own that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the common-prayer-book was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete sovereign in his minority; that the statute of the six articles was justly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline. The bishop made no difficulty of signing all these articles, except the first. He maintained, that his conduct had always been inoffensive; and declared, that he would never own himself guilty of faults he had not committed. But the council, who never intended to accept of any acknowledgment, multiplied articles in proportion to his submission. At last, the prelate, from a dread of totally dishonouring his former conduct by mean compliances, determined to act with vigour. He refused to subscribe any articles they might present to him; and was deposed from his see by a commission appointed for that purpose. Several other bishops, much less suspected and obnoxious than Gardiner, underwent the same fate; as Day, bishop of Chichester; Heath, of Worcester; and Vais, of Exeter.

Nor were these plunderers of the church contented with the revenues of the priesthood; they extended their rapacity to objects of much smaller importance. The council issued an order for purging the libraries of all superstitious books, and all that were plated with gold and silver were condemned for their ornaments. If they were books of literature, they were destroyed, as useless; if of mathematics, geometry, or astronomy, they were supposed to be infected with magic. The libraries of Oxford suffered the utmost outrage; nor had the university power to oppose these barbarous violences; they even feared that their revenues would attract the rapacity of the earl of Warwick. The princess Mary herself was exposed to the utmost danger: she was required to change her religion, or at least to read St. Augustine and the ancient fathers, who would convince her of the errors of popery. But Mary was insensible to all these remonstrances. She was, however, alarmed for her own safety, and formed a plan for making her escape to the court of Charles V. but her design was discovered, and prevented. The emperor, however, made strong representations in her behalf: he even threatened to commence hostilities, if liberty of conscience was refused her. His remonstrances had the desired effect: it was not thought advisable to plunge the nation into a war on so slight an occasion; and Edward, who had imbibed the utmost detestation for the idolatrous worship of the Catholics, lamented with tears the obstinacy of his sister, and his own misfortune in being obliged to tolerate her errors.

A. D. 1551. The sweating sickness, which now raged in England, swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. Several of the nobility also felt the dreadful effects of this alarming contagion; among whom were the duke of Suffolk and his brother. By the death of these two noblemen, the title of duke of Suffolk became extinct in the family of Brandon, which was next in succession to the crown after the two daughters of Henry VIII. The earl of Warwick, who seems already to have formed the design of placing his own family on the throne, immediately procured Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, to be created duke of Suffolk. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue; and Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, having been attainted on account of the share he had in the Yorkshire insurrection, during



during the late reign, the title was extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick, therefore, procured for himself those ample possessions which lay in the north, the most warlike part of the kingdom; and was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. Lord St. John, the treasurer, was created marquis of Winchester, and Sir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke; William Cecil was knighted, and made secretary of state, and Sir Robert Dudley, one of Northumberland's son, was sworn one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the king's bedchamber.

Several excellent regulations were now made for the benefit of commerce, and restoring the coin of the kingdom to its proper standard. Almost the whole commerce of the realm had hitherto been carried on by strangers. Henry the third had created into a corporation, and invested with particular privileges, all the merchants of the Hanse towns; and the council, sensible of the prejudices done by this means to the national industry, suppressed the grant; and all foreigners whatever, from this period, being obliged to pay the same duties, the English turned their attention to commerce, and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom. But all these pleasing attempts were in danger of being rendered abortive by the civil commotions, excited by the unbounded ambition of the duke of Northumberland, who considered all increase of titles or possessions, either to himself or his adherents, only as steps to farther acquisitions; and perceiving the duke of Somerset, though deprived of his dignity, and even greatly lessened in the public esteem by his late pusillanimous conduct, still preserved a considerable degree of popularity, he resolved to ruin a man, whom he considered as the chief obstacle to his ambitious projects.

The alliance so lately concluded between their families had been productive of no cordial union; it only afforded Northumberland an opportunity of effecting, with more ease and certainty, the destruction of his rival. He began his infamous design by alienating the affections of the young king from his uncle, whom he represented as a very dangerous subject: he spread a report, that Somerset had caused himself to be proclaimed king in several counties, and that he was preparing an armed force to make himself master of his majesty's person. At the same time he continually offered him fresh insults, in order to provoke him to commit imprudent actions; and had gained over many of the friends and servants of that unfortunate nobleman to his interest. Thus provoked, the unguarded Somerset let fall some menacing expressions against Northumberland, and his treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every passionate word that dropped from him; they even revealed the schemes which they themselves suggested. The king was informed of these pretended discoveries, and by too readily believing the slanderous tales, he abandoned his uncle, and consented to his being put under arrest.

The treacherous and hypocritical Northumberland having thus obtained his majesty's permission, the duke of Somerset, the lord Grey, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Newdigate, two of the duke's servants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were all apprehended the same night, and committed to prison. The next day the dutches of Somerset, with her two favourites, Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Banister, and others, were taken into custody. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had acted as a spy upon the duke's actions, charged him with having formed a design "to excite a rebellion in the north; to attack the horse-guards on a muster-day; to take possession of the Tower; and to raise an insurrection in London." But the only accusation that seemed to have some truth for its foundation was, that he had formed a design to murder the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pem-

broke, at an entertainment that was to be made for them at lord Paget's. Crane and his wife corroborated Palmer's evidence with regard to the last scheme; and it appears that some rash design of that nature had been proposed, though no regular plot had ever been formed, nor any measures taken for its execution.

The duke's trial came on before his peers at Westminster-hall, on the first of December, the marquis of Winchester presiding as high-steward. He denied the charge, and demanded to be confronted with his accusers; but this request, however equitable, was denied, and the court proceeded to the trial. The depositions of the witnesses as given before the privy-council, were delivered in to the jury, but they were neither produced in court, nor confronted with the prisoner. The duke's defence was, however, so satisfactory with regard to the treasonable part of the charge, that the peers gave a verdict in his favour; but they found him guilty of the other part of the charge, and he was condemned to suffer as a felon, pursuant to a statute passed in the reign of Henry VII. declaring it felony for any person to form a design of killing a privy-counsellor.

A. D. 1552. The behaviour of Somerset, from the time he received his sentence, was calm, resigned, and unaffected; he employed his time in reading, and composing exercises of devotion. He made decent application to the king in favour of his wife and family, and on the twenty-second of January he was carried to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he was to suffer. He was attended on this melancholy occasion by Dr. Cox; and after performing some devotions, he addressed himself in a speech to the people, in which he declared his innocence with regard to the king, and his fidelity to his country: he submitted to his sentence, because awarded by the law: he professed his zeal and affection for the protestant religion, and a sincere satisfaction in what he had done to promote it. He expressed the highest regard for the person of the king; he exhorted the people to pay both him and the council the most implicit obedience: declared he died in peace with all mankind; asked pardon of all whom he had offended; and requested the prayers of all present. On finishing his speech, he adjusted himself with the utmost calmness on the block, where he received the blow which put a period to his life.

A dreadful groan ran through the whole audience when the fatal stroke was given. Many rushed in and dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they preserved as a precious relic; and several of them, when Northumberland, some time after, met a similar fate, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed before his eyes these symbols of his crime. Somerset certainly deserved a better fate. He was a person of great virtues, eminent for his piety, courteous and affable, sincere and candid in all his transactions, a patron of the poor and oppressed; but a much better general than a counsellor. The faults he committed were owing to weakness, not to any bad intention. He was never accused of personal vices, nor guilty of falshood, of perverting justice, of cruelty, or of oppression.

Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old soldier, and Sir Miles Partridge were hanged; and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, beheaded, as the duke's confederates; but strenuously denied, in their last moments, the crime for which they suffered. Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy of Somerset, was deprived of his office, and condemned to pay a fine of six thousand pounds; and lord Rich, lord high chancellor, was also deprived of the seals, for having sent a letter to Somerset, informing him of the designs of the council.

The parliament, which met on the twenty-third of January, passed several bills both of a civil and religious nature; but the most remarkable was that which regarded the crime of treason; to which the commons annexed a clause of infinitely more conse-



quence than the bill itself. It was declared, "That none should be attainted of treason on this act, unless two witnesses should come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except such as should make a voluntary confession; and that none should be questioned for any thing said or written against the king or government, but within three months after it was done." This equitable and constitutional clause was strongly opposed by all Northumberland's faction, as it totally condemned their late proceedings in the case of the unfortunate duke of Somerset; but notwithstanding all their arts, it passed both houses, and has ever since remained one of the chief bulwarks of English liberty.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of that age, both on account of his learning and abilities, and the unblemished integrity of his life. He had always opposed by his vote and influence, all the late innovations in religion; but they were no sooner established, than he had readily submitted, and conformed himself to every system of doctrine which was established by authority. He justly concluded, that all private opinions ought to be sacrificed to the great concerns of public peace and tranquillity. But neither his obedient and tractable conduct, nor the unimpeached rectitude of his life and morals, could secure him against the rapacious designs of Northumberland, who had formed a design of appropriating to himself the ample revenues of the see of Durham, and of acquiring a principality in the northern counties. But before this design could be executed, it was necessary to deprive Tonstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder was therefore brought into the house of lords, where it passed with only two dissenting voices, Cranmer and lord Stourton. But when the bill was sent down to the commons, they insisted that witnesses should be examined, in order to prove the charge against him; that the bishop should be confronted with his accusers and be permitted to speak in his own defence. These equitable demands were refused, and the commons nobly exerted the power with which they were intrusted, and threw out the bill. This opposition of the commons, so unusual in that age, convinced Northumberland that he had nothing to hope for from their condescension, and every thing to fear from their opposition. It was therefore resolved to dissolve the parliament, which had subsisted from the beginning of the present reign.

A. D. 1553. The utmost pains were taken to procure a parliament more subservient to the administration than the last. Accordingly the king wrote circular letters to all his sheriffs, requiring them to return such members as would serve the court; an example of the most fatal tendency, as the freedom of elections was a very essential part of the national liberty. The labours of the court were not in vain; the parliament answered all the expectations that were formed of it; no opposition was made to the measures of the administration. Tonstal had, during the recess of parliament, been deposed by lay commissioners, and the sentence was now confirmed by the parliament, who divided the see of Durham into two bishoprics; but the dignity of an earl palatine was vested in the king, who gave it to Northumberland. They also gave the ministry another mark of their attachment; they granted the king two subsidies and two fifteenths. Edward himself was a great economist; but the rapacity of his courtiers was so insatiable, that notwithstanding the plunder of the churches, colleges, and hospitals, the fall of the many manors that belonged to them, and the four hundred thousand crowns received from France, for the restitution of Boulogne, the debt of the crown amounted to three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

During the spring of the preceding year Edward had been seized with the measles, and afterwards with the small-pox, but passed through both without any dangerous symptoms, and his health had some time been fully re-established, when he was seized with a

cough, which ended in a consumption. It was, however, hoped that the king's youth, the approach of spring, and the medicines administered by his physicians, would by degrees get the better of his disorder; but it proved of too malignant a nature, and increased so fast, that when the parliament met in the beginning of March, both houses were obliged to attend him at Whitehall, to hear the reasons for their being called together.

Northumberland perceived that it was now necessary to complete the design he had formed for placing his own family on the throne of England. He therefore suffered none but his own creatures to approach the royal person. At the same time he affected the most anxious concern for the young monarch's health and recovery. By these hypocritical expressions of duty, he soon gained the first place in the affections and confidence of young Edward. This point being gained, the next was to prevail upon the king to alter the succession. Edward, who was sincerely attached to the protestant religion, had often expressed his dread of the fatal consequences that would inevitably attend its professors, if so bigotted a catholic as his sister Mary should ever ascend the throne. Northumberland improved these melancholy reflections, and artfully insinuated, that the only method of averting those dreadful misfortunes from the professors of the new religion, consisted in changing the succession. He added that the king possessed the same power with his father, and might therefore transfer the crown from the princess Mary to the lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to Frances Brandon, now dutches of Suffolk. Observing, at the same time, that the princess Elizabeth must inevitably share the fate of her sister; because the only pretence they could use against Mary was her illegitimacy, which equally affected Elizabeth, the marriages both of Catherine and Anne having been declared unlawful by the legislature.

Edward, whose prevailing passion was the interest of the reformed religion, was pleased with this expedient. He knew the lady Jane to be a person equally distinguished for the accomplishments of her mind and person: strongly attached to the reformed religion, a friend to virtue, and a lover of her country. He therefore determined to leave the crown to that accomplished princess; especially as her mother had been expressly mentioned in the will of Henry VIII. as heir to the throne after his own children.

It was now necessary for Northumberland to finish the other part of his political fabric, in order to settle the crown on his own family. This was effected by persuading the duke of Suffolk to give his daughter the lady Jane Grey, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guildford Dudley. Suffolk, who owed all his preferments to Northumberland, hesitated not to form the offered alliance. This being effected, Northumberland determined to strengthen his interest by other marriages, and accordingly brought about a match between the lady Catherine Gray, second daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and the lord Herbert, eldest son to the earl of Pembroke; and bestowed his only daughter Catherine, upon lord Hastings, eldest son to the earl of Huntingdon. These marriages were celebrated with such remarkable pomp and festivity, that the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation in the warmest terms, at seeing such public demonstrations of joy, while their beloved monarch was languishing on the bed of sickness.

Nothing now remained to complete the design of Northumberland, but the execution of the change which Edward had determined to make in the succession. On the eleventh of June, Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common-pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two of the judges, the attorney and solicitor-general, attended the council, in obedience to a summons they had received for that purpose, and Edward gave them the minutes of an intended deed for altering the succession, with orders to draw them up in the form of a patent. They were







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were astonished, and desired leave to consult together on a subject of so much importance to the kingdom in general, and themselves in particular. After some time, they returned, and declared, that they could not obey the king's orders. They justly observed, that the settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. was made pursuant to an act of parliament; whereas this not only wanted that authority, but, by an act passed in the beginning of the present reign, it was declared to be treason in any of the heirs, their aiders and abettors, to attempt to change the order of succession. The duke of Northumberland was so incensed at their refusal, that he behaved in the most indecent manner; it was even feared he would proceed to violence against their persons. The king declared, he intended to summon a parliament, in order to obtain their ratification of the deed; but in the mean time, commanded them, on their allegiance, to draw the letters patent in the legal form. At the same time, the judges were informed by the council, that their refusal would subject them to the pains of high-treason. At last it was determined that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, commanding the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should be granted them for any offence they might commit in executing the commands they had received. The patent was accordingly drawn, and signed by all the judges, except Sir James Hales, who, though a sincere friend to the Reformation, obstinately refused to put his name to the instrument. Cranmer alone, of all the officers of state, opposed this scheme, and

laboured assiduously to persuade Edward not to alter the succession. He alledged, that he could not, without perjury, sign the patent, as he had already sworn to the observation of Henry's will; but, at Edward's earnest intreaty, and Northumberland's authoritative instances, he signed the instrument.

The health of Edward now declined visibly every day, and all hopes of his recovery vanished. The people had not scrupled, for some time, to impute the disorder of Edward to the practices of Northumberland; and an incident which now happened tended to confirm them in their opinion. His physicians were all discharged by an order of council procured by Northumberland, and the king committed to the care of an ignorant old woman, who engaged, by the help of her nostrums, to restore him, in a short time, to his former health and vigour. But unfortunately for the peace of England, her promises were never performed. The symptoms were every day aggravated; his cough increased; his legs swelled, his colour became pale and livid, and he resigned his breath at Greenwich on the sixth of July, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign.

Edward was almost idolized by his subjects. He was of a mild and sweet disposition, and scrupulously attached to the principles of equity and justice. His learning was far superior to his years. He loved the liberal arts before he knew them. Had he been indulged with a longer life, there is all the reason in the world to suppose he would have made his people happy by a wife and equitable administration.

## M A R Y.

A. D. 1553. **A** Civil war is the general consequence of a breach in the order of succession. England had now been involved in that dreadful calamity, had not the duke of Northumberland, the sole author of this ambitious attempt, been hated by the people. Mary was known to be a bigotted Catholic; but her title to the crown, after the death of her brother, admitted of no dispute; for the objections stated by the friends of lady Jane were new, and unknown to the nation. Mary was considered by the people in general as the legal successor of Edward. But the ambition of Northumberland was not to be restrained; he determined to support the title of lady Jane, tho' he could not be ignorant that he was acting contrary to the opinion of the people. He knew the opposition would be powerful, and therefore determined to act with caution. He concealed the king's death for some days; and prevailed upon the council to request the attendance of the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, under pretence of the bad state of health of their brother, who desired the assistance of their counsel, and the consolation of their company.

Ignorant of the treacherous design, Mary readily obeyed the summons, and was arrived within half a day's journey of the capital, when she discovered the snare that was laid for her destruction. She received a letter from the earl of Arundel, informing her of the death of the king, of the settlement of the crown upon lady Jane, and of the design of Northumberland to seize her person. She was now convinced of the necessity of immediately providing for her own safety. The sudden death of one of her servants, who was supposed to have died of the plague, furnished her with an excuse for a precipitate return. Nor did she think herself safe till she reached Framlingham, in Suffolk; whence she wrote, in character of queen, to the council and nobility, demanding to be acknowledged and proclaimed.

Northumberland finding it in vain to dissemble any longer, threw off the mask, and resolved to act in a more open manner. He engaged the council to depute him, and the earl of Suffolk, to Sion-house, a seat on the banks of the Thames, where the lady Jane then resided, to inform her that she had been appointed by the deceased king to succeed him in the throne. Jane, who was nearly of the same age with Edward, had received her education with him; and could personal merit have entitled her to the crown, she had enjoyed it without opposition. She was a lady of the most amiable person, the most engaging disposition, the most accomplished parts. The study of the learned languages was at once her employment and her delight; and she preferred the lessons of Plato to the amusements of the court. She was a stranger to ambition; she desired not to disturb the tranquillity of her country. She had hitherto been unacquainted with the secret dispositions of Edward in her favour, she never imagined she was destined to the throne. Struck with surprize and consternation at the message, she refused the offer; alledging the preferable right of the two princesses; and warning them of the fatal consequences that would, in all probability, attend so dangerous, and, in her opinion, so criminal an enterprise; begging they would let her continue in the private station she had hitherto enjoyed. She wished to refuse a sceptre to which she had no right, and which she considered as a burden.

Every argument was used by her father-in-law, her father, and her husband, whom she tenderly loved, to combat this resolution; and she at last yielded to their importunities, but with so much reluctance, that her consent was rather extorted than given. She was immediately conducted to the Tower, where it was then customary for the new monarchs to reside some days before their coronation. The council, who found themselves, in effect, Northumberland's prisoners



prisoners, were obliged to attend. They issued orders for proclaiming the lady Jane; but so thoroughly were the ambitious schemes of Northumberland detested, that they were observed only in the capital: the injustice of that nobleman had effectually effaced the merits of the lovely victim of her family's ambition. The news of this revolution was received with silent surprize by the people; nor were any of those acclamations heard, which are usual on such occasions: even the heralds seemed to perform their office with regret.

During these transactions, Mary exerted all her interest to oppose the designs of Northumberland, and to assert her own title to the crown. She was attended by great numbers of the neighbouring inhabitants; and, by positively promising to leave religion in the same state she found it, reserving nothing more than a liberty to profess her own, she fixed the people in her interest; and though strongly attached to the Reformation, they promised to support her with their lives and fortunes. She was now joined by numbers of the nobility and gentry; particularly by the earls of Bath and Suffex, Sir Thomas Mordaunt, Sir John Wharton, Sir William Drury, Sir Henry Bedingfield, and Sir Henry Jernegar, who all repaired to her standard, and brought her a strong reinforcement. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having been ordered by the government to levy troops for the service of lady Jane, deserted to Mary, at the head of four thousand men. Even the fleet which had been sent by Northumberland to cruise on the coast of Suffolk, in order to prevent either the escape of Mary, or the landing of foreign forces to her assistance, submitted to that princess.

These unexpected events alarmed Northumberland, who ordered the army in the neighbourhood of London to march immediately towards Newmarket, under the command of the duke of Suffolk. But the counsellors persuaded Northumberland to head the army in person; observing, that his known valour, his superior military acquisitions, and the dread of his name, already terrible in Norfolk by his victory in the late reign, would strike the insurgents with fear. He followed their advice, and joined the army, which amounted to six thousand foot and two thousand horse.

The approach of Northumberland alarmed several of Mary's friends, and they advised the princess to retire to the continent. Had the duke advanced with that expedition which the cause he had undertaken to support demanded, the advice had, probably, been followed; but he marched in so slow and deliberate a manner, that Mary's friends had time to recover from their fears, and to join her standard with all their forces. When Northumberland reached Bury, he found that great numbers of his men had deserted, and he was obliged to wait for reinforcements from London before he could advance against Mary's army.

The departure of Northumberland gave the counsellors an opportunity of leaving the Tower, where they had been in some measure confined by that ambitious nobleman, under pretence of attending upon the person of lady Jane till her coronation. They assembled at Baynard's Castle, a house belonging to the earl of Pembroke, and invited thither all the noblemen whom they conceived to be well affected to Mary. A considerable number attended; and the conference was opened by the earl of Arundel, who inveighed, in the strongest terms, against "the cruelty and injustice of Northumberland, his insatiable avarice and unbounded ambition, the criminal design he had formed for altering the succession, and the wickedness in which he had involved the whole council: and concluded with moving, that they might return immediately to their duty and allegiance, which they owed their lawful sovereign, by proclaiming Mary queen, as the only method they could now take to preserve the tranquillity of the state, and recover their own honours."

Pembroke seconded the motion; and laying his hand upon his sword, swore he was ready to fight any man who should presume to oppose so salutary a measure. But there was no occasion for employing force: the majority expressed their approbation of the proposal: the lord-mayor and aldermen were ordered to attend immediately; and Mary was proclaimed on the nineteenth of July, in the streets of London and Westminster. Te Deum was sung in the cathedral of St. Paul's, and the event celebrated with great rejoicings by the populace. Even the duke of Suffolk himself, who commanded in the Tower, finding all resistance would be in vain, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and declared for queen Mary. Lady Jane again descended to a private station; which she would never have left, had not the ambition of her relations forced her to grasp a sceptre which belonged to another.

Orders were now dispatched to the duke of Northumberland to disband his army; but before they reached his hands, he had been deserted by his troops, and endeavoured to gain the favour of the queen by an early submission: he proclaimed her queen with all the external marks of joy and satisfaction. But Mary was not to be deceived by the hypocritical behaviour of Northumberland; she knew him to be an inveterate enemy to her whole family, and that his expressions of loyalty and zeal for her service were wholly extorted by fear. She therefore immediately sent the earl of Arundel to arrest that ambitious nobleman, his sons and accomplices. The haughty Northumberland lost at once both his hopes and his courage. Arundel no sooner informed him of the purport of his visit, than he fell at his feet, and, in the most submissive manner, begged his favour. This abject behaviour, so peculiar to fallen insolence, excited the contempt, rather than the pity of Arundel. He told the duke the queen's orders must be obeyed; and Northumberland, together with two of his sons, and his principal accomplices, were sent to London, and committed to the Tower. The duke of Suffolk, lady Jane, and lord Guilford Dudley, were also taken into custody.

All opposition being thus destroyed, Mary, attended by vast numbers of people, and a long train of courtiers, set out from Framlingham for London, where she was met by the princess Elizabeth, with a body of two thousand men. She had raised those forces as a defence for her own person during the troubles which seemed to threaten the kingdom with all the horrors of a civil war; but on being informed of her sister's success, and the entire submission of Northumberland's party, she proceeded, at the head of her little army, to join her sister; and had the address to gain her confidence, by assuring her that these men were raised for her service.

Mary made a very pompous entry into London; and proceeding immediately to the Tower, where the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner ever since the death of her father; Courtney, son to the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subject to the same punishment ever since his father's attainder; the three prelates, Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adherence to the Catholic religion, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection. She embraced them all in the most affectionate manner, saying to the constable of the Tower, "These are my prisoners;" ordered them instantly to be set at liberty, and admitted them to her confidence and favour. The prelates were restored to their sees; Courtney was created earl of Devonshire, and Gardiner made lord high chancellor of England.

Notwithstanding the promise Mary had made to continue the religion established by Edward, she was determined to make promises, oaths, justice, and even interest itself, give way to her favourite project of restoring the religion of the church of Rome. She granted, indeed, a kind of general amnesty, and remitted the subsidy voted to the late king. But these

were



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The Duke of Northumberland's mean Submission to the  
EARL of ARUNDEL





were vain and fallacious appearances; they were soon followed by all the rigours of tyranny. The queen, naturally solemn, melancholy, and opinionated, was so much the more susceptible of the impressions of false zeal, as she had been brought up in the most profound ignorance; and while her head was disturbed about her religion, her heart was the more severely set against the Protestants. From these sources her whole reign became a scene of misery, and the kingdom was deluged with the blood of its inhabitants.

Her first care, after securing the persons of those from whom she expected the greatest opposition, was to consult with her friends the best method of extirpating the reformed religion. She was so determined to keep no measures with the Protestants, and force the kingdom to join immediately in what she called the Union of the Catholic Church, that had it not been for the more artful counsels of Charles V. and bishop Gardiner, she had sent directly for cardinal Pole, as legate, to reconcile England to the bishop of Rome. But they both disapproving of a step of such dangerous tendency, the queen was, with great reluctance, prevailed upon to suspend her resolution for the present, and to content herself with publishing a liberty of conscience in affairs of religion.

This declaration, which was made by the queen in council on the twelfth of August, was rendered as public as possible, and the partizans of Mary magnified it as a noble instance of the queen's generosity. The Protestants, however, considered it in a very different light: they were alarmed for their religion; and their fears were soon confirmed by the confidence of the Catholics, who made no scruple of inveighing, in the most bitter terms, against the tenets of the Protestants. Bourne, one of the chaplains of bishop Bonner, in a sermon preached before that prelate in the cathedral of St. Paul's, used the most indecent invectives against Edward's administration, particularly with regard to the Reformation. But he should have remembered, that the memory of Edward was still dear to the people who were alarmed for their religion, and it could not be supposed they would part with it easily. Accordingly a furious tumult was excited: some of the audience reproached him in the harshest terms; others pelted him with stones; and one of them threw a dagger with such dexterity at the preacher, that it narrowly missed his face, and stuck fast in the wood of the pulpit behind him. At last the people grew so furious, that Bourne would probably have been torn in pieces, had not Bradford and Rogers, two eminent Protestant ministers, interposed, and conveyed him, by a private door, out of the church, to a neighbouring house.

So glaring a proof of the people's dislike to popery should have been a caution to the administration not to proceed too zealously in favour of superstition: but it produced the contrary effect; they determined to have recourse to more violent measures. The Protestants were filled with terror: they plainly perceived that religion and the laws of their country would soon suffer a violent change, and that those who refused to adhere to the new statutes would be considered as rebels. The city of London shewed, on this occasion, some dawnings of the spirit of liberty; they made no enquiries into the tumult excited against Bourne in the cathedral. The government suspecting the magistrates were not sufficiently assiduous in the cause of superstition, insisted on their declaring whether they were able, by their own authority, to prevent all public tumults; and if they thought themselves incapable of effecting so necessary a design, the lord mayor was ordered to surrender the sword of justice into the queen's hand, that she might herself use it for the good of her people.

Mary's reign had not yet been stained with any sanguinary act; but it was now thought necessary to open the sluices of severity, which soon deluged the land with blood. On the eighteenth of August, the duke of Northumberland was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, and arraigned for high-treason.

After the indictment was read, the duke desired permission to propose two questions to the peers who were appointed to decide his fate: first, Whether any person could be guilty of treason for having obeyed orders given him by the council, under the great seal? Secondly, Whether those who were equally guilty with himself could sit as his judges? The high-steward answered, That the great-seal of an usurper had no authority; and that those peers who had neither been impeached nor convicted, were innocent in the eye of the law, and therefore might be admitted on any jury. These answers, though far from being uncontrovertible, sufficiently convinced the duke, that it would be absolutely useless to make any objections: he therefore pleaded guilty to the indictment. His example was followed by the marquiss of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, who were tried at the same tribunal, and were all condemned to suffer as traitors. Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer, who had been so instrumental in bringing the duke of Somerset to the block during the late reign, pleaded guilty, and received the same sentence.

The character of the queen, and the present situation of affairs, left Northumberland no hopes of favour. He was, indeed, detested by all parties, and his death was considered as a necessary act of justice. On the scaffold, he professed himself a member of the Catholic religion; and lamented his having plundered the effects of the church, especially as it was not now in his power to make restitution. But whether these were his real sentiments, or whether he hoped, by this declaration, to render the queen more favourable to his family, cannot now be known. However that be, the people who had sincerely lamented the duke of Somerset, beheld with joy the punishment of his oppressor. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, suffered with him. The rest were thought proper objects of the royal clemency, as they pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason. Suffolk himself was pardoned, and recovered his liberty; an indulgence which he owed, in a great measure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. Sentence had been pronounced against the lady Jane, and her husband the lord Guilford Dudley, but without any design of carrying it at present into execution.

The troubles occasioned by the ambitious Northumberland being entirely appeased, the administration applied themselves to execute the queen's favourite design, the re-establishment of the Popish religion in England. They began with silencing all preachers, under pretence of discouraging controversy, except such as should obtain a particular licence from Gardiner; and it was easily foreseen that none but Catholics would be favoured with such a privilege. Bradford, one of the two Protestant ministers who had rescued Bourne in the late tumult at St. Paul's, was committed to prison, and his companion, Rogers, was confined to his own house. Judge Hales, who alone, of all his brethren, had refused to sign the instrument which transferred the crown to lady Jane Gray, was sent to prison, where he was treated with such severity, that he fell into a frenzy, and put an end to his own life. Sir Edward Montague, who was also a Protestant, was deprived of his office, and fined a thousand pounds, for having assisted in drawing up the settlement of the crown in favour of lady Jane; and his post given to Sir Thomas Bromley, a bigotted Papist, though he had been equally concerned in drawing up that deed, and also signed it without hesitation. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, were imprisoned, for daring to preach without a licence from Gardiner. Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, was also confined to his own house, for the same crime. Peter Martyr, professor of divinity at Oxford, suffered so many indignities and insults from the enemies of the Reformation, that he was obliged to leave his chair, and retire for protection to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth. Some zealous Catholics moved,



that he might be committed to prison; but Gardiner opposed their attempts with his whole authority. He pleaded that the professor had come over in consequence of a particular invitation from the government, and was therefore protected from persecution by every precept of equity, and even by the laws of nature and nations. These reasons had the desired effect; and Gardiner generously furnished him with supplies for his journey.

Bonner, the sworn enemy of Cranmer, had industriously propagated a report, that the archbishop had promised the queen to make a public recantation of his errors, and to return into the bosom of the Roman church. This report so exasperated the good old prelate, who perceived that Bonner's sole intention in propagating so base a calumny, was to delude the people into a compliance with popery under the sanction of his name, that he thought it incumbent on him to draw up some public testimony against this aspersions. He accordingly wrote a declaration, in which he called the queen herself to witness that he never made any such declaration as his enemies alleged; and offered, with the assistance of Peter Martyr, and four or five others whom he would name, to defend, against any number of catholic divines, in a public disputation, the liturgy, doctrines, and every part of the reformation, and to prove the whole to be agreeable to the tenets and practice of the primitive church, and warranted by the holy scriptures. He added, "that as the devil was a liar from the beginning and the father of lies, so he had, at this time stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and his true religion; that the lying spirit now endeavoured to restore the latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effectuate his purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's name and authority." This inflammatory paper raised the fury of the catholics, and the rather as they well knew the abilities of the protestant divines he mentioned, and did not chuse to enter the lists with such able disputants. Cranmer was, therefore, committed to prison, tried for the part he had acted in opposing the queen's accession, and sentence of high treason was pronounced against him. The sentence was not, however, executed; Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment. He had been doomed to destruction the moment Mary ascended the throne, though the apology he published hastened his imprisonment. Mary should have remembered that Cranmer had done her many good offices with her father; it was owing to his interposition that the severe prejudices that monarch had entertained against her were mitigated; but being the person who pronounced her mother's divorce, and the author of the establishment of the Reformation in England, he became the object of her most inveterate hatred.

The imprisonment of the primate was followed by that of bishop Latimer. Nor was there hardly a bishop, or even a preacher who had signalized himself in establishing the tenets of the Reformation, and did not either recant or fly beyond the seas, that escaped either deprivation or imprisonment. John a Lasco, a Prussian nobleman and minister of the German protestant church in Austin-friars, with all the other reformed preachers, who were foreigners, were banished the kingdom. These were followed by a great number of English families, who had embraced the Reformation. They foresaw that the destructive hand of bigotry would soon light the flames of persecution in their unhappy country, and were unwilling to behold the miseries of their fellow-subjects.

The people had now no hopes of redress but from the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the fifth of October. But they soon found that the commons had now lost that spirit they exerted in the case of Tonstal. It was barely necessary to speak the word, and the national religion was changed. The nobles knew it was their interest to support the queen, and the commons were most of them papists. Mary was well informed of this, and therefore ordered a

mass of the Holy Ghost to be performed in latin, with all the ancient ceremonies, before both houses of parliament, on the first day of opening the session, though directly contrary to an act of parliament. Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Harley, bishop of Hereford, nobly supported the laws of their country: they refused to kneel, and were immediately thrust by violence out of the house. This violation of the laws of Edward was followed by an act that abolished them. Thus, by bringing things back to the state in which they were at the death of Henry the eighth, the mass was established, and Mary continued in possession of the title of supreme head of the church. Here it was thought she would have stopped, and it was pretended, that the other abuses of popery, which were chiefly grievous to the nation, would never be revived. But it soon appeared that this was only the first step towards establishing the Romish religion in England. The parliament, however, passed an act of a popular nature. They abolished every species of treason which was contained in the statute of Edward III. and every species of felony which did not subsist before the first year of Henry VIII.

But however ready the parliament might be in gratifying the queen with regard to the affairs of religion, they were determined to follow their own judgment in other articles. Among those her choice of a husband appeared of so much importance to the interest of the nation, that they resolved not to submit tamely, in that respect, to her will and pleasure. The ambitious Charles V. having by his despotism and disregard to the principles of natural justice, occasioned a revolt in the empire, and been obliged to submit to articles of peace, which secured the independency of Germany, was very desirous of retrieving his losses by acquiring the crown of England to his family. His son Philip was a widower, and the emperor immediately on the death of Edward, sent over an agent to signify his intentions to the queen. Mary, who was very desirous of being united with a house from whence she derived her origin, and which might afford her assistance in the execution of her designs with regard to the catholic religion, embraced the offer with great satisfaction. The negotiations were carried on with the utmost secrecy and success. But the commons were no sooner informed of this intended marriage, than they made it known to the whole nation. The parliament were greatly alarmed with the thoughts of an alliance which they considered as prejudicial to their country; they could not bear the thoughts of seeing a Spaniard on the throne of England, especially one who had already patronized the inquisition in his own dominions, and recorded his cruelty with the blood of the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, Naples, Sicily and Milan. The commons now shook off their submission to the court, and boldly remonstrated on this delicate subject. Mary expected not such spirited measures, and the next day dissolved the parliament.

Gardiner was charmed at the boldness of the commons, and advised the queen to suspend the progress of the ecclesiastical innovations till after the marriage was completed, as he foresaw that the assistance of Spain would be necessary to complete the intended design. He added, that as great pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point was urged, at the same time with the further innovations in religion, it would possibly occasion a general revolt and insurrection. The queen had some time before desired pope Julius III. to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see; and requested that cardinal Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office. The nomination of Pole to perform this ceremony was not agreeable either to the emperor or Gardiner. The cardinal, though more sincere in his religious opinions, was less guided by maxims of civil policy than the English prelate. Pole was therefore stopped by order of the emperor at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube,



Danube, and Charles afterwards obtained Mary's consent for this detention.

But however cogent the reasons of Gardiner might be with regard to suspending the ecclesiastical innovations, they were not sufficient to restrain the furious zeal of Mary; she caused the new statutes to be carried into execution with the utmost rigour. The mass was universally restored. Celibacy was exacted of the priesthood, and vast numbers of the clergy were deprived of their benefices, for having availed themselves of the indulgences of their late beloved monarch. A visitation was appointed in order to restore more perfectly the ancient rites. The visitors were enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy from being taken by the clergy on their promotion to any benefice; notwithstanding the laws of Henry VIII. were still in force. So contradictory are generally the actions of bigotted enthusiasts.

A. D. 1554. The Spanish marriage was at last concluded, and that it might give as little disgust as possible, the articles were drawn up very favourable and even advantageous to England. It was agreed, that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be solely in the hands of the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, or privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled on her as a jointure; that the male issue of the marriage should inherit together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die, and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

The publication of these articles, instead of pleasing the English occasioned a general discontent. They distrusted, with reason, the artful emperor, and still more his son, who was equally inclined to superstition and tyranny. They were shocked with the idea of those barbarities which had torn in pieces the old and new worlds. The inquisition displayed itself in all its horrors; and the most specious advantages seemed only intended to veil the most hideous slavery. The spirit of revolt spread itself through the kingdom, and the people seemed determined to maintain their independence or perish in the attempt.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Kentish gentleman, very considerable on account of his ample fortune, and still more so by the opinion the world entertained of his virtues and abilities, engaged to arm the inhabitants of Kent, while Sir Peter Carew, a gentleman of great interest in the west of England, undertook to assemble the inhabitants of Devonshire. The duke of Suffolk also engaged in this insurrection, and promised to raise the Midland counties. Carew, prompted either by his impetuosity or his apprehensions, took up arms before the day appointed. In consequence of this rash action, his troops were soon dispersed by a body of the queen's forces, and he himself obliged to take refuge in France. Suffolk was more unfortunate; he was disappointed in his hopes of raising the inhabitants of the Midland parts of the kingdom, committed himself to the care of a servant, who betrayed him to the earl of Huntingdon, and he was sent a prisoner to London.

Wyat was at first successful. He summoned his friends to meet him in the field on the twenty-fifth of January, and was immediately joined by Sir Henry Inley, Sir George Harper, the two Knevets, Sir Thomas Colepepper, the two sons of lord Cobham, and many other gentlemen of distinction in Kent. Proper persons were immediately dispatched into different parts of the county, to rise the people, while he himself, with some of his principal followers, retired to Rochester, took possession of the bridge, and

fortified the eastern part of the city, which he intended as a rendezvous for his army. At the same time he ordered a manifesto to be published at Maidstone, and other places, against the queen's marriage, and invited every well wisher to his country to join him in his endeavours to defend England from the insolent and tyrannical government of a haughty foreigner. The people were soon alarmed at their danger, and flocked to Wyat's standard in considerable numbers.

This rebellion threw the queen and her council into great consternation. They were incapable of making any vigorous efforts against the force of a discontented people. The inclemency of the season rendered it very difficult to raise a number of forces, and those that had been collected to escort Mary to the capital, were disbanded. It was therefore determined to send an herald to Wyat, with assurance of a full pardon; but the herald not being suffered to deliver his message, the duke of Norfolk was dispatched against the rebels, at the head of six hundred of the trained-bands, and the queen's guards. The two parties soon met, but the very instant the duke's artillery began to play, the Londoners deserted and joined the insurgents. This treacherous action threw the duke into the utmost consternation. The ranks of his little army were thrown into confusion, and it was with great difficulty that he himself and Sir Henry Jernegan, captain of the queen's guards, were saved by a precipitate flight. Thus the rebels, without striking a blow, became masters of the field, the duke's baggage, and eight pieces of brass cannon.

Animated by this success, Wyat led his army towards the capital, persuaded that the Londoners would open their gates, and declare in his favour. At Dartford he was met by lord Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, who promised him, in the queen's name, every reasonable satisfaction he should require. This concession raised the presumption of Wyat; he now thought himself invincible, and had the insolence to demand possession of the tower, and of the queen's person, with authority to change the council at his pleasure. Hastings could not bear to hear such shameful conditions with any degree of patience; he defied Wyat, and returned immediately with Cornwallis to court.

The demands of Wyat increased the consternation of the council. The queen repaired to Guildhall, acquainted the citizens with the insolent answer of the rebels; asserted she had done nothing in the marriage treaty, without the advice of her council, and declared her resolution to throw herself upon the protection of the faithful city of London. Pleased with this condescension in their sovereign, the citizens resolved to oppose the rebels. They ordered the bridge to be strongly barricadoed, and every precaution to be taken that had any tendency to render the efforts of the insurgents abortive, should they attempt to force a passage into the city.

Wyat, who was ignorant of these resolutions, advanced as far as Southwark, in order to cross over the bridge into the city; but finding it would be difficult, if not impossible to force a passage, he determined to cross the Thames at Kingston; but found on his arrival, that the bridge was broken down. This obliged him to halt some time till the bridge was repaired. By these delays, the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost. He entered Westminster indeed without resistance; but no person of note joining him, his men became dispirited, and insensibly forsook their leader, who was at last taken prisoner near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkley. The principal leaders were also taken, and the scene closed with the most bloody executions. Above seventy persons suffered for this rebellion. It had been industriously reported, that Wyat on his examination, had accused the princess Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, as accomplices



places in this insurrection. But Wyatt took occasion to declare on the scaffold, before all the people, that they had no share whatever in his rebellion.

Several attempts had been made to accuse the princess Elizabeth of some design against the peace of the government, and she was in the utmost danger of falling a sacrifice to the malevolence of her sister. Her being the daughter of Anne Boleyn, her attracting, by her superior qualities, the regard of the nation, and her engaging the affections of Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who was allied to the crown, and on whom the queen had matrimonial views, were crimes which the gloomy soul of Mary could never forgive. She was shut up in the Tower, and all access to her denied. But the declaration made by Wyatt rendered it impossible to prove any thing against her; and she made to good a defence before the council, that there was not a single pretence left for keeping her in confinement. She was therefore restored to her liberty; but on refusing an offer of marriage made her by the duke of Savoy, she was again committed to custody, under a strong guard, at Woodstock. The earl of Devonshire experienced the same ungenerous treatment: he was equally innocent with the princess; nothing could be proved against him; but he was committed prisoner to Fotheringay castle.

Mary, who was incapable of generosity, and to whom the virtue of clemency was unknown, determined to remove every person from whom the least danger might be apprehended. Lady Jane Gray and her husband had languished in prison ever since the queen's accession, and it was now determined to finish the dismal tragedy. Fakenham, abbot of Westminster, was sent to the Tower to denounce the fatal message. Lady Jane received the tidings of death with great composure: she had long expected it; and the innocence of her life, as well as the long train of calamities she had suffered, rendered the passage through the valley of the shadow of death not unwelcome. During three days, the Romish priests were perpetually disturbing her with religious controversies; but even in these melancholy circumstances, lady Jane had presence of mind sufficient to baffle all their attempts: she defended the tenets of the Reformation with great learning and eloquence. She also wrote a letter, in the Greek language, to her sister Catherine, exhorting her to maintain, in every circumstance of life, a like steady perseverance. On the morning of her execution, her husband desired permission to see her, but she refused her consent: she feared the tenderness of a parting interview would overcome the fortitude of both, and render them incapable of finishing the period of life with that constancy which was necessary in their melancholy circumstances. "Our separation (said she) will only be for a moment; we shall soon rejoin each other in the regions above, where our affections will be for ever united, and where the storms of adversity, and even death itself, can never afflict us more." She beheld, from the window of her prison, with steadiness and composure, her husband carried to execution, and his headless trunk brought back to the Tower. And being informed that he met death with great tranquillity, she expressed an eagerness to follow him.

It was at first intended to have executed them both on the same scaffold erected on Tower-hill; but the council fearing that the compassion of the people, arising from their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, might excite some dangerous commotion, it was thought proper to alter the resolution, and orders were accordingly issued that lady Jane should be executed within the walls of the Tower. When she entered the scaffold, Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, begged her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep in perpetual remembrance of her. She gave him her table-book, wherein she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body; one in Greek, one in Latin, and the other in English. At the moment of execution, without complaining of any one, she acknowledged

that her punishment was just, for having, though contrary to her own inclinations, submitted to become the instrument of the ambition of others. She added, that her example might be of some use to posterity; and teach the world, that without personal guilt, we may be justly punished for circumstances which tend to the prejudice of the state. Thus fell, in the bloom of life, the lady Jane Gray, whose innocence merited a much better fate. She was only in the seventeenth year of her age; but her beauty, spirit, sense, and virtue, did honour to her country; and her happiness, had she been left to the indulgence of her own studious inclinations, would have been more to be envied than that of princes: but the fatal ambition of her family cropt the lovely flower before it was expanded in its full lustre.

The duke of Suffolk was soon after tried and executed. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was also impeached, but owed his deliverance to the amazing spirit and abilities he discovered on his trial. He challenged the court to bring proof of any one overt-act of the treason of which he was indicted; and no positive proof being produced, he was acquitted by his jury. But so great was the power of the judge, and so malignant the spirit of the ministry, that the jury, for daring to obey the dictates of their own consciences, were prosecuted, and severely fined. John Throgmorton experienced the effect which such severe and despotic proceedings produce on the human mind. Though equally innocent, he was condemned on the same proofs which were thought so weak in the case of his brother.

By these perversions of law and justice, the government became every day more odious; and it was thought necessary to disarm the people, to prevent insurrections. In the mean time, the queen summoned a parliament; and Gardiner, who had received vast remittances from the emperor, employed the money in corrupting the members to a degree till that time unprecedented in England. The bishop, as chancellor, opened the session in a speech, in which he maintained the queen's hereditary title to the crown; affirmed she had a right to chuse a husband for herself; observed the good use she had made of that right, by preferring an old ally, sprung from the house of Burgundy; mentioned the posterity of Henry VIII. of whom there were now surviving but the queen and the lady Elizabeth; and added, that in order to prevent the calamities which might result from the claims of different pretenders to the crown, it would be necessary to grant the queen a power of naming her successor; a power, said he, which ought not to be considered as a new thing in England, because it had been formerly bestowed on Henry VIII.

The parliament were sufficiently inclined to gratify the queen in all her reasonable desires: but when the liberty, the independence, and even the very being of the nation, were exposed to such imminent danger, they could not by any means be persuaded to comply. They were no strangers to the inveterate hatred the queen bore to the lady Elizabeth, nor to her strong attachment to the house of Austria. They remembered her bigotry and superstition, which prompted her to prefer the establishment of the Catholic religion to all considerations of justice and national interest. They observed that Gardiner, in his speech, had carefully avoided giving Elizabeth the title of the queen's sister, and thence inferred, that a design was formed of declaring her illegitimate. They apprehended, that Mary, if invested with the power she demanded, would bequeath the crown to her husband, and, by that means, render England a province of the Spanish monarchy. They were the more inclined to entertain these suspicions, when they heard that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster was carefully traced and explained, and that he was represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

Convinced of their danger, and determined never to part with their independence, the parliament resolved



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



DEATH of LADY JANE GRAY





solved not to intrust the queen with the power she demanded. They saw the precipice, and were desirous of keeping at a secure distance from its brink. They could not refuse confirming the articles of the marriage, because they were extremely advantageous to England; but they absolutely refused to agree to any such law as was recommended by the chancellor. They would not even declare it treason to attempt the death of the queen's husband while she was alive; and a bill being brought in for that purpose, it was rejected at its first reading. At the same time, in order to deprive Philip of all hopes of ever being able to exercise any authority in England, they enacted a law, by which it was declared, "That her majesty, as their only queen, should solely, and as sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms; with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courtesy of the realm, or by any other means."

Nor was the spirit of the parliament, notwithstanding all the corrupt practices of Gardiner, confined to the queen's marriage: they opposed the measures of the court in other instances. Bills were brought in for suppressing the many dangerous and erroneous opinions contained in books published by the reformers; for reviving the statute of the six articles; with those against the Lollards, and those against heresy and erroneous preaching; but they were all thrown out by the Commons. A sufficient proof, that however inclinable the parliament might be to gratify the court in some points, they were yet determined to follow their own judgment in others. Provoked at these repeated oppositions, Mary thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

Philip was not in haste to embark for England; and the queen, consumed by impatience, expected him with a degree of anxiety that affected her health. At length he arrived at Southampton on the nineteenth of July. Philip, on his first landing, drew his sword, and carried it for some time naked in his hand; and when the magistrates presented him with the keys of their town, he received them without speaking a single word. The queen met the prince at Winchester, where the marriage ceremony was performed, with great pomp and splendor, by bishop Gardiner. Philip was not formed to attract the affection of the English: his cold, reserved, imperious air, and the vexatious ceremony, that, in a manner, cut off all access to his person, rendered him obnoxious to the people. Mary, however, loved him, even for the same qualities that acquired him the hatred of others. The only way to Philip's heart was to gratify his ambition.

Gardiner had been some time employed in influencing the elections for members to serve in the ensuing parliament. No endeavours to obtain this necessary acquisition were neglected: bribery, corruption, promises and menaces, were employed by the chancellor's emissaries. By these measures, a parliament was secured, that were ready to signalize their zeal for the Romish church, whenever the court thought it necessary to introduce any bill for that purpose. At their meeting, the king and queen rode together on horseback, in their robes, to the parliament-house, two swords of state and two caps of maintenance being borne before them. The first act of the senate was to secure the admission of cardinal Pole, invested with the dignity of legate; and in order to this, the late act of attainder passed against him was annulled; and the queen, by her prerogative, dispensing with long established statutes, he was empowered to act in his office of legation. On his arrival at London, he exhorted the parliament to be reconciled to the holy see: upon which the two houses expressed their regret at being separated from the Church, and their resolution to annihilate every thing that schism had attempted against it. They requested absolution in the most humble manner. This the

cardinal readily granted; and, in the name of the sovereign pontiff, removed all censures. It was with equal surprize and joy that Julius III. received this important intelligence. But the submission would never have been made by the nobility who were in possession of the church-lands; had not measures been prudently taken to assure them that their estates should not be taken from them. The parliament accordingly confirmed their possession; and they, in return, did not hesitate to come into all the measures of the court: they readily sacrificed their liberty, and the exercise of their reason, at the altar of superstitious bigotry: they shewed the utmost indifference with regard to religion, or even the lives of their fellow-subjects; and renewed the old sanguinary laws against heretics which had been abolished in the reign of Edward VI. and once more lighted up the piles for consuming all who thought differently from the Roman church. Such, however, was their rooted aversion to Spain, that though the queen laboured with the utmost assiduity to procure her husband to be declared presumptive heir to the crown, and invested with the administration of public affairs, she failed in both attempts: she could not even prevail upon the parliament to agree to his coronation, nor obtain from the Commons a subsidy for assisting the emperor in his war against France.

Conscious of the general odium under which he laboured, Philip altered his conduct, and endeavoured to obtain the favour of the public by procuring the enlargement of several persons of distinction, who had been confined in consequence of the jealousy or resentment of the court; but nothing was more acceptable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the malice and cruelty of her sister; and obtaining for her the enjoyment of her liberty. He well knew, that if this princeess fell a sacrifice to the malevolent disposition of the queen, Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, and wife to the dauphin of France, was the next in the order of succession, and consequently, that England would be annexed to that crown. To prevent an incident of such importance to his own tranquillity, Philip affected a generosity little consistent with his real character.

A. D. 1555. But even those acts of clemency could not procure him the favour of the Commons; they firmly refused to grant him any power in the administration; and the queen perceiving that it would be in vain to make any farther attempts, dissolved the parliament. A splendid embassy was soon after sent to Rome, to inform his holiness of all that had been transacted in the English parliament; and to make tenders of submission to the holy see in the name of the king, queen, and three estates of England. But before their arrival, Julius III. was dead, and St. Peter's chair filled by Paul IV. a proud, haughty, insolent ecclesiastic: He was so far from receiving the English ambassadors with that kindness they had reason to expect, that he refused to give them audience, because Mary had styled herself queen of Ireland, as well as England; a title which neither herself, nor any of her predecessors, had received from the holy see. In consequence of this, they were obliged to wait till a bull was expedited for investing Mary with that title, and then they were admitted to an audience. The pope appeared astonished when the ambassadors expressed their hopes that he would confirm to the laity the possession of the church-lands. He blamed Pole for exceeding his commission; and wondered how any person could presume to harbour a thought, that he would grant any confirmation to acts in themselves iniquitous and sacrilegious. He even issued a bull, denouncing the severest anathemas upon all who should withhold from the church, or the religious orders, any part of their property. He also demanded Peter-pence, which had been so long abolished. The nobility heard of these determinations of the pontiff without emotion; the thunder of the Vatican had lost its force in England, except among a few enthusiastic bigots who still



trembled at the threatenings of the holy father. Among these was the queen herself, who, notwithstanding the measures pursued at the commencement of her reign, thought herself obliged to give up such church-lands as remained in her possession, and to found new monasteries till the treasury was exhausted. It was in vain that the council represented to her the interest of her crown; "I prefer (said she) the salvation of my soul to ten such kingdoms as England."

In the mean time, the ministry was chiefly engaged in consulting the methods proper to be pursued for re-establishing the ancient religion. Cardinal Pole, and bishop Gardiner, were the two churchmen most in favour, and between these a very important question was frequently debated before the queen and council, namely, Whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be executed in their full extent and rigour, or should only be employed to prevent the reformers from making any farther innovations. Pole, sincerely attached to the Catholic faith, and virtuous from principle, was for moderation and indulgence. Gardiner, who had politically complied with all the caprices of Henry VIII. and who would have been equally complaisant to his successor, had he not been driven to extremities, a zealot from interest, indifferent by principle, was for violence and punishment. The legate maintained, that nothing could be more contradictory to the spirit of Christianity than religious persecutions; that while they punish an error as a crime, they overturn at once society and its laws: at the same time, they give the most convincing reason to suspect, that those who employ them are by no means convinced of the truth of the doctrines they are solicitous to establish, because they seem afraid of submitting their cause to be decided by fair and impartial argument. He added, that such treatment could only make hypocrites, or, what is still worse, outrageous fanatics; and that experience had sufficiently proved, that instead of producing uniformity in religion, it usually increases the progress of heresy, by irritating the zeal of sectaries, who gain proselytes by the exemplary patience of their martyred brethren. On the other hand, a prudent indulgence extinguishes the zeal of sects, prevents the spirit of cavilling and revolting; the attachment to any particular tenets gradually decays; the common occupations and pleasures of life succeed to the acrimony of disputation; and the same person who would before have set flames and tortures at defiance, is engaged to change his religion from the smallest prospect of favour and advancement, or even from the frivolous hopes of becoming more fashionable in his principles.

Gardiner opposed these arguments urged by the legate with reasons more adapted to the gloomy, malevolent mind of the queen and her husband. He asserted, that this political conduct had nothing to do with religion. "If the Divinity (said the chancellor) has thought proper to reveal certain principles to mankind, it is ridiculous to suppose that he has not given a criterion by which they may be ascertained; and a prince who knowingly allows these principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission to the vending poison, under the form of bread, to his subjects. No human motive can stand in competition with the cause of heaven. The more severe the punishment, the sooner heresy will expire, and the more effectually will the public utility be consulted. Have not even the Protestants themselves made use of the same punishments? Did not Calvin cause Servetus to be burnt at Geneva? And did not Cranmer bring Arians and Anabaptists to the stake? If terror makes hypocrites, children at least, who are brought up in orthodox principles, will not imitate the hypocrisy of their fathers; they will preserve the precious pledge of faith, though obtained, perhaps, by the dissimulation of their parents."

These reasons, however inconclusive in themselves, were adopted by the bigotted Mary; but willing, at

the same time, to pay some regard to the counsels of Pole, she ordered him to take upon himself the reformation of the clergy, and charged Gardiner with the work of extirpating the Protestant religion. It was now determined to execute the laws against heresy in their full force; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which has ever since rendered the Catholic religion the object of general detestation. We could wish, indeed, for the honour of humanity, that the mantle of oblivion could be drawn over these detestable actions; but the pen of history must not dissemble the excesses and dreadful consequences of bigotted zeal. The horrid scenes which must be displayed furnish an important, though a melancholy, lesson to mankind.

The two first victims of religious fury were Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's; both eminent for their learning, their piety, and their virtue. But Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character; vainly imagining, that terror would force them to submission; and that their example, either of punishment or recantation, would naturally influence the multitude. Rogers had preserved the life of Bourne, the popish preacher at St. Paul's, at the hazard of his own; and therefore deserved some favour at the hands of Gardiner, who was no stranger to that circumstance; but no regard was shewn to this eminent preacher; the dictates of justice and humanity had lost their force. Rogers was even denied the favour of seeing his wife and children, whom he tenderly loved. But this denial could not shake his constancy: the ties of nature gave way to the influence of religion; and he went with cheerfulness to the stake, and perished in the flames with unshaken constancy.

Hooper behaved with all the fortitude of a primitive martyr, and shewed a noble contempt for all the insults he received. He was tried with Rogers in London, but sent down to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance, which was contrived to strike a greater terror into his flock, was a source of satisfaction to Hooper, who sincerely rejoiced in having an opportunity of giving testimony, by his death, to the doctrine he had formerly inculcated from the pulpit. When he was fastened to the stake, a stool was placed before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, and which it was still in his power to merit by his recantation. But life, on such conditions, was despised: he ordered it to be removed, and cheerfully prepared himself to suffer the sentence pronounced against him by his enemies. His death was attended with every circumstance that could heighten its severity. The wind, which was very strong, blew the flames of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not easily take fire; all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were affected; one arm dropped off, while he continued to beat his breast with the other. He was heard to pray, and exhort the people to adhere to their religion, until his tongue, swollen with the violence of the agony, stopped his speech. He was full three quarters of an hour in torture, but bore the whole with a constancy that was truly astonishing.

About the same time, Mr. Laurence Saunders, minister of Allhallows, Bread-street; and Mr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, were delivered over to the secular arm, and sealed the truth of the doctrines they had taught with their blood. Saunders suffered at Coventry, and was also indulged with the offer of a pardon; but he rejected it with disdain, and embraced the stake, crying out, "I salute thee, O cross of Jesus Christ, O life eternal!" Taylor was executed among his ancient friends and parishioners; and repeated, in the midst of the flames, a psalm in English. On which one of the guards struck him on the mouth, and bid him pray in Latin. Another, still more violent, struck him on the head with his halbert, and the blow put a period to his life.

These inhuman executions, merely for the sake of opinion, enflamed the nation, and Gardiner began to



be under apprehensions for his safety. Perhaps the dictates of conscience; or the soft whifpers of humanity, might also have some place in causing him to wish he had never engaged as a principal in these barbarous executions. But however that be, he refused to act any longer; and devolved his odious commission on Bonner, bishop of London; a man of the most profligate and abandoned morals; and, at the same time, of so savage and cruel a disposition, that he seemed to delight in the torments of those unfortunate persons whom his iniquitous sentences committed to the flames.

The retreat of Gardiner did not, however, abate the fury of persecution. Human nature appears not, on any occasion, so detestable, and, at the same time, so absurd, as in these religious persecutions, which sink men below infernal spirits in wickedness, and below the beasts in folly. It would be useless to multiply instances of this kind; the savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are similar in all. A few more will, therefore, be abundantly sufficient.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burnt at Caermarthen. He appealed to cardinal Pole, but it was not regarded, and he received the crown of martyrdom. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, the old bishop of Worcester, were burnt at Oxford. They were both celebrated for their learning and virtue, and both perished in the same flames. They mutually exhorted each other to patience; and, when fastened to the stake, Latimer cried out, "Courage, my brother! we shall this day kindle such a torch in England; as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." Thomas Hawkes, when bound to the stake, told his friends, that if he found the torture supportable, he would give them a sign, and failed not to do it. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered so amazingly supported him, that he stretched out his hands, the signal agreed upon, and in that posture expired.

The passion for martyrdom, infused by these examples, communicated itself to the young as well as to the old, and even to women. One of the sex, whom they executed, was pregnant, and near the time of her delivery when she suffered. The excruciating tortures excited the pains of labour, and she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards, more merciful than the rest, snatched the helpless infant from the fire; but a barbarous magistrate commanded it to be thrown back into the flames, saying, that the offspring of an heretical parent should not be suffered to live.

These unhappy people, though condemned to tortures shocking to humanity, were not always convicted of having inculcated tenets contrary to the established religion: they were taken up merely on suspicion, and condemned on refusing to sign certain articles. Hence they excited the concern and admiration of their own party, and a general hatred against the government. Philip perceived the whole nation was agitated; and, by an artifice suitable to his character, endeavoured to throw the whole odium of these barbarities on the English bishops. He ordered friar Alphons, his confessor, to disclaim these sanguinary proceedings from the pulpit. The ecclesiastic obeyed; and, in a sermon preached before their majesties, he exclaimed against all religious persecution, and accused the bishops of all the barbarities that had been inflicted on the Protestants. Alarmed at this charge, Bonner himself refused to be any longer concerned in such sanguinary proceedings, unless others, as well as himself, were involved in the odium. The fires of persecution ceased for a time, and repeated orders were sent from the council to quicken their diligence. At last the court threw off the cloak of dissimulation, and acted in an open manner. A kind of inquisition was established, by appointing commissioners to take an exact account of all heresies; to punish all neglects of the Catholic worship in churches and chapels; to proceed against

the clergy who did not preach the doctrine of the eucharist; to punish every person who did not hear mass, who did not assist at the service of the church, who did not receive the eucharist, or use the holy water. The justices of the peace were ordered to appoint spies over the conduct of the people: to summon the accused, without discovering the accuser, and to put to the torture such obstinate persons who would not confess. Nor did the tyranny of the court terminate here; a proclamation was issued, commanding all who were possessed of heretical books, to burn them without reading or shewing them to others: and declaring that all who refused to pay an implicit obedience to these orders should be deemed rebels, and executed immediately by martial law.

England was now reduced to a more deplorable condition than ever Spain itself, where the inquisition is established with all its horrors. But still the protestants supported their tenets with astonishing resolution, and the doctrines of the reformation increased surprizingly amidst these complicated scenes of horror and distress. The iron rod of tyranny was displayed in vain; every martyrdom was equivalent to a thousand sermons against popery; and the ashes of the sufferer, like seed disseminated in a fertile soil, produced an hundred fold. The protestants were far more numerous at the close, than in the beginning of this bloody reign; though it is computed, that in the space of three years, no less than two hundred and seventy-seven persons were burnt for heresy, among whom were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers; fifty-five women and four children.

The execution of archbishop Cranmer, filled up the measure of iniquity in this atrocious reign. He had been long confined in prison, and it was now determined to punish him as a heretic. He was tried before Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, a commissioner from the pope. Dr. Martin and Dr. Godwin, accused him of being twice married, of keeping a wife secretly in the reign of Henry VIII. and openly in the reign of his successor, of publishing books against, and forsaking the doctrines of the Roman church; and of denying the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. He owned the facts, and they cited him to appear before the pope in eight days, though they knew it was impossible, as he was then their prisoner. He was, however, on not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirley, bishop of Ely, were sent down to Oxford to degrade him. The former performed his office with his usual insolence, using the most bitter raileries and invectives against the prisoner, during the ceremony, while Thirley melted into tears. The primate's behaviour was uniform and becoming his unfortunate circumstances. He said he was not sorry to be thus cut off with all his pageantry from his relation to the see of Rome; but thought it great injustice to condemn him for not going to that capital, when they kept him close confined in prison. At the same time he denied the pope's authority over him; and appealed from his sentence to a free general council.

Though the queen was satisfied that Cranmer would perish eternally, she was desirous of augmenting the weight of his misfortune, by ruining his honour and consigning his name over to infamy. Persons were accordingly employed to attack him; not by reason and argument, against which they knew he was too well prepared, but by the most artful flattery, insinuation, and address. They displayed before him, in the most fairest point of light, the dignities and honours to which his character still entitled him; if he would merit them by a recantation: they flattered him with long enjoying these powerful friends whom his humanity and beneficence had procured him during the course of his prosperity; and the great advantages that might yet result to society by his labours. These insinuations shook the firmness of the primate,



primate, who influenced by that love of life so deeply engraven in the human heart, and terrified at the prospect of those dreadful tortures he was condemned to suffer, permitted, in an unguarded hour, the feelings of nature to over power his resolution; he agreed to sign a paper, acknowledging the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. The queen, whose perfidy was exceeded only by her cruelty, resolved that this recantation should not save his life. She sent orders that he should acknowledge his errors in the church before the whole congregation, and thence be led immediately to execution.

But the malevolence of Mary was for once disappointed. Cranmer had now resumed his proper dignity, had sincerely repented of his weakness and apostacy, and determined, instead of the declaration they expected, to speak the real sentiments of his heart without disguise. He accordingly began his address to the audience with observing, that he was sufficiently acquainted with the obedience he owed to his sovereign, and the laws of his country; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever punishment they might inflict upon him; that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to maintain the truth on all occasions, and not to abandon, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had imparted to mankind; that there was one error in his life, which, above all others, filled him with the most unfeigned sorrow and repentance, the insincere declaration of faith to which he had unhappily been induced to agree, and which nothing but the fear of death could have extorted from him; that he cheerfully embraced the present opportunity of atoning for his crime, by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal with his blood that doctrine which he verily believed to be revealed from heaven; and that as his hand had erred in betraying his heart, it should first be punished, and by a severe, but just sentence, first expiate the guilt of that crime which it had been the instrument of committing.

Exasperated at their disappointment, his enemies dragged him from the church, and conducted him to the stake amidst the shouts and insults of the catholics. But having now collected the whole force and vigour of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with surprizing courage: he stretched out his right-hand, and without discovering the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, held it in the flames till it dropt off. His mind seemed to be wholly possessed with reflecting on his former fault, and he was heard to exclaim several times, "This unworthy hand has offended." Satisfied with that atonement, he re-assumed a wonderful composure and serenity of countenance: and when the fire surrounded his body, he seemed to be entirely insensible of all his outward sufferings, and by the force of hope and christian fortitude, to have raised himself above all bodily sensations, and to triumph over the fury of the flames. Cranmer was a man of the most amiable character; equally distinguished by his piety and learning, and possessed of candour, sincerity, benevolence, and indeed of almost every virtue that could render him the object of public esteem and veneration. His death was lamented by the ingenuous of all parties, and he is considered as the hero of the protestant faith. Cardinal Pole succeeded him in the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; and sincerely disapproved of the violent measures of the court, but wanted power to oppose its sanguinary proceedings.

It is not at all surprizing that Mary should be guilty of these shocking cruelties, as she was almost destitute of education, extremely bigotted to her own resolution, and of a gloomy, malevolent disposition; but it is astonishing, that, considering the state of the kingdom at that period, when the number of

protestants greatly exceeded that of the catholics, she was suffered to survive one moment the commission of such horrid barbarities. It was not, however, long before she felt the effect of the public hatred. The ministry became extremely unpopular; and every thing bore the marks of disgust and aversion. Mary's ill temper was increased by several mortifications. She had flattered herself with an imaginary pregnancy, and when she found her mistake, she fell into a profound melancholy. Philip, disgusted with a wife who was extremely jealous, without being in any respect amiable, made preparations for returning to the continent. The choler which consumed her, she discharged upon the protestants, by daily enforcing the persecutions, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects, by whom she knew herself to be hated.

Philip had received an invitation from the emperor, together with a declaration of his intentions of resigning to him his dominions. He therefore took this opportunity of retiring to Flanders, and met his father at Brussels. Here the emperor instructed him in the art of government; and recommended to him the following maxims for his conduct, which Philip took no care to observe: "To think himself rich, when his subjects were so; and wise when he had wise counsellors; to govern his subjects rather by love than by fear; to let a small fault pass unpunished, rather than condemn an innocent person; to avoid the curiosity of searching into things done in private; to leave the secrets of men's hearts and thoughts to God, and the chastisement of interior offences to the divine vengeance; since, what the eyes of man could not see, it was not fit for their hands to punish. Had Charles himself directed his conduct by those maxims Germany and the Netherlands had not been deluged with blood, nor Europe been filled with widows and orphans. But the cool reflections of age had now discovered to him the emptiness of his former pursuits; and he found that the vain scheme of extending his empire, had been the source of endless opposition and disappointment, had kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the sole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care.

The parliament met on the twenty-first of October, but with visible discontent at the late proceedings. They indeed confirmed the queen's resignation of the first-fruits and tenths, but were so fearful of restoring to the clergy an authority so odious to the nation, and so highly offended at the queen's giving up the church lands, that it was with the utmost difficulty they granted a moderate supply. Mary therefore soon dissolved a parliament she found so untractable. This sudden change in the temper of the house of commons, is, perhaps, with justice, attributed to the death of Gardiner, who paid the debt of nature on the twelfth of November. By the death of this prelate, the queen was deprived of her ablest counsellor, and the only person in the ministry who had any great authority in the parliament. He was a person of a selfish character; a profound dissembler, and of a proud, vindictive and cruel disposition. He understood the canon and civil law as well as most of his time; he wrote latin with ease and purity, and few of his contemporaries excelled him in the knowledge of the Greek language. He is said to have felt some remorse in his last moments for the cruel persecutions he had carried on against the protestants, and to have exclaimed, "I have sinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter!"

A.D. 1556. The refusal of the parliament to grant the supplies necessary for satisfying the demands of Philip, so highly exasperated the queen, that she had recourse to every method in her power to extort money from her people. She levied a loan of sixty thousand pounds, upon a thousand persons; whom she was assured would not refuse to assist her; but that sum being insufficient to answer the end proposed, the



she exacted a general loan of an hundred pounds a piece of all persons possessed of twenty pounds a year; she extorted sixty thousand marks from seven thousand yeomen; who had not contributed to former loans; and exacted sixty thousand pounds from the cloth-merchants of London trading to Antwerp, which they refused, having advanced her large sums already. But Mary was determined not to be disappointed; and having received advice that they had shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, she seized both ships and cargo, laying upon them a new subsidy of twenty shillings for each piece of cloth; by an arbitrary stretch of the royal prerogative; nor could they procure this imposition to be abolished, till they had agreed to advance forty thousand pounds, and to engage to pay twenty thousand more in a limited time. All these violent and oppressive measures were pursued at a time when England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and when Mary herself had no other occasion for money than to satisfy the exorbitant demands of a husband, who was equally regardless of her love and her generosity, and attended to nothing but his own interest.

The power of Philip now rose to the highest pitch by the retreat of Charles V. his father, who, though still in the vigour of his age, had determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retirement, that happiness he had so ardently pursued in vain amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He accordingly embarked on board a fleet, sailed immediately to Spain, and took his journey to St. Just, a monastery in Estramedura, which being situated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place where he intended to end his days in solitude and contemplation. He was soon convinced that the homage he had received, had been paid to his fortune rather than to his person. He, however, pursued his design with undaunted resolution, and shut himself up in his retreat. Being thus secluded from the world, he amused himself in examining the religious controversies which had so much agitated Europe in his reign, and in imitating the works of celebrated mechanics. Among the rest the construction of clocks and watches engaged his attention, and never being able to make two go in a perfect equality of time, he concluded from thence that it was impossible for men to agree exactly in the articles of faith; and that it was unjust to punish them for their opinions. This conclusion proved, at least, that he had changed his own. Notwithstanding the ingratitude of his son Philip, who no sooner succeeded than he neglected him, he endeavoured to make him master of the empire, with all the other vast estates of the family. But Ferdinand the brother of Charles, who had been elected king of the Romans, would not come into his views; and the house of Austria was divided into two branches. Paul IV. refused to crown Ferdinand, alledging, that though on the death of an emperor he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet in case of a resignation, the right devolved to the holy see, and consequently it belonged to the pope alone to name an emperor.

That turbulent pontiff was a sworn enemy to the house of Austria, and accordingly engaged Henry II. of France to break the truce with Spain. Philip was not fond of war; his object was to govern by political resources, and flattered himself by that means alone to rise superior to all his enemies, and extend, at once, his authority and dominions. But being obliged to take up arms, he endeavoured to engage the English in his cause against France. Had the decision depended entirely upon the queen, he would have found no difficulty in his application; she was incapable of refusing the demands of a husband the so tenderly loved; but she had little influence in the council, and still less among the people: her government was hardly able to support itself in the midst of a profound peace.

A. D. 1557. Philip returned to England on the twentieth of March; and the nation was soon after

alarmed with accounts that a rebellion was broke out in the northern parts of the kingdom. Thomas Stafford, a lineal descendant from the late duke of Buckingham, and consequently possessed of a distant claim upon the crown, had for some time taken refuge in France, where he had been joined by several other disaffected persons; and, unhappily for themselves, mistaking the discontents of the people for an indication of their readiness to take up arms against the government, they attempted to excite an insurrection. About the latter end of April they landed in Scotland, marched directly to Scarborough, and seized the castle. Stafford now assumed the title of protector of the kingdom, and published a manifesto, pretending that the queen had forfeited her right to the crown by introducing Spaniards into England. But he soon found the people, however oppressed with regard to religion, were too cautious to join his standard. The earl of Westmoreland marched against him, defeated his little army, and took him prisoner. Persuaded that this attempt to disturb the internal peace of the kingdom was owing to the instigations of the French king, a resolution was taken in the council to declare war against that monarch, which was accordingly performed, with great solemnity, about the middle of June.

Having thus procured the assistance of the English, Philip passed over to the Low Countries; while his general, the duke of Savoy, strengthened with the junction of a body of British forces, entered Picardy, and St. Quintin. As the place was but poorly fortified, and defended only by a weak garrison, he hoped in a few days to compel it to surrender; but the governor, admiral Coligny, thinking it his duty to save so important a fortress, threw himself into the town, with a few battalions of French and Scots, and by his exhortations and example, encouraged the soldiers to make a vigorous defence. In the mean time he sent an express to his uncle, the constable Montmorency, then at the head of the French army, requesting a reinforcement. That general accordingly advanced towards St. Quintin, at the head of his whole army, in order to facilitate the attempt of throwing a body of forces into the town.

The duke of Savoy, one of the greatest generals of his age, informed of the constable's design, fell upon the reinforcement with such irresistible fury, that not more than five hundred men entered the place. Animated by this success, he attacked the constable, routed his whole army, and took him prisoner. Two thousand five hundred of the enemy fell on the field of battle, among whom were several princes and noblemen of the first distinction.

This defeat filled France with consternation; and the duke of Savoy, to improve the advantage he had gained over the enemy, dispatched the duke of Bedford, and the count of Egmont, at the head of four thousand men, to make an inroad into France. They obeyed their instructions, and ravaged the country to the distance of two and twenty miles, without meeting with the least resistance. The inhabitants of Paris were so terrified, that they began to fortify their city with the utmost expedition; and had the duke of Savoy marched directly to the capital, he had, in all probability, made himself master of the place; but he continued the siege of St. Quintin, which, by the bravery of the admiral, held out seventeen days, when it was taken by storm, and that gallant officer, with his brother, and all who had survived of the garrison, were made prisoners. The noble defence made by the admiral, saved France. The Spaniards lost the favourable opportunity of pushing their conquests, till the advanced season obliged them to go into winter quarters.

A. D. 1558. The French, in the mean time, recovered from their fears, and made the necessary preparations for rendering abortive any attempts of the enemy. They even formed an attempt for reducing Calais, a fortress considered as impregnable, especially during the winter. Among the papers of the



French admiral, taken prisoner at St. Quintin, some obscure hints of this design were found; and Philip failed not to inform Mary of the discovery he had made, and offered to supply her with troops to defend the place. But the English council considering this intimation as a stratagem of Philip to get possession of Calais, not only declined the offer, but neglected to put the place in a posture of defence, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of the governor.

The duke of Guise, lately created lieutenant-general of France, not content with fortifying the frontiers of the kingdom, resolved, even in the depth of winter, to attempt the reduction of Calais; an enterprize which France, during her greatest success, had always considered as impossible, and therefore seldom attempted. The place was commanded by lord Wentworth, a brave and experienced officer; but the garrison consisted only of five hundred soldiers, and about two hundred townsmen. The English having, at the end of autumn, drawn off a great part of the garrison, with an intention to replace them in the spring, when their attendance was thought absolutely necessary. Guise knew this, and determined to take advantage of his discovery.

Calais was surrounded by morasses on the land side, and could only be approached by a dyke, at the head of which was a bridge, defended by a fort called Newenham, about a quarter of a mile from the town. Near this fort was another, called St. Agatha; and the entrance of the harbour was defended by a castle, termed the Ryfbank. Such was the situation of Calais when Guise sat down before it, to the astonishment of all Europe. It was not even imagined that the French could be able to undertake any enterprize of consequence, so soon after the dreadful defeat they had suffered at St. Quintin.

When the duke of Guise began his march towards Calais, a fleet of French ships was sent into the channel, under pretence of cruising on the trading vessels of the English, but in reality to assist the land forces in their attempts upon a place deemed impregnable. The first operation of the French was against Fort Agatha, which the English, after a gallant defence, were forced to abandon. The garrison, however, threw themselves into Fort Newenham, which was immediately invested by the enemy. At the same time, the French ships cannonaded the Ryfbank, and both forts soon became untenable. Wentworth saw the necessity of abandoning these castles, as the greater part of his garrison was employed in defending them: he therefore gave orders for their capitulating with the enemy, and joining him in Calais, which, without their assistance, he was in no condition to defend. The garrison of Newenham followed his instructions, and were permitted to retire into the town: but those in the Ryfbank were not so fortunate; the French admiral refused to sign any capitulation; and the garrison were soon after obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

All access to Calais was now totally cut off; and the duke of Guise formed, with prodigious labour, a road, constructed with pitched hurdles, through the morasses, by the help of which a large detachment of his army lodged themselves behind some heights, near the walls of the town. Here they erected a battery of fifteen pieces of large cannon against the castle, in which a practicable breach was soon made. D'Andelot, brother to admiral Coligny, was now ordered to draw the water out of the ditch, and successfully executed the task in one night. The next day the duke ordered a general assault, which was made with such fury, that the breach was carried by storm, and the French effected a lodgment in the castle. During the ensuing night, Wentworth endeavoured to recover that post; but having lost two hundred men, and the French pouring such numbers into the castle, he thought any farther defence would be madness, and accordingly capitulated on the fol-

lowing conditions, the best he could obtain in his distressed situation: "That he himself should remain a prisoner of war, with fifty of the chief officers of his garrison: that the rest should be at liberty to retire, either to England or Flanders; and that the place, with all its provisions, ammunition, cannon, and riches, should be immediately delivered up to the French." This capitulation was signed on the seventeenth of January. Ham and Guisnes were taken by the twenty-second; and the duke of Guise reduced, in less than thirty days, and even in the depth of winter, what had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of an army flushed with the glory they had lately acquired in the fields of Cressy.

But instead of being roused to vengeance, they sunk in despair; their spirits were broken by a series of calamities and disgrace. Mary was so sensibly affected with the loss of Calais, that she abandoned herself to grief; and repeatedly declared to those about her, "That her end was approaching, and that she should never recover the effects of this misfortune." She, however, assembled the parliament, in order to obtain supplies. This was effected, though not without opposition from the Commons, who seemed determined to remonstrate against the abuse of prerogative. They also passed an act for confirming all alienations of crown-lands that the queen had made, or might think proper to make during the space of seven years to come. One Copley, a member of the house, having expressed his apprehensions, that the queen, under the sanction of this dangerous act, might alienate even the crown itself, to the prejudice of the lawful heir, was punished for his presumption.

But the government was much more intent on persecuting the Protestants at home, than in consulting the best means of repairing the national losses abroad. All who refused to conform to the Catholic religion, or were found possessed of what were then stiled heretical books, were punished without mercy; even the life of Elizabeth herself was perpetually in danger. Notwithstanding the protection of Philip, who was greatly interested in her safety, that princess had undoubtedly fallen a sacrifice to the cruel hatred of her sister, had she not, by the most prudent conduct, avoided every thing that might render her suspected, and disarmed even calumny itself. In the retreat where she resided, remote from the court, and surrounded with spies, she devoted herself wholly to study; and was preparing, in solitude and silence, for those important scenes in which she was soon to bear so distinguished a part. She made religion itself subservient to policy: she conformed to the established worship, though strongly attached to the Protestant principles. To have acted otherwise, would, indeed, have been no other than running headlong to death, and the time of her ascending the throne was at no great distance.

Though the English had refused the offer of Philip with regard to throwing a strong reinforcement into Calais, he made a proposal for assisting them to the utmost of his power in recovering that important fortress, before the season would permit the French to repair the works, which were now in a very bad condition. But this offer was also refused, and no military expedition attempted till the spring was considerably advanced, when a fleet of one hundred and forty sail of ships was fitted out, for revenging the insult upon the enemy. This fleet being reinforced with thirty Flemish ships, having on board a body of six thousand land forces, were sent to alarm the coast of France. They accordingly landed near Breff; but so little care had been taken to conceal the design, that the French were prepared for their reception; and the English were obliged to retreat to their ships, without having effected any thing of consequence.

A much smaller squadron, consisting only of ten ships, were, however, more fortunate; they had an opportunity of retorting upon the enemy the disgrace suffered by their countrymen. The marshal de Thermes, governor of Calais, invaded Flanders at  
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*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



the head of an army of fourteen thousand men. He crossed the Aa without opposition, and made himself master of Dunkirk and Berg St. Winloc. But being overtaken by the Spaniards under count Egmont, near Gravelines, a bloody contest ensued. While the two armies were closely engaged, and fortune seemed undetermined on which side to bestow the wreath of victory, the English men of war came into the harbour, and pointing their cannon against the flank of the French, made such a dreadful slaughter, that the whole army was thrown into confusion, and the Spaniards gained a complete victory.

This action was, however, little more than a prelude to the grand event which was every day expected. The two grand armies of France and Spain were now approaching each other; and as the two contending monarchs had come into their respective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, a general engagement, which would decide the contest, was thought to be inevitable. But Philip possessed not the enterprising spirit of a conqueror. Notwithstanding the great superiority of his numbers, and the two important victories he had lately obtained over the forces of the enemy, he chose rather to have recourse to negotiation than venture a battle. He demanded, among other articles, that Calais should be restored to the English; and Henry, that the kingdom of Navarre should be delivered to its right owner. But before any thing was determined between them, the queen of England died; and Philip being no longer connected with that kingdom, soon relaxed in his demands with regard to that capital article.

The health of Mary had been long declining. She had for some time been afflicted with a dropy, the consequence of her false conception, and the improper regimen she had pursued. The malady was greatly increased by the anxiety of her mind, which was now increased by the most painful reflections. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects; the mortification of being without children; the fear of leaving her crown to a sister whom she detested; the approaching ruin that threatened the Catholic religion; the indifference of a husband, who was going to retire into Spain; all these disagreeable reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a slow fever, of which she died on the seventeenth of November, in the forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign.

The character of Mary is so strongly marked in every action of her inglorious and unfortunate reign,

that the disagreeable task of a recapitulation may be well spared. She possessed few estimable or amiable qualities; nor was her person more engaging than her behaviour. Every circumstance of her character received a tincture from the badness of her temper, and the narrowness of her understanding. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny, were the ruling passions of her mind; and it will, perhaps, be difficult to find a single virtue among so remarkable a complication of vices.

Cardinal Pole, who had long laboured under an intermitting fever, died the same day with the queen. He was a person of great sweetness of temper, candour, and moderation, and was lamented by all who knew how to esteem those valuable qualities. In a nation where such cruel persecutions were carried on against the Reformation, Pole experienced not the hatred of the Protestants.

Neither the commerce nor the marine of England had yet obtained any respectable footing. Fourteen thousand pounds having been voted for the service of the navy, it was computed, that when this sum was expended, ten thousand pounds a year would be sufficient for its maintenance. The privileges of the German merchants were restored at the solicitation of the emperor; and no doubt was entertained with regard to the power of the crown to grant such an indulgence. A passage to Archangel had been discovered during the last reign, and tended greatly to improve the commerce of England with Muscovy. The Czar sent an embassy to the queen; and this was, probably, the first time that the Russian empire had any correspondence with the inhabitants of the western kingdoms.

By a law passed in Mary's reign, the number of horses and arms each person, in proportion to his abilities, should supply for the defence of the kingdom, was fixed. Those of the first class, consisting of all who inherited a thousand pounds a year, were to keep six horses; with their proper furniture for dragoons, and ten for the light horse. Exclusive of these, they were to furnish forty pikes, thirty halberds, twenty muskets, and twenty morions or sallets. This method was, doubtless, subject to many inconveniences; but the revenues of the crown, and the supplies of parliament, were so inconsiderable, that there was no other method of equipping the troops. The revenue of England, at that time, was very little more than three hundred thousand pounds a year.

## E L I Z A B E T H.

A. D. **T**HE arbitrary council of Mary were 1558. thrown into the utmost consternation at the death of the queen. The parliament was sitting when the event happened, and far from being pleased with the late transactions of the ministry. The latter well knew the consequence that would inevitably result from their acting by their own authority, and therefore resolved to inform the House of Lords that the throne was vacant. A short consultation ensued, and Elizabeth was unanimously declared the legal successor. The Commons followed their example; and that princess was immediately proclaimed at the usual places, while the Protestants and Papists seemed to vie with each other in shewing their joy on this happy occasion.

Elizabeth was then at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, where she had for some time resided, and where she received information of the steps taken in her favour by the parliament. The first act of her government was a proclamation, strictly enjoining "all her sub-

jects to keep the peace, and forbear all attempts, upon any pretence whatever, to break or alter any order or usage at that time established." This prudent measure was taken to prevent those disorders which there was too much reason to apprehend would otherwise have resulted from the intemperate zeal of some of the reformed, who, following the precedent given them by the popish party in the late reign, might have proceeded in an illegal and riotous manner in destroying the superstitious objects of the Catholics, and restoring the reformed method of worship, without waiting for the royal orders.

The queen was about twenty-five years of age, when she passed, as it were, from a prison to a throne. The remembrance of her misfortunes added a lustre to her merit, and she was considered as the deliverer of the kingdom. Born with superior talents, she had acquired, by study, the great art of government, and had in herself all the resources of genius, authority, and policy. Her compliances during the late reign had



had inspired the Catholics with hopes, that she was not so great an enemy to their religion as to the cruel and bloody methods made use of to enforce it; while the Protestants believed her to be sincerely a friend to their more humane and enlightened doctrine. She knew the advantage of keeping both parties in suspense, and accordingly formed her council of state out of persons of both religions.

Elizabeth seemed, on her change of fortune, to forget all the injuries she had received from her enemies. She returned thanks to heaven for her deliverance as for a miracle; but she wished not to make her persecutors feel the weight of the rod of retaliation. Even Sir Henry Bedingfield, who had been her keeper in prison, and who had even delighted in treating her with the utmost rigour, found her insensible to the desire of revenge. This noble instance of a superior understanding and beneficent disposition charmed her enemies; they were convinced that their religion would never be punished as a crime by a princess who cherished not the passion of revenge.

Philip received the news of Elizabeth's accession to the English throne with great surprize; but desirous of securing his interest in that kingdom, he ordered his minister to pay her his compliments on that occasion, and offer her proposals of marriage. He flattered himself with obtaining at last the government of that kingdom, over which Mary, or rather the parliament, had given him no power. But the queen knew too well the aversion of the English to an alliance with Spain; and, at the same time, was too fond of her own independence, to accept his proposals. Her desire of making an advantageous peace with France, before she declared her real intentions, induced her, however, to elude his offers, without appearing to reject them; and Philip, as if already sure of success, solicited a dispensation from the Roman pontiff.

Elizabeth was well acquainted with all the religious disputes which had so long divided Europe, and embraced the Protestant tenets from conviction. But though she was determined to restore the reformed worship in England, her ambassador at Rome received orders to notify to the pope her accession to the throne. Had the pontiff been the least desirous of supporting his own interest, and that of the holy see, he could not, on this critical occasion, have acted with too much prudence and moderation. But Paul IV. one of the most haughty and inflexible churchmen that ever filled the papal chair, instead of endeavouring to heal the breaches that had so long subsisted between the churches of Rome and England, behaved with all the insolence natural to his character. He declared, that the kingdom, being a fief of the holy see, it was an act of the highest presumption in Elizabeth to assume the title of queen without his concurrence; that her illegitimate birth excluded her from the right of succession; that he would not annul the decree passed against the marriage of her father with Anne Boleyn; but that if she would solicit his favour, he would shew her all the indulgence she could expect from the head of the church. The queen being informed of this answer, said, that the pope, in order to gain too much, was willing to lose the whole. She accordingly recalled her ambassador, and applied herself seriously to restore a religion altogether unfavourable to the papacy. But she used not terrifying, but conciliating measures. She withdrew not her favours from the Catholic party. When the bishops came in a body to pay her their obedience, she expressed her sentiments of regard for them all, except Bonner, from whom she turned aside as from a man polluted with blood, an object that excited horror in every heart susceptible of the tender feelings of humanity.

The violences of the preceding reign had sufficiently disposed the people to a change in religion: but she feared they would run into the opposite extreme, and severely retaliate on the Catholics the miseries they had suffered. In order, therefore, to

render this change less dangerous and more durable, she imitated not the precipitate conduct of her sister; she took her measures with caution, and ensured her success by the rectitude of her views. She soon perceived that the Protestant divines attacked, with all the virulence of religious zeal, the superstitious worship of the Roman church; and that the Papists retorted upon them with equal acrimony. She therefore published a proclamation, forbidding all preaching, without a special licence, that the pulpits might not be filled with the combustibles of discord. At the same time, she introduced such a number of Protestants into her council, as were sufficient to counterbalance the power of the Papists, should they exert themselves in favour of the ancient religion. She discharged from prison, or recalled from exile, those whose religion only had been their crime; and she ordered the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Gospel, to be read in English. The elevation of the host was discontinued, and a greater zeal was expressed for the Bible than for the Church of Rome.

These steps towards a reformation so alarmed the popish bishops, that, apprehending a total abolition of the papal power, together with the ceremonies of the church of Rome, would soon follow; or, perhaps, fearful of offending the holy father, who had scrupled to acknowledge the queen's title, and absolutely denied her legitimacy, they resolved not to officiate at her coronation. Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, alone opposed the resolution, and readily undertook to perform the ceremony.

A.D. 1559. On the fourteenth of January, Elizabeth passed from the Tower through the streets of London, in grand procession, to Westminster, amidst the acclamations of a prodigious number of spectators assembled on that occasion. The queen's behaviour was remarkable: she returned their applauses with such a modest affability and winning behaviour, as charmed the hearts of all beholders. But nothing displayed in a stronger light the religious sentiments of the citizens, or tended more to endear the new sovereign to the people, than her accepting of an English bible, richly gilt, which was let down, from a pageant in Cheapside, by a child representing Truth, who made the queen a speech on the occasion. Elizabeth received the book in both her hands; and having kissed it, held it up, and laid it on her bosom, promising to be diligent in reading it; and assuring the citizens, that she esteemed that gift more than all the costly presents they had made her. The next day the queen was crowned at Westminster with great solemnity.

The parliament, which assembled on the twenty-fifth of January, gave the queen every testimony of zealous loyalty and obedience. The two houses, after confirming her right to the crown, acknowledged her supremacy, and gave her, under the title of head of the church, the tenths, first-fruits, and impropriations, which had been restored to the pope by queen Mary, together with all the ecclesiastical authority which her father and her brother had enjoyed, and also a power of adjusting that authority to such commissioners, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, as she should think proper to nominate. Several penalties were threatened to all those who refused to take the oath of supremacy. The statutes of Edward VI. were confirmed. The mass and liturgy of the church of Rome were abolished.

All these changes took place without any disturbance, and almost without opposition. The affability of the queen, her address in gaining hearts, and directing opinions, her graceful dignity, her insinuating manners, subdued all the difficulties of the enterprise: she dispensed the national religion from her hand. So little did the cruelty of Mary contribute to the establishment of her equally cruel system of popery!

Nor did the affair of religion wholly engross the attention of the parliament. The commons, exclu-



five of tonnage and poundage, then considered as the property of the crown, voted new supplies to Elizabeth, and petitioned her in form to make choice of a husband. She answered, with great politeness, that she always considered marriage as a burden, and that while she was charged with the government of so great a kingdom, it seemed still more so; that the state was her husband, and the people of England her children; and that she should not think herself barren, nor her life unfruitful, while her days were devoted to the care of such a family. At the same time she gave them to understand, that any farther applications on that head would be disagreeable.

The bishops, however, still opposed the tenets of the Reformation; one only agreed to take the oath of supremacy, all the rest refused, and were deprived of their sees. But out of near ten thousand parishes contained in the kingdom, not more than twenty-four of the parochial clergy rejected the oath. Bonner alone felt the weight of the hand of authority; he was committed to the Marshalsea, and died in confinement. Some foreign princes interposed their good offices to procure the catholics the privilege of separate assemblies in particular cities, but the queen would not comply with their request; and represented the danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions. But in order to induce the catholics to join in the established worship, she caused every thing to be struck out of the new liturgy, that had any tendency to give them offence.

While the queen and parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negotiations for a peace were carrying on at Chateau-Cambrois, between the ministers of France, Spain and England. The treaty was at last concluded, by which Calais was given up to Henry, who, on the other hand, engaged to restore it at the end of eight years, provided, during that time, Elizabeth did not break the peace either with France or Scotland. All men of penetration easily saw, that this stipulation was nothing more than a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excused the queen for making the sacrifice on account of the necessity of her affairs, and even extolled her prudence in submitting without farther struggle to that necessity. A peace with Scotland followed as a necessary consequence of that with France. The treaty was more honourable for the king of Spain. Henry II. restored all the places he had conquered, and gave him his daughter in marriage. It was also agreed that Philibert, duke of Savoy, should marry the French king's sister. The ceremonies were accordingly performed, when Henry II. was accidentally killed by a wound he received in his eye from the splinter of a lance, at a tournament held in honour of the nuptials.

His son and successor Francis II. who had married Mary, queen of Scots, was a prince void of genius and experience. He was nothing more than an instrument in the hands of the Guises, who hurried him into measures which tended to augment their ambition and their vanity. Persuaded that the accession of England in right of their niece, the queen of Scotland, would aggrandize their family, they had prevailed upon Henry II. to maintain an army in Scotland, as the only avenue by which the English dominions were accessible. By their persuasions also the young king of France, who was incapable of holding the reins of government, contested the legitimacy of Elizabeth's birth, in order, on a proper opportunity, to dispute her right to the English crown. Mary took the arms and title of queen of England, and by her intimate alliance with the French nation, was considered as a formidable rival. Elizabeth saw her danger, and determined to exert all her prudence and all her courage to render the attempts of her enemies abortive.

The troubles of Scotland seemed to offer the means for defeating the projects of the Guises. The disturbances excited by religious disputes had now attained

the most enormous heights. The Protestants were headed by persons of the first distinction; particularly by the earl of Argyle, the lords Turner and Morton, and others of the nobility. They entered into a bond of association, and called themselves "The Congregation of the Lord," in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated "The Congregation of Satan." The substance of the bond was as follows: "We perceiving how Satan, in his members, the antichrists of our time, do cruelly rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our master's cause, even to the death, being certain of the victory in him. We do therefore promise, before the majesty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish, the most blessed word of God, and his congregation; and shall labour, by all possible means, to have faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people: we shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, by our whole power, and at the hazard of our lives, against Satan, and all wicked powers, who may intend tyranny, and trouble against the said congregation. Unto which holy word and congregation we do join ourselves; and we forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this faithful promise before God, testified to this congregation by our subscriptions."

The signing of this bond of association was followed by an open revolt from the clergy and the church of Rome. They committed ravages in various parts of the country, and the whole kingdom became one continued scene of disorder. About this time John Knox, one of the most zealous preachers in Europe, returned to Scotland. He had been persecuted for his religion, and took refuge at Geneva. His enthusiastic sermons kindled the flames of rebellion. The Romish priests were attacked, the images broken, the monasteries demolished, and every disorder that could be expected from a multitude inflamed with religious madness, was committed. The fanatical leaders of the reformed party declared, in a manifesto, that they took up arms by the express commands of God, as the children of Israel did against the Canaanites, and that they would listen to no propositions of peace, while the idolatry of the papists, and the persecutions of the children of God subsisted.

But the heads of the revolt soon perceived that it would be impossible to execute their project without the assistance of some foreign power. They were already distressed for want of money, and found, that the reformation of religion, however desired by the people, would not be sufficient to keep a numerous army together. The revolt therefore, notwithstanding the inveterate hatred that subsisted between the two kingdoms, applied to Elizabeth for assistance. The court of France were at first pleased with these commotions, as they afforded a plausible pretence for sending forces into Scotland, who would be there in readiness to act against Elizabeth, and support Mary's claim to the English crown. But on receiving intelligence that the Scottish revolt was negotiating with Elizabeth for assistance, they were greatly alarmed, and exerted all their influence to render the treaty abortive. They even offered to restore Calais, and all its dependences, if the queen would observe a strict neutrality. But Elizabeth was too prudent to be diverted from her purpose: she answered, that a small fishing town was of little consequence when compared to the security of her dominions. She dispatched Randolph into Scotland, to assure the re-

volters



volters of support, and to animate the leaders of the congregation in their design of shaking off their subjection to Rome, and the reformation of religion.

A. D. 1560. A squadron of sixteen ships of war was accordingly fitted out, under the command of vice-admiral Winter; and an army of eight thousand men was ordered to rendezvous at Berwick, on the thirtieth of January, in order to act in concert with the fleet, and join the revolvers. The appearance of the English ships in the Forth gave new spirits to the leaders of the congregation. While the French forces, terrified at the loss of some of their ships, which Winter had destroyed in his passage up the river, retired to Leith, in order to wait the powerful reinforcements they expected from the continent. But the troubles which now broke out in France demanded all the attention of the ministry, who therefore laid aside all thoughts of invading England.

On the twenty-seventh of February, a treaty of mutual defence was signed at Berwick, between the duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of England, on the part of Elizabeth, and the leaders of the congregation; and the English received orders to join the Scottish revolvers. The combined army immediately began their march for Leith, which was immediately invested. The queen retired to the castle of Edinburgh, where she soon after expired. She was a princess of great capacity, virtue, and moderation; and had the management of the affairs of Scotland been wholly intrusted to her management, she would, probably, have accommodated all differences with the reformers, and preserved the nation from the miseries of a civil war. The French soon perceived that all farther opposition would be in vain, and therefore desired to capitulate. The offer was accepted; and a treaty was signed at Edinburgh, whereby it was stipulated, That the French should evacuate Scotland in twenty-four days, and return to France in ships furnished by Elizabeth: that the king and queen of France and Scotland should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom: that farther satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular should be granted Elizabeth; and that commissioners should meet to settle this point; or, if they could not agree, the king of Spain should be arbiter between the two crowns. Besides these stipulations, which solely regarded England, some concessions were granted to the Scots, which the plenipotentiaries, in the name of the king and queen of France and Scotland, promised, in the treaty with Elizabeth, to observe; that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should be put into any office in Scotland; that the states should name twenty-four persons, of whom the Queen of Scots should chuse seven, and the States five; that the whole administration of affairs should be committed to these twelve, during the queen's absence; and that Mary should neither make peace nor war without the consent of the States. This treaty, so glorious for Elizabeth, greatly increased her power, and extended her reputation. She became, from that moment, sure of the confidence of the Scottish malecontents, and mistresses of their hearts and fortunes.

This union was still farther cemented by the subsequent measures of the reformers. They assembled the parliament, without any authority or orders from Mary. As soon as the session was opened, they presented a petition against the catholics, in which they were represented as robbers, assassins, and traitors, that ought no longer to be tolerated. Thus the reformers adopted all the violent measures of their enemies. The parliament itself seemed also to be actuated by the same spirit of rage and persecution. The mass was prohibited, under pain of confiscation, banishment, and death. The presbyterian worship, founded on the most rigid principles of Calvinism, was established; and the Romish clergy were stripped

of their possessions, and banished from the kingdom. The queen of France and Scotland, who governed her husband, and was herself governed by her uncles, the Guises, refused her consent to these measures, declared she would not ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and continued the war against Elizabeth. The reformers, however, gave themselves little concern about the refusal of their sovereign; they immediately put the statutes in execution; abolished the mass; settled their ministers; committed every where the most dreadful devastations upon the monasteries, and even the churches, which they considered as having been polluted with idolatry. The rapacity of the people, who had been excited to rebellion by their new preachers, could not be restrained; and fanaticism concurring with avarice, gave an incurable blow to the papal authority in Scotland. These violent proceedings convinced the nobility of that kingdom, that they must now rely on England for protection: their own sovereign was too much exasperated to hope for any favour from her; and the court of France, stimulated by motives both of ambition and religion, would not fail to exert all their power to revenge the insult.

A. D. 1561. During these transactions in Scotland, the fortune of Mary underwent a sudden change, by the death of the king, her husband. Catherine of Medicis, the mother of Charles IX. assumed the whole authority, in quality of regent. Mary Stuart, who experienced nothing but mortifications at her hand, found herself obliged to leave a country which she loved, and return to her unhappy kingdom, rent to pieces on account of religion. Accordingly she sent her ambassador to England, to demand from Elizabeth a safe conduct for herself and the ships that were to attend her. But that princess, who was highly exasperated at her refusing to sign the treaty of Edinburgh, answered, "that every part of her request should be readily granted, provided she previously ratified that convention." She added, "That she should have free liberty to pass through England, where she should be received with all the marks of affection she could expect from a sister." Mary could not retain her resentment at this refusal: she sent for Throgmorton, the English ambassador, and asked him, What offence she had given his mistress, that Elizabeth should deny her so small a favour? "But," (added she) "I can, with God's assistance, return into my own country without her leave, as I came into France in spite of all the opposition of her brother Edward. I want not friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they brought me hither, though I was desirous rather to make an experiment of her friendship than of the assistance of any other person."

Nor did the delay her departure from France on account of the safe-conduct's being refused by Elizabeth. She repaired to Calais, attended by all her uncles, and several noblemen of the first rank in that kingdom, and embarked in the beginning of August. She seemed greatly affected on her leaving France; she kept her eyes fixed upon the coast till darkness intercepted it from her view. "Farewell France!" she cried, "Farewell, beloved country! I shall never see thee more!" Elizabeth had fitted out a fleet of ships, under pretence of pursuing some pirates, but, probably, with a view of intercepting the Queen of Scots in her passage. Mary, however, passed the English fleet in a fog, and reached her native kingdom in safety on the eighteenth of August, after an absence of thirteen years. She was received by her people with every mark of esteem, regard and affection; and Mary flattered herself with enjoying more happiness and repose than she had reason to expect from the accounts she had received of the state of parties in her kingdom.

She had now reached the nineteenth year of her age; and, if the graces of youth, if the charms of beauty,





*Engraved for (Sydney's History of England).*





beauty, if softness of soul, if elegance of manners, if every amiable talent could have touched the hearts of a stubborn, unlightened, and fanatical people; Mary would have soon become the idol of her subjects. Far from interfering in their religious sentiments, she reposed her whole confidence in the heads of the reformers, who were now the leaders of the people. But her being a papist was a sufficient provocation to the multitude. It was with the utmost difficulty she could obtain permission to celebrate mass in her own chapel. "One single mass (said the reforming ministers) is more dangerous to this kingdom than an hundred thousand armed men." Knox, the enthusiastic and turbulent preacher, daily signalized himself by fresh instances of zeal against the Catholics. He publicly called the queen Jezabel; and even went so far as to tell her to her face, in one of his sermons, That Samuel did not hesitate to hew Agag in pieces, in spite of king Saul; that Elias, in the presence of Ahab, neither spared the false prophets of Jezabel, nor the priests of Baal; that Phineas, though no magistrate, put the fornicators to death; and that others of course, though no magistrates, might legally punish those crimes which were condemned by the laws of God." All the endeavours of Mary to gain this impracticable preacher over to her interest were in vain: he rejected her offers with contempt, and continued to disseminate the seeds of revolt and rebellion. He was cited before the council, but refused to make any acknowledgment: he defended his principles without timidity, and was discharged without punishment.

Surrounded with dangers from a bigotted people, she determined, if possible, to maintain a good understanding with Elizabeth. In order to this, she dispatched Maitland, her secretary, to pay her respects to that princess, to signify her desire of cultivating a friendship and good correspondence with her, and requesting that she might be acknowledged her successor in the throne of England, in case she died without issue. It was hardly possible for Mary to have made a more unreasonable request, or to have urged it at a more improper juncture. Elizabeth was highly provoked, and told the Scottish ambassador, "That she was determined to live and die queen of England, and would therefore never have the mortification of seeing her subjects adore the rising sun; that to name a successor was to expose her own life to danger, to destroy the security of her government, to place a winding-sheet before her, and to invite the king of terrors before his time." She added, "That she should leave it to others, after her death, to discuss the title of her successor; that she hoped the Queen of Scots claim would then be found preferable, and that she would do nothing to hurt her interest in that respect."

Elizabeth, though the jealousy she had long entertained against Mary was inflamed by this imprudent step, sent Sir Peter Meutas with compliments to Mary on her safe return to her kingdom, and to insist on her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh: but Mary still eluded the demand, pretending that the affairs of Scotland were yet in too unsettled a condition for her to examine the articles of that treaty with that attention the importance of them required, as she imagined they might tend to deprive her of all hopes of succeeding to the crown of England. Elizabeth, to put the matter out of all dispute, offered to explain the words of the treaty in such a manner as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession. But still difficulties occurred, and the treaty continued without being ratified. All disputes were, however, laid aside, and a cordial reconciliation seemed to have taken place between them.

The care of her own government now wholly engaged the attention of Elizabeth. Her first attempt was to put the English navy in a very respectable condition: she augmented the pay of her seamen; filled her magazines with arms; introduced the manufacture of gunpowder into England; ordered a

great number of iron and brass pieces of ordnance to be cast; reinforced the garrison of Berwick; fortified the northern borders of her kingdom; introduced and encouraged improvements in agriculture, by permitting the exportation of corn; promoted the trade and navigation of England; regulated the national coin, which her predecessors had altered; and ordered her people to attend the exercise of arms at stated times. The glory that attended her labours attracted the admiration of Europe; and she received the addresses of several princes, who were either in love with her person or her power. She amused their hopes, but always with a resolution to preserve her liberty. Self-love had, possibly, as much concern in this particular as the love of dominion. What is still more singular in her conduct, is, that though she determined never to have any heirs of her own body, she was not only averse to fix any successor to the crown, but also desirous to prevent, as far as lay in her power, any person who had pretensions to the succession from ever having heirs. Catherine Gray, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, sister to lady Jane, and now the sole heiress of that house, was sent to the Tower, for marrying the earl of Hertford without her consent, and died in confinement.

But however severe the queen was with regard to those who had any pretensions to the throne, she was always attentive to remove the oppressions of her subjects. She revoked all warrants granted to the purveyors for victualling the fleet, which were generally executed in a very vexatious manner; and issued orders, that the people should be paid in money for whatever provisions they furnished. She reformed the impositions of the exchequer; and took care that the pensions assigned to the popish clergy, on their resigning their livings, should be punctually paid. She also increased the salary of the judges, and allowed them a provision for their respective circuits. At the same time, she took care that her economy should go hand in hand with her liberality: she gave very little out of the royal demesnes, but on condition of its reverting, on default of male issue, to the crown. It would, perhaps, have been happy, if her successors had invariably observed the same rule.

A. D. 1562. The affairs of the continent now engaged the attention of Elizabeth. The religious wars carried on in France, furnished a new field for her political operations. After the death of Henry II. the Hugonots, whom that prince had persecuted with the utmost rigour, became a very formidable people, whether we consider their zeal for the reformation, their numbers, or the talents of their leaders. The prince of Condé, admiral Coligny, and his brother Andelot, were at the head of the Hugonots, and rendered their party respectable to the government. The Guises were their declared enemies, and armed against them the popish faction. Both parties assumed the mask of religion; and, under pretence of supporting the gospel of peace, carried on the most dreadful wars against each other. Catherine of Medicis, hoping to put an end to the civil discords which had so long wasted France, persuaded the catholics to compromise their differences with the chiefs of the Protestant party; and an edict, favourable to the reformers, was published, by which they were permitted to have places without the cities and towns, for performing divine service according to the tenets of their religion. But this deceitful compliance served only to irritate these two irreconcilable parties. The duke of Guise, who was considered as the protector of the catholic religion, passing through Vassy, a town on the borders of Champagne, fell upon a congregation of Hugonots, who, in consequence of the privilege granted them, were singing psalms in a barn. Above sixty of these poor defenceless people were killed, and the rest fled to the woods for shelter. The consequence of this inhuman action was a general insurrection of the protestants in almost every part of the kingdom, and the nation was divided between the duke of Guise and the prince



of Condé. Catherine, fluctuated between both, attempted, but in vain, to mediate a peace between them. She was then at Paris with the young king her son, where finding herself deprived of all authority, she wrote to the prince of Condé to come to her deliverance. This letter augmented the flames of the civil war, which was carried on with the greatest inhumanity: every town was a fortified post; every street a field of battle. Anthony, king of Navarre, the first prince of the blood, was obliged to serve in the army of the duke of Guise, and, with the queen mother, dragged to the siege of Rouen, where he was killed.

Philip II. who made it at once his glory and his interest to extirpate the reformed religion, and was even desirous of casting a shade over the memory of his father, who was suspected of a secret attachment to the new doctrines, after having persecuted their partizans, favoured the papists in France, from whom he hoped to derive considerable advantages. He was also uneasy lest the contagion should spread in the Low Countries, where the inhabitants had already given strong indications of their affection for the reformed religion. He therefore engaged in a secret alliance with the duke of Guise, and sent him six thousand men, and a large sum of money, to strengthen the catholic party.

Perceiving it would be impossible to resist so powerful a confederacy, supported by the royal authority, Condé dispatched the Vidome of Chartres, and de la Haye, to solicit the assistance of Elizabeth, in order to prevent the total ruin of the protestants in France. He offered to put Havre-de-Grace into the hands of the English; provided the queen would undertake to garrison the place with three thousand men, together with three thousand more to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furnish the prince with a hundred thousand crowns. Elizabeth listened to these proposals, and sent Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, at the head of six thousand men, one half of whom were landed at Dieppe, and the other took possession of Havre. At the same time the queen published a manifesto, declaring, "that she did not send troops into Normandy, with a design to recover that province, the ancient patrimony of her ancestors, and unjustly wrested from her; but to preserve it for the king of France during his minority, and to rescue it from the ambition and tyranny of the princes of Lorraine: that she was the more concerned to endeavour to prevent that province falling into their hands, as it was manifest their design was to seize the ports of Normandy, and from thence to invade her dominions, after extirpating the reformed religion in France: that for these reasons she had thought herself obliged to assist the young king, hinder his subjects from being oppressed by the Guises, protect the professors of the reformed religion, and provide for the safety of her own kingdom."

As soon as this proclamation was published, another was issued by the faction of Lorraine in Paris, in which Elizabeth was charged with breach of faith, in seizing the king's fortresses, and assisting his rebellious subjects; and in consequence of this war was declared against her. This hasty step, which was taken by the advice of the cardinal of Lorraine, was followed by a seizure of all the English ships at Bourdeaux, and the imprisonment of the ambassador's courier at Rouen. But it was soon perceived that they had acted with too much precipitation. The English fitted out privateers to make reprisals on the French, and the utmost dispatch was used in making the necessary preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. The court of France perceived their mistake, disowned the proclamation, and the preparations for war in England were laid aside.

By this time the catholics had made themselves masters of Rouen, and it was expected they would immediately form the siege of Havre, which was not then in any condition of defence; but their attention was diverted to another enterprize by the in-

testine disorders of the kingdom. Andelet, seconded by the negotiations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable body of protestants in Germany, and having arrived at Orleans, the fear of the Hugonot's power, the prince of Condé and the admiral were enabled to take the field in order to oppose the progress of their enemies. They first marched into the neighbourhood of Paris, and threatened the capital with a siege; but thinking themselves unequal to the undertaking, they directed their route towards Normandy, in order, if possible, to persuade the English to join them, and act in conjunction against the catholics. The royal army commanded by the constable Montmorency, followed them, and at last forced them to a battle. The action was remarkable severe, and distinguished by this singular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the leaders of both armies, were taken prisoners. The catholics gained the advantage; but the admiral, who always became more terrible by a defeat, collected the remains of the army, kept them together, and made himself master of several of the most considerable places in Normandy. Elizabeth was so greatly pleased with his valour, that she made him a present of an hundred thousand crowns, and offered to give her own bond for the payment of an hundred thousand more, if he could find merchants to advance the money.

A. D. 1563. Notwithstanding the great economy of Elizabeth, her disbursements in favour of the Hugonots exhausted her treasury, and she found it necessary to summon a parliament in order to obtain a supply. A little before the meeting of the parliament, the queen had been seized with the small pox, and her life had been in danger. The commons therefore presented an address to her majesty, requesting that she would either marry, or fix the succession in such a clear and explicit manner, as might prevent the calamities which it was natural to fear would result from the contests of several claims to the throne. But Elizabeth still found means to elude their application; she could not be prevailed upon to declare a successor. The parliament, however, made no difficulty of granting the necessary supplies. They were very willing to support the noble designs of Elizabeth for the improvement of trade and manufactures, for the augmentation of her navy, for the suppression of vice, and for the more effectual restraining the progress of popery. They granted two fifteenths and two subsidies. They also passed a bill for enlarging the oath of supremacy, and it was resolved that a second refusal to take it should be deemed high-treason. A law was made against the seductions of enthusiasts; and another against magicians and forcerers, who were then thought dangerous.

While the English parliament were thus employed in the business of the nation, the catholic army under the duke of Guise, were carrying on the siege of Orleans with great vigour. A very considerable progress had been made in this undertaking, when the duke was assinated by a young enthusiast called Poltrot de Merc. The duke, on finding his end approaching, expressed the deepest remorse for having involved his country in the horrors of a civil war; and conjured the queen-regent to conclude a peace as soon as possible with the Hugonots. His advice was followed; both parties were heartily tired of the war, and soon agreed to the articles of a pacification. A toleration, under some restrictions, was again granted to the protestants; a general amnesty was published; Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments; and money being advanced to pay the arrears of the German troops, they were sent out of the kingdom. Not the least regard was paid to Elizabeth in this treaty; and a garrison of six thousand men, ill supplied with provisions, could not long resist the whole army of France. The earl of Warwick, who commanded the English garrison in Havre, made a gallant defence, notwithstanding the many difficulties under which he laboured; but the plague breaking out among his troops, he was obliged to surrender



surrender the place: Nor did the misfortune terminate there; the garrison imported with them the pestilence, which afterwards raged with uncommon violence: above twenty thousand persons died of it in London only. A peace was soon after concluded with France; two hundred thousand crowns were paid to Elizabeth for the redemption of hostages, and the mutual pretensions of both parties continued.

The death of the duke of Guise greatly tended to lessen the influence of Mary Queen of Scots in France. The Scottish guards were dismissed, and the payment of Mary's dowry was discontinued, notwithstanding the warm representations of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, who was now more desirous than ever of marrying her to some powerful prince, who was able to support her against the contumelious behaviour of reformers in her own kingdom; and give disturbance to Elizabeth. He had already offered his niece to Don Carlos, Philip's son; to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might easily be absolved. Elizabeth, on her part, was equally vigilant to prevent the execution of their schemes, and was particularly anxious, lest Mary should form any powerful foreign alliance, which might tempt her to revive her pretensions to the English crown, and to invade the kingdom on the side where it was weakest, and most exposed to the attacks of an enemy. She always told the queen of Scots, that nothing could satisfy her but her espousing some English nobleman; and even went so far as to propose her own favourite, the earl of Leicester, whom she certainly never meant to part with; for when she found that Mary was inclined to listen to the proposal, she found means to elude the promise she had made of declaring that princess her successor. So fatally may low and little passions mingle with the greatest and most distinguished qualities.

England now enjoyed the most profound tranquillity: her trade with the Low Countries had been interrupted by the intrigues of cardinal Glanville, who foreseeing a war in the Netherlands, was desirous of removing the English, and persuaded the government to prohibit the importation of their cloth, a branch of trade which was carried on to a prodigious extent; but Philip perceiving that this prohibition was equally detrimental to his own subjects as to those of England, desired the old treaty concluded in the reign of Maximilian I. might be renewed: this was accordingly done, and the affair was terminated to the satisfaction of both nations.

The queen being no longer engaged in foreign affairs, made a progress to the university of Cambridge, where she was received with great pomp and magnificence. Every thing was conducted with a splendor that did honour to that celebrated seat of learning; and the queen declared her satisfaction in an elegant Latin oration, wherein she assured the university of her protection, and earnest desire of encouraging learning to the utmost of her power.

A. D. 1565. After two years of uncertainty, Mary determined to marry; and fixed upon lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox, as the object. This young nobleman was her cousin-german by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter to the earl of Angus by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had constantly resided, after being expelled his native country by the superior interest of the Hamiltons. Darnley was also, by his father, descended from the same family with Mary herself; and would, by marrying her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart. He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and those who affected to deny her title, on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to maintain his claim, and to give it the preference. It was therefore considered as no inconsiderable advantage, that by espousing him, she could

unite both their titles; and as he was an Englishman by birth, and could not, either by his power or alliances, give any cause of suspicion to Elizabeth, it was presumed that the proposal of this marriage could not be disagreeable to the queen of England. She, indeed, seemed to consent to this alliance; and even wrote to Mary, thanking her for her kind intentions towards the earl of Lenox, whom the queen of Scots now restored to his honours and estates.

Darnley having obtained leave from Elizabeth, repaired to Scotland; and, by his presence, completed the conquest, which the fame of his accomplishments had already begun. He was in the flower of his age, and his appearance remarkably graceful. Mary, forgetting all her ideas of grandeur, and all her schemes of policy, listened only to the dictates of her growing passion. Elizabeth was no sooner informed that the Queen of Scots was pleased with the figure and person of Darnley, and that the treaty was on the point of being concluded, than she exclaimed against the marriage; dispatched Throgmorton to Scotland, to dissuade Mary from espousing lord Darnley; ordered the earl of Lenox and his son to return immediately into England, under the severest pains and penalties the laws could inflict; and caused the counsellors of Lenox and her second son, who were then in England, to be committed to the Tower; where they suffered a very close confinement.

The conduct of Elizabeth, though generally judicious, was too often full of duplicity; but never did she behave with greater insincerity than in her transactions with the queen of Scotland. Though she now expressed so violent a resentment against the intended marriage of Mary with Darnley, she was not averse to it in her heart. She would rather, indeed, have wished that Mary had remained for ever in a single state; but as that could not be effected, she did not dislike a choice that delivered her at once from the fear of a foreign alliance, and the necessity of parting with her favourite Leicester. She had, however, some strong reasons of a political nature for affecting displeasure on the present occasion; it furnished her with a plausible pretence for refusing to declare Mary her successor to the English crown, a point which she had always laboured to evade; and it gave her an opportunity of exciting a spirit of rebellion among the Scottish nobility and clergy. This political duplicity is always shocking to a virtuous mind, though it often makes too large a part in the science of government.

When Mary was informed of the opposition of Elizabeth, she justly observed to Throgmorton, that as the queen of England had already signified her desire of her marrying an English nobleman, to avoid the umbrage of her espousing a foreign prince, she had, in effect, followed her own advice; but in order to give Elizabeth time to examine the affair with more deliberation, she would defer her marriage for three months. But this concession not satisfying Elizabeth, the ceremony was performed at Edinburgh; and Mary was so pleased with her new consort, that she gave him the title of king, and added his name to her own in all public acts. But she soon perceived that his advantages of person served only to conceal a mind that was trifling, vain, ungrateful, too much occupied with self-love, too much swollen with silly pride, too much the slave of libertine folly, to be sincerely attached to the most amiable of women. Reasonably disgusted with this unworthy husband, she withdrew from him, by degrees, her confidence, and treated him with neglect.

There was then in the court of Scotland one David Rezzio, a Piedmontese musician, who had raised himself to an honourable employment by his address rather than by his talents. Mary had appointed him her secretary for foreign affairs, loaded him with favours, and by reposing in him too much confidence, and giving him too much credit, empowered him to make a traffic of his patronage, and to exercise all



the insolence of an upstart favourite. The king was persuaded that Rezzio was the principal cause of the queen's coolness. Jealousy ensued, and notwithstanding the disagreeable figure of the Piedmontese, he was thought to enjoy more of Mary's favour, than merely her confidence. The suspicion was ridiculous, but sufficient to make the most dreadful impressions on a heart already inflamed. The malecontents among the nobility added fuel to the flame of his jealousy; and persuaded him to expostulate with the queen on her too great intimacy with this Italian favourite. Secure in conscious innocence, the queen treated these insinuations with the contempt they merited; and in order to convince her unworthy consort, that in exalting him she meant not to divest herself of any part of her authority, she ordered his name to be omitted on the coin, and to be placed after her own in public acts: she even gave Rezzio more countenance after this insult than before.

A.D. 1566. Inflamed with rage, and incapable of curbing that violent passion by the reins of prudence, Darnley vowed the most severe revenge; and the dissatisfied nobility offered to assist him in his bloody design, and to be themselves the executors of his vengeance. The ninth of March was the day fixed for this sanguinary purpose, and the necessary precautions were taken to prevent the design from being rendered abortive. Mary, who was then in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private with her natural sister, the countess of Argyle, and David Rezzio. The king entered the apartment by a private passage, and placed himself at the back of Mary's chair: the lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, rushed in after him. Terrified with this appearance, the queen demanded the reason for so rude an intrusion. They told her, that not the least violence was intended against her person; they meant only to bring that villain (pointing to Rezzio) to the punishment he so justly deserved. Aware of his danger, Rezzio ran behind his mistress, and seizing her waist, called aloud to her for protection; while she interposed in his behalf with cries, menaces, and intreaties. But all her efforts were in vain: the impatient assassins rushed upon their prey; and, by overturning the table, greatly increased the horror and confusion of this dreadful scene. Douglas seizing Darnley's dagger, stuck it in the body of Rezzio, who screaming with fear and agony, was dragged into an anti-chamber, and his body pierced with no less than fifty-six wounds.

Mary behaved on this occasion with admirable prudence: After paying a decent tribute of grief to the memory of the man she had honoured with her confidence, she dried up her tears, and employed her mind wholly on meditating a severe revenge; while the assassins, conscious of their own guilt, and dreading the resentment of their sovereign, detained her a prisoner in the palace, dismissing all who might have attempted her escape. In this alarming situation, she determined to pardon those noblemen who had opposed her government, in order to secure herself against the malice of the assassins, whom she now considered as her most inveterate enemies. They readily accepted the offer, returned to court, and the assassins of Rezzio were obliged to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. Darnley declared himself, by proclamation, innocent of the murder of Rezzio, and that he sincerely repented of having given any countenance to the conspirators.

On the nineteenth of June, Mary was delivered of a son, whose fortune it was to unite the crowns of England and Scotland. Sir James Melvill was dispatched to the court of Elizabeth to inform her of this happy event, and was received with great politeness by the queen. She thanked him for the dispatch he had made in bringing her such agreeable intelligence, and expressed the most cordial friendship for the Scottish queen. She soon after sent the earl of Bedford, and George Carey, son to the lord Hunsdon, to assist at the baptism of the young prince, and

charged them with several magnificent presents for the queen.

The birth of a son contributed greatly to encourage the zeal of Mary's partisans in England: and persons of all parties began to be impatient for some settlement of the succession; but Elizabeth, whenever pressed on that subject, eluded the question, by pretending she had some thoughts of marrying Charles, archduke of Austria. Several of Mary's friends, however, advised Melvill to make the proposal to the queen. He followed their instructions, but used the utmost circumspection in this delicate affair. He told her majesty "he was well assured she formerly delayed declaring his mistress presumptive heir of the crown of England, merely to wait till she should see some issue of her body; and as that objection was fortunately removed, he hoped her majesty would no longer defer gratifying the desire of her subjects, who wished to see one point settled, in doing justice to the title of his sovereign, who would never seek any place or right in England, but by her favour and assistance." The queen answered, "that the birth of a prince was a strong inducement to her using greater diligence in making a strict inquisition into that matter; that she was persuaded the right belonged to her sister of Scotland, in whose favour she heartily wished it might be decided;" but added, "that she should defer making any declaration till the young prince was baptized, when she would certainly satisfy the queen in that particular." Melvill justly considered this answer as a mere evasion.

The earl of Bothwell was now in the highest favour with Mary. He had been always sincerely attached to her family and person, and had performed signal services for both. His courage and conduct as a soldier were unquestionable, and he cherished the most cordial hatred for the English, against whom he had been a great and successful commander on the borders, where his estates were situated. He had, some years before, been banished through the influence of the earls of Arran and Murray, but had been re-called and pardoned by Mary. In his private life he was a complete profligate; by his intemperance he had dissipated a large estate; but he still retained his propensity to licentiousness, and nurtured every vice but hypocrisy. His appearance was manly, though he was now advancing to the decline of life; he was equally gallant in the court and in the field; and he possessed that openness of manner, which, with his experience in life, rendered him an agreeable companion to both sexes. A person of his character could not be respected by the gloomy reformers of Scotland; and perhaps that very circumstance rendered him more agreeable to Mary.

During these transactions in Scotland Elizabeth applied herself to cultivate the arts of peace. She was always desirous of promoting literature in her dominions, and made a progress to Oxford with that intention. She addressed the university in an elegant latin speech, in which she recommended the most assiduous attention to the instruction of youth committed to their care. And during her stay in that famous seat of the muses, she displayed such a lively concern for the prosperity of literature and the welfare of the university, that the members were in love with her government, and made her ever after, the arbiter of all their disputes.

Soon after her return from Oxford the parliament met at Westminster; and once more determined to address the queen, either to marry, or settle the succession. Accordingly Mr. Molyneux made a motion, that the affair of the subsidy, which had already been moved by secretary Cecil, might go hand in hand with that of the succession. The majority declared in support of the motion; but the members of the privy-council, who knew how disagreeable the subject would be to Elizabeth, opposed it with all their influence. They informed the house that they had authority to assure them, that the queen would marry as soon as she could find a prince deserving



erving her affection; that the appointing a successor would expose her person to the most imminent danger; and that she was therefore determined to delay the decision of that important subject to a more favourable opportunity. But these reasons not being satisfactory to the members, they resumed the subject with some warmth; several of them spoke with great freedom. Elizabeth was alarmed, and sent a message by Sir Francis Knolles, expressly commanding them to proceed no farther in that affair; but to rest satisfied with her promise to marry. Paul Wentworth, a member who nobly supported the cause of liberty, made a motion, and put the question, whether such a prohibition was not an infringement of the liberties and privileges of that house? This brought on very warm debates; and Elizabeth repeated her commands against their proceeding any farther in that matter. But this order, instead of silencing the members, increased their ardour; the whole house was in a flame, and such strong symptoms of disgust appeared, that the queen was obliged to retract her former orders, and allow the house free liberty of debate.

Pleased with this gracious condescension, the speakers delivered their thoughts with more calmness and temper; they even voted the supply without any condition. But as it appeared to have been given with a view of obtaining her consent to fix the succession, she remitted one third of it, declaring, that the money of her people might be as well in their own pockets as in the public treasury. She was, however, far from being pleased with the spirited behaviour of the Commons; and when she put an end to the session, she severely reprimanded the members in her speech from the throne; advising them not to put her patience to so severe a trial for the future. At the same time, she declared, that she knew how to distinguish the principal offenders from the rest; and that the greater part of the members might rest assured, that they departed in her good graces.

While Elizabeth was employed in cultivating the arts of peace in England, the Netherlands were agitated with those alarming convulsions, which at last gave liberty to a very considerable part of that country. Soon after Philip had quitted these provinces, in order to reside in Spain, the discontent of the inhabitants arrived at such a height, that it was impossible for affairs to continue long in their present situation. This universal dissatisfaction flowed from several causes. The people were persuaded that the king intended to abolish the small remains of their liberty and privileges, and to erect on their ruins the throne of despotic power. The establishment of bishoprics alarmed many of the principal families, as the jurisdiction and revenues of the abbies, in which they were nearly concerned, were greatly lessened. The inquisition, which was going to be established in these provinces, caused an universal alarm, that bloody tribunal being little less abhorred by the catholics than by the protestants themselves. The states had been prohibited from assembling. The king's determined resolution to extirpate the reformed religion, which had now a multitude of professors. These measures, which were on the point of being established, set the provinces in a flame. They had, for several years, petitioned the governors to assemble the states, in order to avert the storm which threatened the destruction of their country. Their request was always rejected, and often with contumelious language. This strange behaviour raised the resentment of the people. The prince of Orange, with the counts of Egmont and Horne, withdrew from the council, and joined in a petition to the king. The cardinal de Glanville, who directed all the measures of the government, had rendered himself so odious, that the most violent attempts were to be feared, if he filled any longer the seat of power. Philip, whose pride would not suffer him to recall the cardinal, advised him to withdraw. The cardinal

obeyed; and the nobles resumed their seats at the council-board.

This point being obtained; they exerted themselves to prevent the establishment of the inquisition, which they considered as one of the greatest misfortunes that could attend any people. They formed associations; and the protestants celebrated divine service openly, notwithstanding all the threats of the government. From this moment Philip considered the people of the Low Countries as rebels, while they looked upon him as an unjust and arbitrary sovereign. Such was the beginning of the troubles in the Netherlands, and in which the English were afterwards very intimately engaged.

A. D. 1567. Bothwell had now acquired such an ascendancy over Mary, that all her measures were directed by his advice. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies and familiarities between them; and these reports gained the more credit, as the hatred of Mary towards her husband seemed rather to increase than diminish. Even Darnley himself was reduced to such a state of desperation, that he had secretly provided a vessel, in order to pass over to the continent: while several of the nobility, perceiving there were no hopes of bringing about a reconciliation between them, proposed some expedients for obtaining a divorce; but so many difficulties arose, chiefly with regard to the young prince's legitimacy, that it was laid aside. The king, convinced that it was in vain ever to hope to recover the favour he had lost, retired to Glasgow, where he was seized with an illness of a very extraordinary nature. Mary's enemies, who took every opportunity of blackening her character, imputed this disease to a dose of poison administered to him with her own hand.

Whatever truth there might be in this report, Mary seemed greatly alarmed. She repaired to Glasgow, paid him a visit, and behaved with the utmost tenderness; forgetting, in the duty she owed him as a wife, the causes of resentment he had given her as his sovereign. This behaviour of the queen gave the greatest pleasure to all who wished she might retrieve her character, especially when it was known that she had brought the king with her to Edinburgh. The queen herself resided in the palace of Holyrood-house; but as the situation of that place was unhealthy, and the noise of a court not well adapted to persons in sickness, it was thought proper to fit up apartments for him in a house at some distance from the city, called the Kirk Field. Here the queen continued her visits, and behaved in the most endearing manner. She even lay several nights in a room below Darnley's chamber. But on the ninth of February, Mary told the king, that she intended to sleep that night in the palace, in order to be present at the marriage of one of her maids of honour. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole city was alarmed with a violent noise; and every face wore the aspect of astonishment, when it was known that it was occasioned by the blowing up of the house where the king resided. Darnley's body was found at some distance, without any marks either of fire, contusion, or violence.

These particulars occasioned a multitude of conjectures; but not the least doubt was made by any, that the king had been murdered; and Bothwell was generally considered as the author of that atrocious crime. Mary seemed to be inconsolable on this occasion: she appeared to have devoted herself wholly to grief. The earl of Lenox loudly demanded justice on the murderers of his son; and accused Bothwell, and several others, as the persons who had committed the regicide. Placards were secretly affixed on the walls in various parts of the city, accusing Bothwell as the principal author, and that Mary herself was privy to the bloody deed. Voices were also heard in the streets of Edinburgh during the stillness of the night, imputing to Mary and Bothwell the death of the late king. Whatever reasons there might be for desiring



desiring that the sanguinary act might be confined to oblivion, the court was soon convinced, that it was absolutely necessary to make some enquiry; and that Bothwell and his associates, accused by the earl of Lenox, should undergo a legal trial: but, at the same time, care was taken that no evidences should appear against him. Fifteen days only were allowed the earl of Lenox for making good his charge against Bothwell, though he lived at a great distance from the court, and though he conjured the queen, for the sake of vindicating her own honour, to employ more leisure and deliberation in determining a question of such importance to the whole kingdom. Lenox finding all his attempts to put off the trial were in vain, sent one of his retinue to protest, in his name, against the acquittal of the criminal, finding it would be impossible, in so short a time, to collect the witnesses sufficient to prove the charge against so powerful a nobleman. No regard was, however, paid to this protest; the jury acquitted the prisoner.

But this was far from being thought sufficient to exculpate Bothwell; it tended rather to prove his guilt. "Why (it was asked) should a person innocent of the crime he is accused of, endeavour to precipitate the trial? The witnesses themselves, if any are produced, will tend to clear his character; and every enquiry will withdraw part of the veil of calumny and detraction." The murder of the king was, however, only a prelude to the crimes of Bothwell. He forcibly carried off the queen, as she was going to see her son, and conveyed her to the castle of Dunbar, with an intent to marry her. It was generally suspected that the whole transaction was managed in concert with the queen; and some of the nobility, in order to discover the truth, sent her a private message, assuring her, that if she lay under any constraint, they would exert all their power for her relief. She answered, that she had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but had been treated with so much kindness since her arrival, that she willingly remained with Bothwell. The nobility were now sufficiently convinced that the whole had been previously planned between them, and gave themselves no farther concern about her captivity. A few days after, Bothwell received a pardon for this violence, and for all other crimes.

Nothing now remained but for her majesty to marry Bothwell; but this seemed to be attended with an insuperable difficulty. That nobleman had been married, about six months before, to a lady of great merit and noble family; and it was necessary to set this marriage aside. Villainy is always fertile in expedients. The cause was pleaded with success in two spiritual courts, the catholic and the protestant. The first decided in his favour from reasons of consanguinity, alledged by Bothwell; the latter from reasons of adultery, alledged by his wife. Craig, the minister of Edinburgh, received orders to publish the bans of the queen's marriage, which he nobly refused. He even exhorted all those who had access to her person, to give her their advice against so scandalous an alliance. But all his endeavours were in vain; the queen persisted in her intention to marry Bothwell, and the ceremony was performed by the bishop of Orkney. Very few lords attended, notwithstanding many of them had signed a petition for her marrying Bothwell. The French ambassador, though a dependant on the house of Guise, could not be prevailed upon to countenance the marriage by his presence. Mary, who had always paid the utmost deference to the advice of her French relations, declined it in an affair where she was blinded by her passions.

This event disgraced Mary in the eyes of all Europe: her subjects beheld her with horror. The suspicions she lay under with regard to her being an accomplice in the death of the king, grew stronger. Her connection with the man whom the public voice had pointed out as the murderer; her great anxiety to have him acquitted; a marriage so contrary to all

decency, negotiated by means so odious; every thing seemed to confirm, that Mary, the slave of her passion for Bothwell, was the partner of his crime. Even though we should be unwilling to impute to her this barbarous action, it is impossible to clear her of the most shameful weakness. But such is the frailty of human nature, that the best characters, under certain fatal circumstances, transgress at once the bounds of wisdom and of duty.

The guilt of Bothwell was augmented by his insolence. He treated the queen herself with the greatest brutality; and endeavoured to make himself master of the young prince, who had been committed to the care of lord Erskine, lately created earl of Mar; but he nobly refused to part with his charge. This attempt alarmed the whole nation; and the principal nobility, by whom Bothwell was hated for his overbearing insolence, met at Stirling, and formed an association for protecting the prince, and bringing the murderers of the late king to condign punishment. They soon collected a considerable number of troops, and marched, with the utmost diligence and secrecy, to surprize the queen and Bothwell in Holyrood-house. Their attempt had certainly been successful, had not one of their number informed the queen of their design. She slighted not the notice she had received, but made her escape, with Bothwell, to the castle of Brothwick, which the associated lords resolved immediately to besiege. Bothwell fled to the Marches at the appearance of the enemy; and the queen escaped, in men's cloaths, to the castle of Dunbar, which was capable of holding out till her friends could come to her assistance. Had Mary continued in Dunbar, the army of the associated lords must have been dispersed for want of pay; but being joined by a considerable number of troops, she imprudently took the field against her rebellious subjects, and marched to Preston, where she was joined by Bothwell. She soon perceived that his presence was of no advantage to her cause; for on meeting the forces of the enemy at Carberry Hill, they refused to fight in defence of a man who was universally considered as the murderer of the late king. Mary was now obliged to have recourse to negotiation; and Bothwell, perceiving that the authority of the queen was no longer able to protect him, made his escape to Dunbar, and thence passed over into Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died in the greatest distress.

Mary finding all hopes of resistance were vanished, took the fatal resolution of submitting to her enemies, and was conducted to Edinburgh amidst the insults of the populace. A banner was carried before her, on which was painted the murder of her husband, and her son in tears, imploring the vengeance of heaven. She was not permitted to continue long at the palace: the conspirators sent her, under a strong guard, to the castle of Lochleven, belonging to William Douglas, uterine brother to the earl of Murray. This castle was situated on a small island in the middle of a lake, and accessible only by a boat. Here the captive queen was treated with the utmost cruelty, without a single friend to comfort her in this scene of distress. The sufferings of the unhappy princess affected Elizabeth, and she resolved to employ all her authority to alleviate her misfortunes, and reduce her rebellious subjects to reason. She dispatched Throgmorton to Scotland, with orders to enquire into the real situation of Mary, and to promise her all the assistance in her power. At the same time, he was commissioned to demand of the conspirators the liberty of their sovereign, and, in case of refusal, to threaten them with the repentment of his mistress.

The associated lords, who were determined to humble Mary, refused the English ambassador access to her person; and obliged the unfortunate queen to sign an instrument, whereby she resigned the crown to her infant son, who was proclaimed in Edinburgh under the name of James VI. and crowned at Stirling on



on the twenty-ninth of July. They also forced her to sign a second instrument, by which the earl of Murray was appointed regent during the minority of the young king. Murray was Mary's natural brother, an active enterprising man, and one of the principal promoters of the reformation in Scotland.

But the signing of these instruments was not sufficient to procure Mary her liberty. The conspirators feared the consequence of the return of the affections of the people at the sight of majesty in distress. Murray therefore summoned a parliament, and that assembly, after voting she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to perpetual imprisonment, ratified the instruments she had signed, acknowledged her son for their king, and Murray for regent. But though no difficulties occurred in the parliament, many of the nobility were disgusted at the proceedings of the conspirators. The flight of Bothwell had tended greatly to alter the sentiments of the virtuous part of the nation; the situation of Mary was commiserated; and a powerful party was formed for supporting the cause of that unfortunate princess.

A.D. 1568. But all their endeavours would perhaps have been rendered abortive, had not the charms of Mary effected her escape. George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochleven, engaged to assist her in her flight. He found means to steal the keys of the castle from his brother's chamber, and while the family were engaged in their devotions, opened the gates, conveyed her into a small boat, and rowed her ashore. The news of her escape was soon known to her friends, who conveyed her to Hamilton, where she was joined by a great number of the nobility. A bond of association was immediately signed for her defence, and Mary, in a few days, found herself at the head of six thousand men.

She immediately dispatched Bathune, a person of abilities, and one that had been very instrumental in her release, with a letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the happy change in her circumstances, and requesting a body of troops to assist her in reducing her rebel subjects. Mary intended to retire to the strong castle of Dumbarton; in order to wait the arrival of the succours expected from England. She also took some steps towards opening a negotiation with Murray. But the regent refused to listen to any terms of accommodation that tended to divest him of the power he had acquired by usurpation; and both parties prepared to decide the contest by the sword. The regent could collect no more than four thousand men; but notwithstanding the inferior number of his army, he took the field against his sovereign. The two armies met on the thirteenth of May, at Langside, near Glasgow; and a battle was fought, in which Mary's forces were totally defeated. The unhappy princess fled with great precipitation, attended by a few friends, to the borders of England. A consultation was now held with regard to the measures she ought to pursue, as they would, in all probability, determine her future happiness or misery. It was hoped, that the late interposition of Elizabeth in favour of the Scottish queen, would induce her to assist her effectually in her distress; and it was therefore determined to pass over into England; and accordingly the queen, attended with a small retinue of seventeen persons, landed at Workington in Cumberland, and was conducted to the castle of Carlisle in a very honourable manner, by the deputy-governor.

Mary was no sooner landed in England, than she dispatched a letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the unfortunate issue of the battle of Langside, and soliciting that assistance she had promised her against her rebellious subjects. Elizabeth received the letter with astonishment; and had she been left to follow the dictates of her own mind at that instant, she would certainly have complied with the request of the Scottish queen. But Cecil cautioned her against the danger of suffering the feelings of humanity to

prevail over the dictates of prudence. She, however, dispatched lord Scroop, warden of the Marches, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain, to pay her compliments to Mary, and to take care that she was treated with all the respect her high birth and royalty required.

The privy-council being assembled, great debates ensued on the manner of proceeding with regard to the Scottish princess. To detain her in England might, it was thought, be attended with many disagreeable circumstances; and to send her to France with still more. Humanity would not permit her being delivered into the hands of her rebellious subjects. At last it was agreed by the majority, that she should be detained a prisoner, till she had made satisfaction for having assumed the title and arms of England, and proved her innocence with regard to the murder of her husband. Mary had certainly entered England without leave from Elizabeth, or procuring any safe conduct; and from this circumstance, it was determined by the council, that she was actually a prisoner of war. It cannot be denied, that a sovereign has power to seize a foreign prince; who enters his dominions without a safe-conduct; but there are cases wherein that right deviates into injustice. In this instance, the circumstances were remarkably favourable. Mary had been forced out of her dominions by her rebellious subjects, and obliged to take refuge in the first place that offered. She had no time for choice: she must either submit to those who fought her life, or take shelter in the country of a friend and ally. She had also received assurances of assistance from Elizabeth; so that if the detaining of her a prisoner was not contrary to the law of nations, it was at least repugnant to the dictates of humanity.

Elizabeth balanced, for some time, between political prudence and generosity. The former at last prevailed; she followed the advice of her council, and informed the queen of Scots, that notwithstanding her friendship for her, she could not, with any degree of decency, either see or support her, till she should be cleared of the crimes of which she was accused. Mary answered, that she would willingly justify herself before a princess whom she considered as a sister. But Elizabeth reflected that for her to sit in person as a judge, and pronounce any sentence, would be subject to many difficulties. The royal dignity would be wounded when majesty itself submits to punishment. She therefore declined the office, but offered to send two noblemen, as her commissioners, to hear the mutual charges between her and her subjects. Mary accepted the offer, and Elizabeth wrote immediately to Murray, charging him, in a very peremptory manner, to desist from any farther hostilities against the friends of the queen of Scots, and to appear in person to vindicate his conduct with regard to his sovereign, before the commissioners, who were appointed to sit at York for that purpose.

A message which carried with it all the appearance of command, at once surprized and offended Murray; but having always been an abject slave to the English, and his domestic enemies being now both numerous and powerful, he determined to obey her commands; as the only person from whom he could hope for assistance. This resolution was, however, strongly opposed in the council, by the most judicious of his party. They represented that it would cast an indelible stain on himself and his country, should he accuse his lawful and native sovereign before a foreign court of judicature; before persons who were professed enemies of the Scottish nation. But their arguments were urged in vain. Murray was not to be diverted from his purpose; he passed into England, assisted by the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Lindsey, and the abbot of Dunferlin. At first Mary's cause appeared triumphant. Murray, flattering himself that if Mary's honour was not impeached, she might be prevailed upon to accept of reasonable terms of accommodation; whereas if he accused her of being an accomplice in



the murder of Darnley, and she should afterwards re-ascend the throne, inevitable death must be the consequence. This accusation being omitted, the answers of the queen to the arguments of her adversaries, were extremely plausible: "How could she suspect, said her advocate, that Bothwell was the murderer of her husband, after he had been legally tried and acquitted, and after the nobility themselves had solicited her to marry him. If he was guilty, she desired he might be punished: she appealed to the laws of her country, and they found him innocent. As to her resignation of the crown, it was evidently an act of constraint, and consequently null and void. By what right, or on what pretence, could the Scots revolt from their allegiance, throw their queen into prison, give her battle, and place her successor on the throne. These are confessedly acts of rebellion, and punished as such in every well-governed state."

Murray perceived the full force of these arguments, and was now convinced, that he must either give up the contest, or accuse his sovereign as the murderer of her husband. He chose the latter; and being assured that if Mary's crime was proved in a satisfactory manner, Elizabeth would immediately declare against her, and give him every reasonable protection he could desire, he produced proofs in support of the most horrid accusations. These were love-letters written by Mary to Bothwell, and a promise of marriage signed before the trial of that infamous seducer. From these papers it was sufficiently evident, that all the crimes committed by Bothwell, the murder of the king, and forcibly carrying off the queen, had been concerted with her majesty. Mary's commissioners were astonished when they perceived that Murray had produced testimonies which could not be answered, unless they could prove that the papers were forged. They therefore changed their system; they desired that Elizabeth would bring about an accommodation; and on being informed, that the accusations exhibited against Mary must be first obviated, they broke off the conferences. The friends of Mary have laboured to prove that these famous letters were forged, and many volumes have been written with that intention. The subject is, however, too diffuse, nor indeed is it necessary to discuss the arguments that have been offered both for and against the authenticity of these letters here. Let it suffice to say, that from a candid examination, the proofs brought to prove them forgeries are weak and inconclusive. They are also the more exceptional, as the queen, at a crisis so affecting to her honour, refused either to acknowledge or deny their authenticity.

Every expedient was tried by Elizabeth to prevail upon Mary to continue the conferences; but could not prevail. She remained inflexible; and even accused Murray and the other commissioners of being the murderers of her husband: but produced no proofs against them. Elizabeth offered to bury whatever was past in oblivion, and negotiate a reconciliation with her subjects, provided she would renounce the throne, or even associate her son with her in the government, and suffer the direction of affairs to continue in the hands of Murray during the minority of the young prince. But Mary rejected the proposal with disdain. "My last words, answered she, shall be the words of the queen of Scotland."

During the absence of Murray, the Hamiltons and the earl of Huntley, who were still in arms, had taken possession of Glasgow, with a body of seven thousand men, intending to march forward, and intercept the regent in his return from England. Murray had, therefore, recourse to artifice: he sent Sir Robert Melvill to Mary, with proposals of marriage between her and the duke of Norfolk, and a cessation of hostilities between the two parties in Scotland. She answered that her repugnance to a new marriage should give way to the public good, and that she should be ready to receive any proposal that should be recommended by her parliament, and to make a

peace with the rebels; but at the same time declared she would give no definitive answer till she was set at liberty, and restored to the throne of her ancestors. She, however, agreed to send orders to the lords of her party to suspend hostilities against Murray till further orders. This was the sole point the regent had in view; he took advantage of the queen's order, and returned to Scotland in safety. Mary now pressed Elizabeth either to enable her to regain possession of her kingdom, or to suffer her to retire into France and seek other resources. The queen evaded her requests, and the unfortunate princess, whose wit, and insinuating graces, might have created her interest in too many hearts, was removed to Tutbury castle, and guarded with the greatest vigilance.

A. D. 1569. Norfolk, however, pursued his design of marrying Mary. He was greatly beloved by the people, and the first nobleman in England in point of birth and fortune. He was passionately fond of the Scottish queen, but fearful of concluding a treaty of that importance without the consent of his sovereign, he consulted the earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Suffex, Pembroke, and Southampton, who all agreed in advising him to proceed. The principal nobility and gentry engaged to support him; and the lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton joined his interest with great cordiality. It was now agreed to open the affair to the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite. He approved the design, and wrote to Mary, recommending the duke of Norfolk for a husband, and stipulating the following articles for the advantage of both kingdoms: "That Mary should attempt nothing in consequence of her pretensions to the English crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth or her posterity; that she should confirm the present established religion in Scotland, and grant a free pardon to such of her subjects as had appeared in arms against her." Mary very readily gave her consent to these proposals, which seemed to open a path to liberty, and the recovery of the crown of her ancestors. The kings of France and Spain were privately consulted, and highly approved of the intended marriage. This step of consulting foreign princes with regard to a treaty he carefully concealed from his own sovereign, was highly imprudent, nor could it be deemed entirely innocent.

Cecil, secretary of state to Elizabeth, a man of great vigilance and integrity, soon got intelligence of the design, and the queen one day told Norfolk to take care on what pillow he laid his head. She afterwards sent for the duke, upbraided him sharply for presuming to engage in a treaty without her knowledge, and commanded him, upon his allegiance, to proceed no farther. The duke promised to obey her commands; but retired from court without taking leave, and repaired to his seat in Norfolk. He was so greatly beloved in that county, that he could easily have assembled a considerable army in his defence; but his loyalty would not permit him to take up arms against his sovereign. He set out on his return to the court, but was arrested at St. Albans and sent to the Tower. All who had been privy to the design were also taken into custody; but as they unanimously agreed in declaring, that the marriage had been proposed by Murray, and that it was never intended to be concluded without Elizabeth's consent, they were set at liberty.

The imprisonment of so many of the nobility greatly alarmed the nation, and several suspicious assemblies were held in the north, where Mary was the idol of the people. Lord Suffex, president of York, was not ignorant of these meetings, nor of the inclination of the northern inhabitants. He sent for the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who thought proper to pay no regard to the summons; but being alarmed at their danger they flew to arms without waiting for a supply of men and money, which they had been promised by the duke of Alva, governor of the Netherlands. The insurgents proceeded



ceeded immediately to Durham, tore the bible and common prayer book in the public market-place, erected a crucifix in the cathedral, and caused masts to be openly celebrated in an assembly of above six thousand persons. The rebel army now became very numerous, and a party of five hundred horse were detached to release the queen of Scotland from her confinement in Tutbury castle; but that prince's having been removed to Coventry before their arrival, the expedition miscarried. The insurgents soon after made themselves masters of Bernard-castle, and fortified Hartlepool.

While part of their forces, amounting to about fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, were employed in these operations, the rest, formed into small detachments, over-ran all Yorkshire; the royal army, commanded by the earl of Suffex, being too weak to prevent their ravages. But the chiefs of the rebels finding it impossible to furnish money sufficient to pay their troops, the army dispersed. Northumberland fled into Scotland, where he was seized by the regent, and committed to the castle of Lochleven. The earl of Westmoreland was more fortunate; he found means to pass over into Flanders, where he lived on a small pension settled on him by the king of Spain.

A. D. 1570. It is said that Murray had entered into a private negotiation with Elizabeth for the delivery of the queen of Scots into his hands; and as Elizabeth now saw all the dangers which might result from her detention in England, it is not improbable but she might have been pleased to have been freed from a prisoner who gave her so much inquietude, could it have been effected on any honourable and safe terms. But if this negotiation ever existed, it was suddenly terminated by the death of the regent, who was assassinated on the twenty-third of January, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, in revenge for a private injury.

This event involved Scotland in its former anarchy. The death of the regent was no sooner known, than a considerable body of Scots entered England, and committed ravages which equalled in cruelty those of the most barbarous times. This expedition seems to have been undertaken merely to provoke the English to revenge these affronts on all the Scots in general; and by that means to revive the ancient enmity between the two people, and unite all the inhabitants of Scotland against their southern neighbours. But they were mistaken in their politics: Elizabeth was too cautious to be deceived by so ill-concerted a scheme: she declared, that she did not think the party that supported the government concerned in the late unprecedented insult upon her subjects, nor inclined to think the whole nation criminal. She even offered her assistance to restore the government to its former vigour, and to redress the disorders that had been committed by Mary's friends. She added, that should her friendly offers be rejected, she was sufficiently prepared to do herself justice, and take a severe revenge on those who had wantonly, and without the least provocation, insulted her crown and dignity.

This declaration, which was delivered by Randolph, the English ambassador, to an assembly of the states, disconcerted all the measures of Mary's friends: they were not prepared with an answer, and obtained a farther time for that purpose. During this interval, both parties exerted all their abilities to gain the ascendant. Elizabeth collected an army to give weight to her counsels; and her ambassador artfully cherished the divisions in Scotland, while he seemed to be labouring to promote an union between the two parties. Mary's friends had recourse to the most provoking sarcasms upon Elizabeth and her council, in order to urge them to a general rupture. At the same time, they expected considerable assistance from France and Spain, to enable them to oppose, with more probability of success, the attempts of the party supported by the English.

The earl of Suffex, who commanded Elizabeth's

army, received orders to march into Scotland, revenge the injuries suffered by their countrymen, and influence the election of a regent. The queen's orders were scrupulously obeyed: Suffex severely retaliated on the aggressors the miseries they had inflicted on the English. He was, however, soon after recalled, by an agreement with the queen of Scots, who stipulated, that no foreign troops should be introduced into Scotland; and that the English rebels, who had taken refuge in that kingdom, should be delivered up by her partizans. The earl of Lenox was soon after chosen regent in an assembly of the states, and Randolph received orders to maintain a correspondence with him.

But notwithstanding these instances of partiality to Mary's enemies, Elizabeth still continued her ambiguous conduct, and maintained the appearance of friendship with that unfortunate prince's. At the request of the bishop of Ross, Mary's ambassador, joined with the pressing instances of some foreign powers, Elizabeth procured a suspension of arms between the Scottish factions, and by that means checked the progress of the regent's party, when they were on the point of gaining very considerable advantages over their opponents. By this variable conduct, Elizabeth artfully fed the flames of civil discord in Scotland, and rendered the whole country a scene of horror and desolation. Throgmorton scrupled not to load Cecil with the blame of so perfidious a conduct; which, however reconcileable it may be to the rules of policy, is totally repugnant to all the rules of honour and humanity.

A. D. 1571. The catholic powers now exerted all their influence to procure the enlargement of the queen of Scots; but finding all their endeavours were in vain, pope Pius V. had recourse to the thunders of the Vatican. He published the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, deprived her of all title to the crown, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance. A person was found hardy enough to affix this bull to the gate of the bishop of London's palace, and to expose himself to death as the reward of his zeal. This violent measure of the Roman pontiff being attributed to the intrigues of the queen of Scotland, served only to inflame the fatal hatred of Elizabeth. The English had long since learned to despise the censures of St. Peter's successor.

The tenets of the puritans, who were now very numerous in England, called for the vigilance of the queen, equally with the papists. They were the declared enemies to episcopacy, religious ceremonies, and every part of the ancient worship. They condemned the church of England, which, according to their language, was infected with the wickedness of the Romish antichrist. An image, the bending of the knee, the sign of the cross in baptism, a surplice, a square cap, struck them with horror. The spirit of liberty, when blended with the spirit of fanaticism, becomes extremely formidable in every established government; and this spirit of independence with which they were animated, rendered them dangerous to the arbitrary measures pursued by Elizabeth; and was the radical cause of those bloody revolutions which afterwards happened in the English government.

A new parliament, after five years interval, met at Westminster on the second of April; and it soon appeared that the seeds of independence began to vegetate in the breasts of several of the members. Strickland proposed a reformation of the liturgy, and particularly an abolition of the sign of the cross in baptism. The motion was supported, and several arguments were used to shew the propriety of the parliament's interfering in religious subjects. It was answered, that this was an infringement of the right of supremacy; that the queen alone, as head of the church, had the power of regulating the ceremonies of worship, and that it was dangerous for the commons to interfere in an affair of that kind. It was added, that the members would do well to take warn-



ing from former examples, not to meddle with such matters. But the puritans were not so easily intimidated from their purpose: they exclaimed against the opposition of the courtiers to objects of the utmost importance. "The salvation of the soul (said they) is in question; a consideration to which all the kingdoms of the earth are nothing in comparison." This fallacy of zeal, though highly approved in the house, did not weaken the general respect for the prerogative. It was determined to petition the queen for leave to proceed farther on this subject; and all debates were, for the present, laid aside.

But Elizabeth was too much offended at the presumption of Strickland, to pass it over in silence. She sent for him to the council, and commanded him not to appear any more in the house of commons. This peremptory order was too violent, even for the submissive parliaments of that age to endure; it excited loud complaints in the house, and privileges before unclaimed were asserted to belong to the commons. It was justly observed, that Strickland was not a private man, but the representative of a multitude; and that though the queen ought to support her prerogative, it was limited by the laws: for as the sovereign could not of himself make laws, so neither could he break them merely from his own authority. We shall see these noble seeds of liberty taking deeper root in succeeding reigns, and acquiring daily a greater force. They were now unable to contend with the authority of Elizabeth. But even that arbitrary princess, finding her exertion of power was likely to excite a great commotion, she saved her honour by giving Strickland permission to attend his duty in parliament.

These proceedings, however harsh and alarming, did not terrify the puritans. Robert Bell made a motion against an exclusive patent granted to a company of merchants at Bristol. He displayed the dangerous consequences of this measure, and the great impediment it gave to the commerce of the kingdom. But the general opinion invested such extensive power in the crown, that these efforts of natural liberty were not crowned with success. The majority of the members were so intimidated, that though they approved of these motions, they did not chuse to support them. To interfere in matters of government was considered as the most insufferable temerity. So very different were the ideas of the constitution at that time from those which soon after changed the form of administration.

During these transactions in England, the neighbouring states were ravaged and laid waste by religious wars. The prince of Condé was slain at the battle of Jarnac; and his son, with the young prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. placed at the head of the Hugonots. The admiral Coligny, always unfortunate, but always formidable in his misfortunes, constantly supported the protestant party against the royal forces, headed by the ambitious Henry de Guise. Elizabeth saw the necessity of supporting the Hugonots, whose interests were connected with her own, notwithstanding her hatred of all rebellion, and every species of opposition to the will of the sovereign. Soon after, the whole army of the insurgents was defeated at Montcontour, in Poitou, and the admiral himself dangerously wounded. The loss of this battle seemed to have put a final period to the attempts of the Hugonots; and the court of France, persuaded that the force of the rebels was totally annihilated, neglected to make any farther preparations against an enemy whom they thought could never more be dangerous. But they were mistaken. Coligny appeared in another quarter of the kingdom, at the head of so powerful an army, that even the capital itself was in danger. It was now thought proper to have recourse to negotiation; and a treaty was soon concluded, in which liberty of conscience, and a pardon for their revolt, were once more granted them.

Despairing of ever being able to reduce the Hugonots by force, it was determined to have recourse to policy, and to finish by the dagger of assassination what the sword of war had attempted in vain. The perfidious Charles cared for the people he intended to destroy. The terms of peace were strictly observed; the toleration was regularly maintained; all attempts of the more zealous catholics to infringe it were punished with severity; offices and honours were bestowed upon the principal nobility among the protestants; and the court openly declared, that they were determined to allow every person the free exercise of his religion, from a persuasion that there was no other method of restoring the peace of an exhausted country, it being impossible to force the consciences of mankind. An embassy was sent to Elizabeth with proposals of marriage with the duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and reputation for valour, it was supposed would recommend him to a woman of Elizabeth's disposition. The artful policy of that princess appeared in a stronger light at this juncture than ever. She apparently consented to a project inconsistent with her views, and which she never meant to accomplish. She had, indeed, very powerful reasons for this artful dissimulation. Her disputes with Spain, with regard to the Low Countries, were alone sufficient to make her have recourse to every incident to amuse the court of France. But this was not the only motive. The partisans of Mary, who had given her so much uneasiness, would be discouraged by the prospect of an alliance between France and England. Elizabeth knew this, and determined to make use of the expedient.

The Low Countries felt more severely than France the dreadful scourge of superstitious tyranny. Philip was determined to rule those commercial provinces with a despotic power, and employed a man well qualified to execute his tyrannical design. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, was the man selected by Philip for this purpose. He had been educated in a camp; and having obtained a consummate knowledge of the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all governments the severe discipline of an army. This general, about three years since, had conducted into the Low Countries, from Italy, a powerful body of veteran Spanish forces. The Flemings, who were no strangers to his ferocious character, and the inveterate hatred he entertained against them, were struck with consternation. Nor were they terrified in vain. The military executions of that unfeeling nobleman are shocking to humanity, and will hand down his name with infamy to the latest posterity. All the privileges of that people were abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals erected; the counts of Egmont and Horne, notwithstanding all their merits and past services, were brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks were thrown into prison, and thence delivered over to the hand of the executioner. He met with no resistance; the people submitted to his power; but this was not sufficient to satisfy his slavish purposes: he proceeded in his career of cruelty; and nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture and death.

Driven to despair, great numbers of the Flemings took refuge in England, where they were protected by Elizabeth, and where they established their useful manufactures, for which they had long been famous. It was impossible for the violent government of Alva to be of any long continuance, without exciting some dreadful commotion. Elizabeth declared, she could not behold the destruction of a whole people without affording them assistance. She accordingly seized a large sum of money which some Genoese merchants were sending to Alva, for the payment of his forces. This reduced him to have recourse to the most oppressive measures, which still farther animated the Flemings against the Spanish government.



Exasperated beyond the bounds of reason, Alva determined to raise disturbances in England. He accordingly opened a secret correspondence with Mary, queen of Scots, by means of one Rodolphi; a Florentine merchant, who had resided many years in London, and managed all the intrigues between the catholics and the court of Rome. It was agreed that a powerful army of Spanish troops should be landed in England, and at the same time, an insurrection should be excited in the heart of the kingdom. But Alva being persuaded that the attempt could not possibly succeed unless some English nobleman of authority could be found to head the insurgents, and inspire them with courage; and no person appeared so proper for this purpose as the duke of Norfolk. Mary, who was now sufficiently convinced of Elizabeth's duplicity, and despaired of ever recovering her crown, or even her liberty, by pacific measures, readily embraced the offer: while Norfolk, unable to recover the favour of Elizabeth, agreed to violate the promise he had made of breaking off all correspondence with Mary. He engaged in this new conspiracy; the promise of marriage was renewed between them; but he still flattered himself that there was nothing criminal in his actions, as his sole view was that of obtaining the queen's consent to marry the captive princess. In consequence of the duke's consent, three letters were wrote in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but Norfolk, though very desirous of delivering Mary from confinement, refused to sign them. He could only be prevailed upon to send Baker, one of his confidants, to the Spanish ambassador, to vouch for their being authentic. The scheme was embraced with great alacrity by Alva and the pope, and every thing seemed to wear a very promising appearance.

These proceedings could not long remain concealed in so prying a court as that of Elizabeth. Rodolphi, indeed, was beyond the reach of the English council, but one Bayley, a servant to the queen of Scots, whom Rodolphi had dispatched with letters to Mary, the bishop of Ross, the duke of Norfolk, and the lord Lumley, was seized at Dover immediately upon his landing, and the letters sent to lord Cobham, governor of the cinque ports; who being a friend to the duke of Norfolk, suffered the bishop of Ross to change the letters for others of less importance. Walsingham, Elizabeth's minister at Paris, had obtained some intelligence of this affair, and was perpetually alarming his mistress with accounts of plots forming against her by Mary's party. The letters delivered by lord Cobham, contained no traces of any secret designs against the government, and suspicions were entertained by the ministry, that these were other letters which had not reached their hands. Bayley was therefore sent for to the council, and soon brought to confess all he had learned from Rodolphi, and that the original packet he had brought over was in the possession of the bishop of Ross.

Fearful of the consequence, and suspecting that his public character would not protect him, that prelate had wisely secreted all his papers of any consequence; and on the thirteenth of May, after undergoing a strict examination before a committee of the council, he was given in custody to the bishop of Ely. Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir Thomas Gerrard, and one Rolston were committed to the Tower on suspicion. Hitherto nothing had appeared that could greatly effect the duke of Norfolk; but a subsequent transaction completed his ruin.

Mary was very desirous of sending a sum of money to lord Herries, and her partizans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to convey it to Bannister, a servant of his in the north, who was to find some expedient to have it delivered to lord Herries. The servant, to whom the money was intrusted, not being in the secret, and judging from the weight and size of the box that it was full of gold, carried it, together with a letter he was charged with to Bannister, to

Cecil, now lord Burleigh. Upon the discovery Bannister and Hickford, the duke's secretary, were apprehended, and brought before the council. On being threatened with the torture they immediately confessed the whole, and as Hickford, though ordered to burn all Mary's letters, had concealed them under the mats of the duke's chamber, the ministry became possessed of sufficient evidence against his master.

A. D. 1571. Ignorant of the discoveries made by Hickford, the duke, when cited before the council, denied every article of the charge brought against him, and though exhorted to merit the mercy of his sovereign by a full confession, he persevered in his first declaration. He was therefore sent to the Tower, and after being convicted of high-treason, finished his life upon the scaffold. He died with great calmness and constancy, and was sincerely regretted by the people, by whom he was greatly beloved. He had acquired their affections by his beneficence, generosity, and affability. His ancestors had long been considered as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliances of blood, had procured him the friendship of the most considerable men of that party; but as he had been educated among the reformers, was sincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that strict decorum and regularity of life by which the protestants were at that time distinguished; he thereby enjoyed the real felicity of being popular even in the most opposite factions. The height of his prosperity alone was the cause of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have for ever kept him at a distance.

Very little alterations had happened in Scotland during these transactions: that unhappy kingdom still remained in a state of anarchy. Kirkaldy of Grange, who commanded in the castle of Edinburgh, having declared for Mary, the lords of her party, encouraged by his countenance, made themselves masters of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war against the regent, who was obliged to retire to Stirling. The insurgents followed, and made themselves masters of his person; but perceiving his friends at the head of a considerable body of troops, were advancing, they immediately put him to death. The earl of Mar was chosen regent in his room; but that nobleman found it impossible to govern so divided a country. At last the two courts of France and England, ordered their ministers to negotiate a cessation of arms, which they accordingly effected. But this tranquillity was of no long duration; Mar soon after died of grief for the distracted state of his country, and the earl of Morton elected to the regency. This nobleman had always been directed in his measures by Elizabeth, and it was now determined to support effectually the party at the head of which he was placed. Sir Henry Killigrew was accordingly sent ambassador into Scotland, where he found the partizans of Mary so discouraged by the discovery of Norfolk's conspiracy, that they were glad to submit to the royal authority, and accept an indemnity for all past offences.

France was now the theatre of cruelty, hardly equalled in the most barbarous ages. The deceitful peace granted to the Hugonots was pregnant with horrors that shock humanity. Charles, the more effectually to lull the protestants into a fatal security, offered his sister in marriage to the prince of Navarre, and great preparations were made for celebrating the nuptials with uncommon splendor. Deceived by these perfidious arts, the leaders of the Hugonots flocked to Paris to be spectators of a ceremony which they imagined would for ever put a period to the civil wars which had so long wasted their country. The queen of Navarre died suddenly soon after her arrival, not without the most violent suspicion of poison; and the admiral was dangerously wounded by a base assassin as he was returning to his lodgings. Charles, however, by redoubling his dissimulation, was still able to retain the Hugonots in their fatal security. He



visited the admiral, expressed the greatest concern for his misfortune, and promised to take the severest vengeance on the assassin, and all his abettors. The eve of St. Bartholomew was appointed for putting in execution this horrid scheme. The duke of Guise, who was as the head of this infernal enterprize, communicated the king's intention to the intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards, to arm the citizens privately, and when the alarm was given, to place lights in their windows, break into the houses of the Hugonots, and put them all to the sword without distinction. About midnight, when the whole city was wrapt in darkness, and the unsuspecting victims folded in the arms of sleep, the fatal alarm was given, and the catholics began the horrid butchery. The hatred they had long bore to the protestants stealed their breaths against the feelings of humanity, and all conditions, ages, and sexes, suspected of any propensity to that religion, were involved in an undistinguished ruin. The streets of Paris flowed with blood, and the catholics, after all their detested victims were destroyed, exercised on their dead bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality. They seemed to regret that the work of death was over. Above five hundred gentlemen of rank and fortune perished in this massacre; and near ten thousand of inferior condition. Among the former were admiral Coligny, his son-in-law Teligni, Sobize, Rochefoucault, Pardillon, Piles, Lavardin; all persons distinguished by their births and talents, and whose only crime was their religion. Nor was the court of Paris yet satiated with blood. Orders were immediately dispatched to all the provinces for continuing the sanguinary sacrifice. The people emulated the fury of the capital, and the protestants in Meaux, Orleans, Trope, Bourges, Angers, Tholouse, Rouen, Lyons, and other cities, were butchered in the same inhuman manner. Even the young king of Navarre, and his cousin the prince of Condé, were devoted to destruction by the duke of Guise. Charles, however, would not suffer the sentence to be executed; though he obliged them to purchase their safety by a seeming change in their religion.

Charles himself when he came seriously to reflect on this inhuman massacre was shocked with the thought, and endeavoured to conceal from the eyes of the world his barbarous perfidy. He pretended that a conspiracy of the Hugonots against his person, was suddenly discovered, and that the severity they suffered flowed entirely from necessity. He wished to bury in oblivion a transaction that is shocking at once to religion and humanity. Fenelon, the French ambassador at London, abhorred the treachery, and did not hesitate to express his grief. He blushed, he said, to bear the name of a Frenchman. Being, however, ordered to justify the court of France, he demanded an audience of Elizabeth. He repaired to court, which seemed plunged in the abyss of sorrow. An awful silence reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment. The nobility, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and allowed him to pass without interruption. Sorrow and indignation were painted in every countenance, and declared, in the strongest language, the sentiments of the English nation. The queen heard his apology with great coolness, and calmly answered, that supposing there had been a conspiracy formed by the protestants, it was not necessary to have recourse to such cruel methods; that the same force that had murdered so many defenceless men, might easily have secured their persons; and that by proceeding in a legal manner, distinctions might have been made between the guilty and the innocent; that Coligny, in particular, who was dangerously wounded, could not have fled from the justice of his prince; that cruel assassins were not the proper executors of justice; the sword should not be put into the hands of a ferocious multitude. She added, the future conduct of the king would more fully display his real intentions;

and that, in the mean time, she should proceed no farther than to lament the rigour, with which he had treated his subjects. Elizabeth well knew the power of the Guises, and their attachment to the queen of Scotland. She was therefore unwilling to break with a court that was capable of giving her so much uneasiness.

But though Elizabeth so cautiously avoided coming to extremities with Charles; whose union with the courts of Spain and Rome for the extermination of the protestants, gave her so much anxiety, she afforded protection to all the unhappy fugitives, who, on receiving intelligence of the massacre of their brethren, fled into England; and when the French ambassador made a proposal from his master, to have them delivered up as rebellious fugitives, she plainly told him, that humanity would not suffer her to refuse an asylum to so many wretches, who were driven by the barbarity of their enemies to seek refuge in a foreign country.

Nor did she neglect the necessary measures for her own defence. She prepared for that attack which seemed inevitable from the combined power and violence of the catholics. She fortified Portsmouth; augmented her fleet; exercised her militia; cultivated popularity with her subjects; discharged the sums she had borrowed; and paid the debts which her father and brother had contracted. By these prudent measures she gained the love and esteem of her people, who were willing to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The nobility and gentry offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot, and four thousand horse, transport them into France, and maintain them six months at their own expence, in order to assist the Hugonots to retaliate on their perfidious enemies the miseries they had suffered. When a nation is thus united, little is to be feared from the attempts of a foreign enemy.

The same principles which engaged her to assist the Hugonots in France, pleaded strongly in favour of the distressed protestants in the Low-Countries; but the great power of Philip rendered her more cautious in her proceedings. That monarch sent an ambassador to London, with remonstrances against the conduct of Elizabeth. He complained that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas, and robbed his master's subjects, were protected in England, contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two courts. Unwilling to engage in an open rupture with Spain, Elizabeth published a proclamation, commanding all the Flemings, suspected of rebellion, to depart the kingdom. But this was far from answering the views of the Spaniards. Driven to despair, these wretched exiles undertook the most dangerous expedients. William Vandermark, a person of distinction in the Netherlands; having collected a considerable number of his countrymen, left England in the beginning of April, and made himself master both of the Brill and Flushing. This success raised the spirits of the Flemings; they flocked to his standard, and before the end of the year, he was joined by the greater part of the provinces of Holland and Zealand.

William of Nassau, prince of Orange, put himself at the head of the confederates, who formed, in process of time, the most powerful republic in Europe. The duke of Alva, after being repulsed at the siege of Alcaer, resigned his government. Ten thousand protestants delivered up to the executioner in the space of five years, were to him a subject of triumph! So totally insensible was he to every principle of humanity, and to the gentle temper of the gospel of peace! His successors could not heal these wounds, which eternal hatred had taught to rankle.

A.D. 1573. The Hugonots in France were so far from being crushed from the late massacre, that they soon became more powerful and violent than ever. The prince of Condé, and soon after him the king of Navarre, retracted the abjuration that fear had extorted from them. Under these two chiefs the



the Hugonots were in a condition of revenging the blood of their brethren; and every thing again relapsed into confusion. The catholics had, for some time, closely besieged Rochelle, the bulwark of the protestants in France. The Hugonots made the most desperate resistance; and the duke of Anjou, who commanded the catholic army, lost twenty-four thousand men, without making any considerable progress in the siege. Anjou now perceived he had undertaken a task he was unable to perform; and sincerely wished that some incident might happen to preserve his honour. His desires were fulfilled. Advice arrived of his being elected king of Poland; and he immediately concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of Rochelle, in which their allies of Nîmes and Montauban were comprehended.

A.D. 1574. Exasperated at this miscarriage, Charles called aloud for new severities; but before he could carry them into execution, he paid the debt of nature on the thirtieth of May, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, after having rendered his name odious to all the world, and thrown an eternal stain of infamy upon his country. He died without issue, and was succeeded in the throne by his brother Henry, duke of Anjou, who had lately been elected king of Poland.

The affairs of Ireland, where the pope's deprivatory bull had very fatal effects, gave Elizabeth great uneasiness. She saw no end to the expence of supporting an army among a ferocious and bigotted people. The earl of Essex, an active young nobleman, offered a proposal to the queen, for putting an end to the troubles in that island. Elizabeth accepted the offer; and it was agreed, that the earl should transport to Ireland two hundred horse, and four hundred foot, and maintain them there at his own expence; that these forces should act against the rebels for two years, the queen furnishing the same number during that period; and that the earl should receive the commission of captain-general for seven years. In consideration of this service, the queen agreed to invest him with half the lordships of Clan-deboy, Ferney, and other lands of a great extent, which he agreed to people with as many soldiers as the queen should think proper to maintain on the other half of these lordships. The expence of maintaining the fortifications was to be equally divided between the queen and the earl. Essex was so fond of this command, which placed him on the footing of a prince, that he borrowed ten thousand pounds of Elizabeth, upon a mortgage of his lands in Essex; and landed in Ireland about the latter end of August, accompanied by the lords Dacres and Rich, three sons of the lord Norris, and many other gentlemen of distinction, who served under him as volunteers. He met with almost every difficulty that could be expected from an attempt of this kind. The lord deputy Fitz-Williams, thinking the command of Essex an encroachment on his own authority, secretly favoured the rebels, and greatly increased the obstructions that naturally opposed the execution of this design. The earl soon perceived that the reduction of the rebels, while clandestinely assisted by the English, was a task beyond his power. He, however, exerted all his abilities, but in vain: he was obliged to return to England, after having spent the greater part of his fortune.

A.D. 1575. Henry III. who ascended the throne of France on the death of his brother, carried on the war with vigour against the Hugonots, who were now more formidable than ever; but soon found himself obliged to grant them a truce for six months, under the mediation of Elizabeth. This was the fifth pacification made with the Hugonots; but the terms were so disgraceful to the crown of France, that the duke of Guise made no scruple to condemn openly the measures and maxims of his sovereign. That old and daring leader embraced this opportunity of forming his party into a regular and consistent body, and laid the foundation of that famous league,

which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the total extirpation of the Hugonots. Henry saw the consequence, and laboured assiduously to adopt a new plan, by acting as arbitrator between the two parties, and, by balancing their power, to reduce both to a dependence upon himself. But all his attempts were rendered abortive. France was reduced to so wretched a condition by the former severities of her princes, that toleration could be no longer practised; and an edict for liberty of conscience, which would, probably, have satisfied the protestants, inflamed the resentment of the Catholics, and threatened the kingdom with anarchy.

A.D. 1576. The prince of Orange still supported the confederacy of Holland and Zealand against all the attempts of Lewis Zuniga, who succeeded the duke of Alva in the government of the Netherlands. But finding it would be impossible to continue the opposition much longer without some foreign assistance, he sent a deputation to Elizabeth, imploring her protection; and offering to acknowledge her for their sovereign, if she would engage in their defence. The queen rejected a sovereignty which she could not support without carrying on the most dangerous wars; but promised to use all her influence in negotiations with Philip in their favour. An ambassador was accordingly dispatched to the court of Spain; but Philip found means to evade a categorical answer, and the war continued to rage with as much violence as ever. An accident delivered the Hollanders, when they were driven to the very brink of destruction. Zuniga died suddenly; and the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper commander, broke out into the most dreadful mutiny. They sacked and plundered the cities of Antwerp and Maestricht, and massacred near seventeen thousand persons of all ages and sexes; nor was there any possibility of preventing their dreadful outrages. They menaced all the cities of the Low Countries with the same fate. Alarmed at the destruction that awaited them, all the provinces, that of Luxembourg excepted, engaged in an association for their mutual defence; and dispatched a deputation to the prince of Orange, imploring his protection, and requesting that he would put himself at their head. Conferences were immediately opened at Ghent; and an union was formed between the provinces, called the Pacification of Ghent. By this treaty, which was signed on the eighth of November, the contracting parties declared, that they had entered into this union for the defence of the laws and liberties of their country, against the encroachments, oppressions and cruelties, long exercised on them by the Spaniards. At the same time, they declared, that, notwithstanding this treaty, they were still willing to acknowledge the king of Spain's authority, provided he would govern them according to the ancient laws. This union being formed, the fortresses raised by the duke of Alva, to keep the Netherlands in subjection, were every where demolished; and the nobility and clergy soon after assembled at Brussels, and took a solemn oath to observe inviolably the articles of the association. Philip was now reduced to the mortifying alternative of either governing according to the laws established by his predecessors, or content himself with the bare title of sovereign, while the regal authority was exercised by others.

The troubles of Ireland still continuing, the earl of Essex was sent back to that kingdom, with the title of earl-marshal, in the room of Sir Nicholas Bagnal. But he soon perceived, that notwithstanding his new dignity, he was little more than a private officer. He, however, exerted all his abilities to reduce that turbulent people to order, but without effect; and he died a few months after his arrival, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by some of the creatures of the earl of Leicester, who was his declared enemy. What tended to give weight to this conjecture, was the imprudent behaviour of Leicester



Leicester himself, who immediately divorced his own wife, and married the widow of the earl of Essex.

A.D. 1577. Don John of Austria, famous for the glorious victory he had obtained over the Turks at Lepanto, was made governor of the Netherlands. He was naturally of an aspiring genius, and, encouraged by the success that had hitherto attended him in all his undertakings, projected a scheme for rendering himself one of the most powerful princes in Europe. After reducing the revolted provinces of the Netherlands to obedience, he proposed, by the assistance of the pope and the king of Spain, to land a powerful army in England, release the queen of Scots, and carry into execution the bull fulminated at Rome for dethroning Elizabeth. The prince of Orange, informed of his design with regard to the Scottish prince, imparted the secret to Elizabeth; who, fearing the consequences of his ambition, no longer scrupled to assist the oppressed confederates, whose liberties seemed now to be intimately connected with her own safety.

But Don John was not formed for healing the disputes in the Netherlands. He scorned to have recourse to lenient measures; and not thinking himself safe in Brussels, seized the castle of Namur. This violent proceeding convinced the states, that they had nothing to expect from their new governor, and prepared to defend their liberties, which it was sufficiently evident Don John intended to wrest from them. They accordingly dispatched the marquis of Hautree, and Adolphus Meetkirck, to Elizabeth, to vindicate their proceedings, and solicit the loan of an hundred thousand pounds for eight months. Elizabeth very readily granted their request, but insisted that certain towns of the Netherlands should be bound for the payment. At the same time, she entered into a treaty with them, whereby it was stipulated, That the queen should furnish them with five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to be paid by the Flemings, but commanded by an English general; that this commander should have a seat in the council of the states; that nothing should be determined concerning war or peace, without previously imparting it either to the queen or to him; that they should enter into no league without her consent; that if any difference happened among themselves, it should be submitted to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretence whatever, should attempt hostilities against her, they should send to her assistance an army equal to that she had employed in their defence.

Elizabeth did not, however, intend to declare openly against Spain. She sent an ambassador to that court, where he presented a memorial on the twentieth of December, importing, that the queen by no means intended to break the ancient alliance concluded with the house of Burgundy; that with this view she had refused the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had advised the prince of Orange to return to his allegiance, and even threatened him with her displeasure in case of refusal. She added, that she would still continue in the same friendly intentions, and exert all her interest to compromise the present differences, provided Don John, whom she could not but regard as her mortal enemy, was recalled, some other prince, more popular, substituted in his place, the Spanish forces withdrawn, and the Flemings restored to their ancient liberties. If these conditions were accepted, the queen promised, if the Flemings still continued obstinate, to join her arms to those of the king of Spain, and force them to a compliance. Philip, who was far from being pleased with the interposition of the queen, gave an evasive answer, but still continued to furnish Don John with troops and money.

During these transactions on the continent, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's administration, and to the wise precautions she employed in all her measures. Firm, but discreet in her de-

portment, she supported the church of England without alienating, by persecution, those who refused to embrace its tenets. She established no inquisition into men's bosoms; she imposed no oaths of supremacy, except on those who enjoyed places of trust, or received emoluments from the public. Though the exercise of all religious worship, except that of the church of England, was prohibited, she connived at the meetings of the catholics, shewed less indulgence to the puritans, and never exercised the severity of the laws, but to maintain the public order and tranquillity. Had the courts of France and Spain imitated the prudent conduct of the English prince, they might have derived from it the utmost advantages, both to church and state.

A.D. 1578. Don John had, by this time, conceived so thorough a contempt for the states, and hatred to the English, that he listened to no proposition, but that of a vigorous prosecution of the war. He had even proceeded so far, as to execute Ratcliffe, a person of quality, who had been driven out of England on account of his religion; but was unfortunate enough to be taken for a spy sent by Walsingham to murder Don John. Deaf to all proposals for a cessation of arms, the war was carried on with vigour by the Austrian prince, who was bravely seconded by Alexander, prince of Parma, one of the best soldiers of that, or any other age. John received from Italy and Spain vast supplies both of men and money; but notwithstanding his power daily increased, the prince of Orange found means to prevail on the city of Amsterdam to declare in his favour. Alarmed at this acquisition, the court of Spain offered to recall Don John, and to substitute in his room either the prince of Parma, the archduke Ferdinand, or even the archduke Matthias, provided the states would return to their duty. The offer was refused, and the operations of war were continued with the utmost fury. Don John knew that the army of the states lay in a strong camp at Rimenant, and that they expected a strong reinforcement of French troops, under the command of the duke of Anjou; and that prince Cassimire was advancing to join them, with a German army in the pay of the states. He therefore proposed, in a council of war, to attack the enemy before they were joined by their reinforcements. This motion was strongly opposed by the prince of Parma; but his reasons were not thought sufficient, and it was resolved to attack the confederate army. The battle was fought with amazing perseverance, and the English and Scotch auxiliaries distinguished themselves in a very particular manner: they opposed the whole Spanish forces; and had it not been for the amazing genius of the prince of Parma, Don John's army must have been inevitably ruined.

Philip was now convinced that he had every thing to fear from the power of Elizabeth. He saw that the invasion of England, projected by Don John, was at a vast distance; and therefore entered into a fresh negotiation with the pope, for raising troubles against Elizabeth in Ireland. One Steukley, a native of England, whom the pope had created marquis of Leinster, was engaged to command the expedition, and also to attempt to destroy the royal navy of England. Philip, desirous of concealing his being concerned in this attempt, it was agreed that it should be made in the name of his holiness; and that his natural son, James Boncampagni, should be declared king of Ireland. Steukley, on his arrival in the Tagus, was prevailed upon to accompany Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, in making a descent in Africa against the Moors. This put a final period to the expedition. Steukley and his whole detachment were cut to pieces, and Don Sebastian himself fell by the swords of the infidels. A few of the Spanish and Italian troops, who pursued their course when Steukley entered the Tagus, landed in Ireland, and animated the Irish, who were then zealous catholics, though a barbarous people, to continue in rebellion



billion to the English. But the enterprize had no success. The foreign troops were cut in pieces, and about fifteen hundred of the Irish put to death by order of the government; a very cruel execution, and with which Elizabeth was greatly dissatisfied.

A. D. 1580. Hitherto Scotland had been retained in strict alliance with Elizabeth, by the influence of Morton the regent, who had also restored the domestic tranquillity of that unhappy kingdom. But among a people regardless of laws, and agitated with religious controversies, it could not be expected that the authority of a regent could be long supported. Factions were formed among the nobility, who were disgusted with Morton's avarice; while the clergy, whose narrow revenues were still farther invaded, joined the discontented party, and increased the confusion. Alarmed at his dangerous situation, and oppressed with the increasing weight of government, the regent dropt some peevish expressions, implying a desire of being relieved from the care of conducting the administration. This concession, whether real or pretended, was readily seized by the opposite party, and he was dismissed from the regency. Morton, who flattered himself that a general pardon which was now passed, would render abortive all the designs of his enemies, resigned his authority in the hands of the young king, who was then only eleven years of age. James determined to hold himself the reins of government, and conduct, in his own name, the administration of the affairs of the kingdom. The regent seemed at first determined never more to engage in the busy scenes of active life; but seek in domestic affairs that tranquillity which was not to be found in the hurry of a court, and amidst the contentions of turbulent parties. But either his ambition would not suffer him to continue in the shades of obscurity; or he did not find in retirement that tranquillity he expected, for he returned again to court, acquired the ascendant in the council, and directed as before all the affairs of the administration, but without resuming the title of regent. The opposite party saw their danger, and flew to arms, under pretence of rescuing their prince from captivity. Both parties endeavoured to gain the protection of Elizabeth; but that of Morton prevailed, and he was suffered to continue at the head of the administration. The opposite party, however, daily increased, and the power of the regent seemed to be placed on a sandy foundation.

The duke of Guise embraced the opportunity of supporting the party formed against Morton. He sent over the count d'Aubigny, a descendant of the house of Lenox, and cousin-german to the young king's father, to detach that prince from the English interest. D'Aubigny was possessed of all the talents necessary for effecting the projected design. He had been educated in France, was possessed of an insinuating address, and of a pleasing disposition. Guise was not mistaken. D'Aubigny soon gained the affections of the young monarch: and joining his interests with James Stuart, of the house of Ochiltree, a young man of great parts, but of the most profligate manners, who was already in great favour with the king, he insinuated into the tender mind of James, principles of politics and government, very different from those in which he had been educated. He painted, in the most glaring colours, the great injustice of deposing his mother, and detaining her a prisoner in England. James was greatly affected at the sufferings his royal parent had endured, and wished either to resign the administration into her hands, or associate her with him in the government. Alarmed at the great progress daily made by this party in Scotland, Elizabeth dispatched Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling, where James then resided, to warn the king of that danger that would inevitably ensue, if he continued to listen to the false suggestions of d'Aubigny now created earl of Lenox.

Desirous, if possible, of preventing Elizabeth from assisting the party of Morton, James sent excuses to

the court of London; but Lenox, perceiving that the English princefs was determined to ruin him, resolved, if possible, to overturn the Scottish government, as the only expedient that remained to support his interest. Morton was considered as the head of the opposite party, and his ruin was therefore necessary. He was accordingly arrested at the council board, committed to prison, accused of being an accomplice in the late king's murder, and condemned to suffer as a traitor. He confessed upon his trial that he was not ignorant of Bothwell's design, but denied his having ever given his consent to that atrocious act. He added, that he should have revealed it either to Henry or Mary, had not the danger to which he must have been exposed, deterred him from pursuing his design; Henry possessing neither resolution nor constancy, and Mary appearing to him to be an accomplice in the crime. Great interest was made in behalf of Morton. The queen dispatched Sir Thomas Randolph into Scotland, and that ambassador exerted all his influence in favour of the late regent. He even engaged the earls of Argyle, Montrose, Angus, Marre, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. At the same time, an English army moved towards the frontiers of Scotland, to give weight to the intercessions of the ambassador. The French party saw the danger of delaying the execution of the sentence, and Morton finished his life upon the scaffold. He died with the same constancy and resolution he had always displayed in every action of his life; and had his probity and virtue been equal to his abilities, he might have been considered as one of the most accomplished statesmen of the age.

This revolution in Scotland rendered Elizabeth extremely uneasy. She knew that her inveterate enemy, the duke of Guise, would take every opportunity of supporting the prevailing party; and that the popish faction in England would readily join in any attempt to disturb the government. She was also fearful lest Philip, who seemed desirous of supporting the cause of Mary, might embrace the opportunity of assisting the king's party in Scotland, in revenge for the reinforcements of troops, she had sent into the Low-Countries.

A. D. 1580. During these transactions, the papists were not idle in endeavouring to disturb the tranquillity of England. Seminaries had for some time been established at Douay, Rheims, and Rome, for the education of English youth intended for the priesthood; some species of literature being considered as absolutely necessary to support the doctrines of the Romish church, against the attacks of the protestants. These seminaries sent over every year a colony of priests, who having imbibed all the absurd tenets of the catholics, maintained them with all the force of bigotted enthusiasm. They had imbibed the strongest desire of obtaining the crown of martyrdom, and therefore were not to be deterred from propagating their principles by any dangers, fatigues or sufferings. They endeavoured to persuade the people, that Elizabeth, who had been solemnly and publicly anathematized by the holy father, should be treated as an usurper, a schismatic, a heretic; that no faith should be held with princes whom the church had excommunicated, and that it was lawful to effectuate the purpose by sedition, by rebellion, and even by assassination. Parsons and Campian, two jesuits famous for their abilities in casuistry and prevarication, were the great supporters of these detestable principles. The latter was soon after detected in treasonable practices, and publicly executed.

While England was alarmed by the practices of the catholics. Sir Francis Drake returned from his voyage round the world. This intrepid seaman was a native of Devonshire; and introduced at court by the vice-chamberlain Hatton, on proposing to pass into the South Seas through the streights of Magellan,



lan, a voyage till that time unattempted by the English. Drake's fleet consisted only of the five following vessels, for none of them deserved the name of ships: the Pelican, of an hundred tons, commanded by himself; the Elizabeth of eighty tons, under captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of thirty tons, under captain John Chester; and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under captain Thomas Moon. On board this small squadron were embarked one hundred and sixty-four men, and the gallant admiral sailed on a voyage, which, with such small ships, would, even in our times, be considered as a very rash undertaking. He soon found that his vessels were too small for the tempestuous seas near the streights of Magellan, and entered the pacific ocean with only his own ship. During his cruises in the South sea, he took a prodigious booty from the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in that distant part of the world. He sacked and plundered the town of Arica, and in one ship took four hundred pounds weight of Baldivian gold. Hardly any opposition was made by the Spaniards; Drake easily loaded the Pelican with gold, silver, and precious stones. But he soon after learned that the vice-roy of Peru had fitted out two large ships, and sent them to cruise near the streights of Magellan, in order to intercept him in his return. A new passage was therefore to be attempted, as he was in no condition to fight the two Spanish ships fitted out to intercept him. He first endeavoured to find a passage by the north of California; but failing in that enterprize, he sailed for the East Indies, and returned safely by the Cape of Good-Hope. The return of Drake animated the English, who were now desirous of sharing in the riches of South America; and his name became celebrated on account of his bold and fortunate attempt.

It was, however, apprehended that this attack upon the Spanish territories in South America, would occasion an open war with Spain, an event which it was thought should, if possible, be avoided at this juncture. It was therefore moved in the council, that the queen should disown the enterprize, punish Drake, and restore the treasure. But Elizabeth rejected the proposal; she loved valour, and determined to protect that intrepid seaman, against all the machinations of his enemies. She accepted a banquet from him on board the ship which had performed so memorable a voyage, and conferred on the commander the honour of knighthood. The Spanish ambassador did not fail to make complaints against what he called the piracies of Drake. But he was told by Elizabeth, that no treaty with his catholic majesty, excluded her subjects from trading in the South Seas; that she could not consider all South America as the property of the king of Spain, as he held it by no better title than a donation from the bishop of Rome, who having no right over those countries himself, could convey none to another, and whose authority both in temporal and civil matters she disowned. She added, that the insignificant ceremonies practised by the Spaniards in taking possession of such immense tracts of land in America, should never preclude her from sending colonies thither, nor would she even submit to suffer the ocean to be claimed as the property of any prince or person. She, however, ordered part of the treasure to be restored to Pedro Sebura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be an agent from the merchants whose effects Drake had seized; but understanding afterwards that Philip had sequestered the money, she refused to make any farther restitution.

A. D. 1581. The great expences that had attended the government, obliged Elizabeth to call a parliament, who granted the queen a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, and enacted several laws for the security of the government, chiefly against the attempts of the catholics, who had occasioned many disturbances. It was enacted, that whoever recon-

ciled any person to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled, should be guilty of treason: to say mass was subject to penalty of a year's imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred marks: whoever absented himself during a whole month from the service of the church, was subject to a fine of twenty pounds. The uttering slanderous or seditious words against the queen, was punishable, for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony. The writing or printing such words, was felony, even for the first offence.

Paul Wentworth, brother to the member of that name, who had distinguished himself in the preceding parliament, and who was not to be intimidated by the frown of authority, made a motion for a solemn fast to be observed by the members of the house on the twenty-ninth of January. This motion seems to have been made merely to try the strength of the puritan party, who were disgusted with Elizabeth for the rigorous manner in which she asserted her supremacy, by discouraging all motions for the reformation of discipline and ceremonies in the church. This motion was warmly opposed by the court party, but was carried by a majority of fifteen. The queen was highly offended at this rash proceedings of the commons. She sent for the speaker and severely reprimanded him for suffering a motion of that kind to be debated in that house. This was followed by a message delivered by vice-chancellor Hatton, containing a sharp reproach for their proceedings in a matter which so nearly concerned the supremacy of her majesty, and which she had so often declared she would never suffer them to touch. This message being read, Hatton made a motion, that the house should make a submission to the queen, acknowledge their fault, and promise never more to be guilty of a similar offence. This motion was strenuously supported by the courtiers, and the majority submitted to kiss the rod of power. Some of the puritans, however, opposed it, but in vain: and when one of the members rose to speak for the privileges of the house, the speaker immediately stopped his harangue, declaring he would hear nothing "that might give offence to her majesty." So little power and authority did the commons of England at that time enjoy!

The attention of Elizabeth was now wholly directed towards the Spanish monarchy. Philip had acquired the crown of Portugal, and the prince of Parma made such rapid advances in subduing the Netherlands, that there was little hopes the confederates would be able to resist much longer the formidable armies of Spain, under the command of so consummate a general. The queen flattered herself, that the noble opposition made by the states of the Netherlands, would exhaust the treasure of Philip, and render his attempt at last abortive. But the great accession of riches and naval power, which the Spanish monarch had acquired with the crown of Portugal, convinced her that these flattering hopes were chimerical, and that it was absolutely necessary to seek the protection of some powerful alliance to balance the ambitious designs of the aspiring monarch. The animosity which still subsisted between the king of France and the duke of Guise, who had now entered into a close confederacy with Philip, seemed to point out an alliance between the sovereigns of France and England, while the general apprehensions entertained by all Europe of the fatal consequences that might attend the farther acquisition of Philip's power, seemed to require some great and powerful union to prevent its progress.

A treaty of marriage between the duke of Anjou and Elizabeth had been for some time negotiating, and a resolution was now taken to finish the treaty. The duke had long been convinced that political reasons alone would never be sufficient to answer the intended purpose; and he accordingly sent over Simier, an agent of his own, to act in conjunction with his brother's ambassador. He could not have



sent a person more likely to answer his purpose. Simier was artful and intriguing, of insinuating address and agreeable conversation. Instead of entering into the serious reasons of political interest, he entertained the queen with the topics of passion and gallantry. Elizabeth listened to his discourse, and Simier soon insinuated himself so firmly into the queen's favour, that he obtained a more ready access to her person, than even the most favoured ministers of state. Leicester, who had laughed at every preceding treaty of marriage, was now sufficiently alarmed; he feared that the queen was at last caught in her own snare, and that the young Frenchman had really engaged her affections. He was acquainted with the arts of Simier, and exerted all his power to render him odious; he even took advantage of the credulity of the times, and spread reports, that Simier had gained an ascendant over the queen, not by any natural principles of her constitution, but by love potions and incantations. Simier was exasperated at these unmanly proceedings, and determined to ruin the credit of Leicester. He accordingly revealed to the queen a secret which none of her courtiers dared to discover; the marriage of Leicester with the widow of the late earl of Essex, which he had carefully concealed from Elizabeth. The discovery answered the purpose of Simier; the queen was so provoked at this action, that she threatened to send Leicester a prisoner to the Tower, and to prevent the effects of his resentment, took the Frenchman under her own protection.

Encouraged by the accounts he received from his agent, and desirous of finishing a treaty pregnant with so many advantages, the duke of Anjou determined to pass over into England and solicit his suit in person. He accordingly landed at Dover, and secretly visited the queen at Greenwich. Anjou had no reason to be displeased with his visit; he lost no ground in being personally known to Elizabeth. For soon after his departure she commanded Burleigh, now lord-treasurer, Suffex, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and secretary Walsingham, to concert with the French ambassadors the terms of the intended treaty. And as Henry, desirous of freeing France from the restless ambition, the enterprising though timid disposition of the duke of Anjou, had given his plenipotentiaries almost unlimited powers to agree to all the demands of the court of England, the conditions of the treaty were soon settled, and the instrument ready for the royal signet. It was agreed, that the marriage should be celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue should enjoy the free exercise of their religion; that after the marriage was solemnized, the duke of Anjou should enjoy the title of king, but that the management of affairs should continue solely in Elizabeth; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England; that if there should be two males, the eldest, in case of Henry's death, without issue, should be king of France, and the younger of England; that if there should be one male only, and he should succeed to both the crowns of France and England, he should be obliged to reside eight months every two years in the latter kingdom; that the laws and customs of England should be observed inviolate; and that no foreigner should be promoted by the duke to any office in England.

Though these articles were as favourable as possible to the English, and though there was very little probability that Elizabeth, who was then in her forty-ninth year, should have any children by the duke of Anjou, this treaty spread an alarm through the whole kingdom. It was strenuously opposed by all her favourite ministers, and the queen herself, as a proof of her remaining uncertainty, added a clause by which it was declared, that she was not bound to complete the marriage till farther articles, not specified in the treaty, should be agreed upon between the parties, and till the king of France should be certified of their agreement. Walsingham was, therefore,

dispatched to Paris, in order to form the closest connections with Henry, and enter into a league offensive and defensive against the increasing power, and dangerous usurpations of Spain.

But these indications of the queen's irresolution were not sufficient to banish the fears of the English: the dreadful consequences of marrying a catholic were still recent in the minds of the protestants; the idea of the flames of persecution that raged in Mary's reign, excited a detestation in the people against the cruelties of the Roman pontiff and all his adherents. In the mean time Walsingham pursued his instructions with the utmost assiduity; but had the mortification to perceive that the resolutions of Elizabeth were fluctuating and unsettled. Sometimes he received orders to pursue the negotiation for completing the marriage preferable to that of the league; and at others she declared for the league in preference to the marriage. The minister was astonished at this inconsistent conduct in the queen, and the whole privy-council were doubtful what would be the result of this contest between inclination and reason, love and ambition.

The duke of Anjou, who had undertaken the defence of the Low Countries, was now so greatly distressed for want of money, that he had been obliged to put his army into cantonments. This inability of the duke alarmed the confederates. The prince of Orange saw the artful web of policy, he had been weaving so many years ready to be cut in pieces by the sword of the prince of Parma: his last effort was to persuade the states to throw off even their nominal obedience to the crown of Spain. Accordingly, in an assembly of the confederates at Antwerp, he represented the necessity they were under of either submitting to the terms prescribed by the Spaniards, or of shaking from their necks the yoke of a tyrannical and perfidious master, by disclaiming his authority, and uniting under the duke of Anjou, who had already been declared protector of their liberties. He observed, that as the marriage of the duke with the queen of England was on the point of being concluded, there was all the reason in the world to imagine that Elizabeth would look upon his quarrel as her own; that all the rules of good policy engaged his brother, the king of France, to support him in his new acquired dignity; and that Hainault and Artois, together with French Flanders, which was now returned to the Spanish yoke, would then undoubtedly follow the example of the other states, and join in the confederacy. These reasons, however powerful, did not appear sufficient to induce the states to embrace the offer immediately; they did not think the provocations they had received from the king of Spain, could dissolve the allegiance they owed their sovereign. But the imprudent conduct of Philip effected what their leader attempted in vain. He proscribed the prince of Orange, and set a price of twenty-five thousand crowns upon his head. Exasperated at this tyrannical action, the states immediately assembled, and declared, by proclamation, that Philip, king of Spain, had forfeited the sovereignty of the Low Countries, by violating contrary to his oath, the privileges of the people; "That therefore the provinces, in consequence of the permission given them by Philip himself, when they recognized him to be prince of Flanders, and before they owed him any allegiance, voluntarily, and of their own proper motion, had chosen for their prince Philip Valois, duke of Anjou, and brother to the king of France."

This resolution being taken by the states, a formal deputation was sent to the duke, inviting him to come and take possession of the principality of the Low Countries; but before this could be effected, some very alarming difficulties must be overcome. The active prince of Parma had, with incredible expedition, marched his army towards French Flanders, the provinces where the duke's chief interest lay, and sat down before the city of Cambray. Anjou immediately advanced to raise the siege, at the head of a well-



a well-disciplined army of twenty thousand men. Parma pushed the siege with great violence; but not being able to make himself master of the place before the duke's arrival, he was obliged to abandon the undertaking, and retreat with some precipitation, his forces consisting only of five thousand foot and two thousand horse. Soon after, Pomponne de Bellievre arrived in the prince of Parma's camp, with letters from the king of France, disowning and disclaiming the duke's behaviour, and offering a cessation of arms till every thing could be accommodated in a friendly manner. But the prince of Parma treated this as a mere artifice; and, upon his retreat, the duke of Anjou drove the Spaniards out of the Cambresis. His success was not, however, sufficient to support his army; money was wanting; and unless a very considerable sum could be procured, all his conquests were in danger of reverting again into the hands of the enemy. The most pressing applications were made to Elizabeth, and she remitted the duke an hundred thousand crowns; which, with his own revenues, and the assistance of his brother and the queen dowager, he was enabled to pay his troops, and extend his conquests.

About the middle of November, the duke of Anjou landed in England, and was received with great magnificence and affection by Elizabeth. Every action betrayed her tenderness. She seemed, at last indifferent about concealing it. The truth is, she seems not to have known how far either ambition or affection would carry her; and notwithstanding all her prudence, to have been deceived by both. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coronation, she was seen, after a long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his. This unguarded action was construed into an absolute promise of marriage by all the spectators, and that she was desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. Expresses were immediately sent to every part of the kingdom, as well as to all the courts of Europe. Perhaps Elizabeth, in that critical moment, when she seemed dissolved in softness, was ignorant that ambition would evermore gain the ascendancy in her soul. But she no sooner reflected on the consequences that might possibly result from suffering the softer passions to prevail, than she shuddered at the precipitate step she was going to take; a step by which, perhaps, she was to lose all the glories her wisdom, her courage, and her perseverance, crowned with perpetual success, could impart. She was ready to divide her power, by which all England was obedient to her nod, and all Europe in terror of her frown, with a young man of untried temper, of foreign education, and of a different religion. She was to hear the discontents, the reproaches, nay, perhaps, the curses of her subjects, who, by this marriage, dreaded to see the fair and flourishing fabric of their religion, reared by the toil of princes, and cemented by the blood of martyrs, sink into ruins. She reflected with horror on her sister's misery, who, in the decline of life, married a catholic prince much younger than herself; and she began already to fear a total alteration in the laws and constitution of her country.

The poignancy of these reflections was increased by the extreme aversion which her most favoured courtiers discovered to the marriage. Even the ladies of her bedchamber strongly opposed her resolution with zealous remonstrances. Sir Philip Sidney, the most accomplished young gentleman of the age, ventured to write her a letter; in which he dissuaded her from her present resolution with the strongest reasons, delivered in an elegance of expression then very uncommon. He observed, that the security of her government depended entirely on the affection of her protestant subjects; and that she could not more effectually disgust them, than by marrying a son of Catherine de Medicis, and a brother of the cruel and perfidious Charles, whose hands were embued in the innocent blood of the Hugonots: that the catholics

had always been her mortal enemies; and that if they had not yet united in a body against her, it was owing to their being destitute of a leader capable of conducting their dangerous enterprizes; a defect which would now be supplied by her marriage with the duke of Anjou, who was zealously attached to that communion: that the duke himself had discovered a very restless and turbulent spirit; he had often violated his loyalty to his eldest brother and his sovereign; and little hopes remained that he would passively submit to a woman, whom, in quality of husband, he might think himself intitled to command: that the plain and honourable path she had hitherto pursued, of cultivating the affections of her people, had rendered her reign happy and secure; and however her enemies might seem to multiply before her, the same invincible rampart was still able to defend her: and that though the queen might remain childless, and even old age grow upon her, the singular felicity and glory of her reign would preserve her from contempt; the affections of her subjects, and those of the protestants of Europe, would defend her from attacks; and her own prudence, without any other assistance, would baffle all the efforts of her most malignant enemies; her reign would be glorious, and her memory transmitted, with applause, to posterity.

Elizabeth was struck with Sidney's letter: she continued, for some days, in the most painful reflection and uncertainty; but at last her settled habits of prudence and ambition acquired the ascendant over her temporary inclination. She sent for the duke of Anjou, and had a long conversation with him, in which, it is supposed, she made apologies for breaking her engagements. On leaving her, he expressed the most violent disgust, threw away the ring she had given him, and uttered many curses on the mutability of women in general, and of islanders in particular. He returned, soon after, to the Low Countries; but wanting to make himself absolute master of their forts, he was driven away as a traitor and oppressor, and obliged to return to France, where he died. The distracted state of the French monarchy prevented the queen from feeling any effects of that resentment she had reason to dread from the affront so wantonly put upon that royal family. The blind tenderness of Elizabeth for a man more worthy of hatred than of love, can only be accounted for by the weakness of the human heart, which frequently brings genius and superior merit on a level with the vulgar.

A. D. 1582. The troubles in Scotland still raged with all the fury of an enraged multitude. The death of Morton, and the influence of the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, now earl of Arran, alarmed the enthusiastic preachers. A fast was appointed to be held all over the kingdom, when the pulpits re-founded with declamations against the king's present counsellors. A conspiracy of the nobility was formed for seizing the person of James, who was then at Ruthven, a seat belonging to the earl of Gowry. The utmost secrecy was observed; and the council not having the least intimation of the conspirators' designs, the attempt succeeded without any opposition. The earls of Gowry and Mar, the lords Lindesey and Boyd, the masters of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dunfermline, Plaistey and Cambuskenneth, were the principal leaders in this enterprize. James wept when he found himself deprived of his liberty. "No matter for his tears," said one of the conspirators, "better that boys should weep than bearded men." James was deeply affected, and could never be prevailed upon to forgive the expression. He, however, prudently submitted to the present necessity, and stifled his resentment. He agreed to issue writs for calling an assembly of the church and a convention of the states, in order to exculpate the associated lords from the crime of treason, and ratify their enterprize. Though the ecclesiastical assembly had no right to meddle with civil matters, yet on this occasion they usurped an authority



rity they never enjoyed, and declared that the late attempt was agreeable to all that feared God, or desired to preserve the person of the king, and the prosperity of the realm. They even threatened every person who should dare to oppose the authority of the confederated lords with the severest ecclesiastical censures. The convention ratified these proceedings, and declared the attempt of the associates a lawful act. The earl of Lenox, unwilling to excite a civil war in the bowels of his country, retired into France, where he soon after died. The earl of Arran was confined a prisoner to his own house; and Elizabeth sent ambassadors to compliment the captive king upon his delivery from his late pernicious counsellors.

A.D. 1583. Soon after, two ambassadors arrived from France, to enquire into the situation of the Scottish monarch, make him the strongest professions of their master's friendship, and procure an accommodation between him and his mother, the queen of Scots. This attempt alarmed the fanatical preachers, who used all their interest to render the design abortive. They even proceeded so far by their invectives, that the ambassadors were openly affronted in the streets. James had no power to repress this insolent behaviour; and the ambassadors, finding it impossible to carry on any negotiation with such a bigotted and ferocious people, left the kingdom. About the same time, Mary wrote to Elizabeth a very strong and pathetic letter, complaining of the hardships she had suffered during so many years, without being allowed even the exercise of her religion, without the liberty of corresponding with her only child, whose imprisonment had put the finishing stroke to her misfortunes. Overwhelmed with chagrin, and worn out with sufferings, she asked for nothing more than her liberty, for which she offered to sacrifice her crown, and every other right she possessed.

Elizabeth was affected with Mary's situation, but political motives still obstructed her designs of setting that princess at liberty. She was apprehensive of the consequences, and the hopes of Mary once more vanished. In the mean time, James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and flying to St. Andrews, summoned his friends and partizans to attend him. The confederated lords perceiving that all the opposition they could make would be in vain, made no attempt to recover their authority: some of them accepted a pardon, which was offered them on their submission; and the rest took shelter in Ireland and England. The earl of Arran, a man without either morals or moderation, was recalled; and the king, by this imprudent action, exposed himself to share the hatred that insolent nobleman deserved.

A.D. 1584. James seemed, for a time, to have thrown off his pusillanimity. He summoned a parliament, and caused an act to be passed for preventing the clergy from sowing the seeds of sedition from the pulpit. It was declared, that no clergyman should, for the future, presume to blacken the character of the king, or his ministers, in their sermons, or censure the affairs of the government. This highly provoked the enthusiastical preachers: they said, that the king himself was a papist in his heart, and bestowed the most degrading epithets on his friends and favourites. But all their attempts would, probably, have been rendered abortive, had not the violent conduct of the earl of Arran engaged the people to support them. Gowry, notwithstanding the late pardon, was tried, and executed; and many innocent persons suffered from the tyranny of that favourite. The banished noblemen were persuaded that they had now an opportunity of recovering their honours and estates: they made the attempt, and were successful. Arran was degraded from his authority, deprived of the estate and title he had usurped, and the whole country seemed to have obtained that tranquillity which had so long been sought for in vain.

During these transactions in Scotland, the English were frequently alarmed by the practices of the discontented party. All the prudence of Elizabeth could not secure her from conspiracies. The zeal of the papists grew stronger by restraint. The partizans of Mary were impatient to set her at liberty. A large packet of letters was dispatched, containing the most earnest exhortations to several ladies more immediately concerned about the person of Elizabeth, to imitate the example of Judith, and put a period to the life of a princess anathematized by the holy father. At the same time, assuring them, that they would be powerfully protected by the pope, the king, and the duke of Guise, who had formed an association for restoring the catholic religion in England, and extirpating the protestants. These letters appeared to have been written by one Francis Throgmorton, a young man of good family and excellent parts; who being apprehended, and brought before the council, absolutely denied the accusation; but on being shewn two lists, one of all the ports in England favourable for landing an army, and the other of all the gentlemen who favoured the Romish religion, and were well disposed to assist in an invasion, he retracted his denial, and made the following confession: "That going, some few years since, to the German Spaw, he contracted an intimacy with Jeney and Sir Francis Inglefield, two English fugitives; that their conferences generally turned on the best means of invading England; and that they had delivered him the two lists above mentioned: that after his return, Morgan, another fugitive in France, told him the catholic princes had formed a design to free the queen of Scots from her confinement, and that the care of executing the attempt would be committed to the duke of Guise: that nothing was wanting but to know what assistance might be depended upon from the English catholics: that, in order to form their measures on more certain information, Charles Paget, under the name of Mope, was sent into Suffex, where the duke of Guise intended to land his forces: that he (Throgmorton) himself had imparted the project to the Spanish ambassador, who, he found, had been already entrusted with the secret, and shewed him a copy of the list of the ports where the troops might be landed: that he also acquainted the ambassador with the names of the nobility to whom he might safely open his mind, in order to promote the design; and that conferences had actually been held on the best method of raising troops in England to join the foreign forces on their landing." Throgmorton was immediately sent to prison, and afterwards executed at Tyburn, where he retracted the confession he had made before the privy-council.

Some prudent measures pursued with regard to Ireland, greatly tended to put a period to the troubles in that kingdom. Sir John Perot, lord-deputy, summoned a parliament, in which the estates of many of the most dangerous rebels were sequestered; and the queen granting the earl of Ormond, who had headed the insurgents, some part of his lands, sold the rest, at very easy rates, to adventurers, who undertook to plant and improve the country. Sales were made of intire baronies, into which the Irish counties were divided; and the purchasers, under colour of their general grants, turned the innocent as well as the guilty, out of their possessions. The queen endeavoured to repress this rapacity by a proclamation, by which the injured proprietors, by an instance of good fortune, rare in that country, enjoyed the benefit. The lord-deputy, a person of rigid justice and inflexible integrity, taking care to see it duly executed. No governor of that island was ever more diligent, vigorous and impartial, in administering justice, equally to the English and the Irish. This raised him many enemies among the former, who thought themselves injured in being restrained from oppressing the latter; but by this means he introduced order and regularity into the government, and soon reduced



Munster into a state of tranquillity. Nor was he less successful in reducing the native Irish and Scottish highlanders in Ulster to obedience. He forced them to swear allegiance, and submit to hold their lands in vassalage from the queen, pay her majesty a yearly rent, and engage to supply her with a certain number of soldiers in case of a rebellion.

The Spanish ambassador laboured assiduously to render these attempts for reducing the Irish abortive, and to keep up a strong party against the government. He was also very assiduous in stirring up disturbances in England, and blowing the coals of sedition; so that he was now considered by Elizabeth as the most dangerous enemy she had in England. He was accused of being the principal agent in a conspiracy formed against the queen's life. John Somerville, a bigotted catholic of Warwickshire, undertook a journey to London, in order to put the queen to death with his own hand, and actually attacked some of her attendants with his sword. The attempt, however, miscarried: he was easily secured, confessed his intention, and discovered his accomplices, who were all tried, and found guilty of high-treason. This, and other alarming attempts of the popish faction, greatly affected Elizabeth, and the Spanish ambassador was ordered to leave England. Philip considered this as an high affront, and refused to hear any apology from the English princes.

One Creighton, a Scotch jesuit, had been employed by Mary in soliciting twelve thousand ducats promised her by the court of Rome. Creighton, on his return, happened to be taken by a Dutch privateer, and attempted to destroy his papers, by tearing them to pieces, and throwing them overboard; but the wind driving them back into the ship, they were sent, with Creighton, to England. Part of them was lost, but enough was discovered to inform the ministry, that the pope, Philip, and the duke of Guise, had entered into a league to dethrone Elizabeth; to disinherit the king of Scotland, as an open favourer of the reformed religion; to marry the captive queen to some English nobleman; to place him on the throne; and to cause the issue of that marriage to be declared the lawful successors to the crown and kingdom of England.

Mary felt the effects of these associations; she was more closely confined than ever; though it is doubtful whether she really encouraged the secret practices of the catholics, or whether their attachment to her person and religion induced them, without her consent, to withdraw their allegiance and their duty from Elizabeth. The protestants loved the queen as much as the catholics hated her. A kind of confederacy was formed in her favour; and the parliament, which these practices of the papists induced her to summon, set no bounds to the testimonies of their zeal. They even authorized her to establish a committee, with power to judge any person who should make pretensions to the crown, or frame any attempt against her. The jesuits, and other priests of the Romish church, were banished the kingdom; and in case either of their continuance in England, or return thither, they were deemed guilty of high-treason. The same sentence was pronounced against the English students in foreign seminaries, unless they returned within a limited time, and made the usual submissions. From that time popery was no longer tolerated; the laws were executed with rigour; and, in the space of ten years, fifty priests suffered death. But surely excessive severity is not the most eligible method of reconciling the catholics, either to the government or the national religion; lenient and conciliating proceedings seem best adapted to effect the one, and candid reasoning the other.

Besides passing these severe laws against the papists, the commons voted the queen a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths. The only circumstance in which their proceedings were disagreeable to her majesty, was an application which the commons made for a farther reformation in ecclesiastical affairs. Though

the majority of the house were puritans, they did not chuse to proceed on this delicate subject in the usual manner: they were afraid of offending the queen; and therefore petitioned the upper house, in order to effect the desired reformation; a measure that shews at once the absolute power of Elizabeth, and how far the commons were, at that time, from asserting those principles which have since acquired them so much dignity and power.

Their petition chiefly regarded an ecclesiastical tribunal, called the High Court of commission, established the preceding year. This tribunal was arbitrary, and may be considered as one of the worst abuses of despotism. The whole kingdom was subject to its decrees. The commissioners, who were forty-four in number, had the power of examining into errors, heresies, and every thing relative either to faith or worship. In order to discover offenders, they had the power of employing odious and illegal methods, particularly the oath *ex officio*, by which the person cited was obliged to answer all interrogatories, whether they tended to the accusation of himself, a relation, or a friend. They were authorized to punish fornication, incest, adultery, and all irregularities relative to marriage. The punishments they assigned were arbitrary. They were not liable to any arrest of judgment; and three judges were sufficient to pronounce sentences, which were subject to no controul. In a word, the inquisition, execrated by the protestants, detested even in many catholic countries, seems to have been the model of that tribunal, so contrary to all wise legislation. Elizabeth had no authority but her own supremacy for establishing a court so repugnant to all the rights of humanity. But in that age, the right of supremacy was supposed to involve powers, which no law, precedent or reason, could limit or determine.

Notwithstanding the commons had carried their deference even to a weakness, and petitioned the upper house in the most submissive manner, their attempt did not escape censure. The queen, at the end of the session, after thanking them for their zeal for her person and government, failed not to reproach them for their presumptuous imprudence. She told them, that being charged by God himself with the government of the church, one of her principal cares should be to banish error and schism; that she would not suffer the licentiousness of those who, from hasty interpretations of scripture, would introduce new doctrines; and that she knew well how to observe the medium between the superstitions of Rome and the illusions of new sectaries. But notwithstanding the great power of Elizabeth, and the deference paid her by the commons, the puritans were not to be intimidated. Persuaded that their tenets were undeniably founded on scripture; about five hundred ecclesiastics of that persuasion subscribed a book of discipline conformable to their principles; and the force of the laws was unable to prevent presbyterianism from taking root in the bosom of the church of England.

During this session of parliament, a horrid conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth was discovered. William Parry, a bigotted catholic, after receiving the queen's pardon for a capital offence, retired into Italy, where he openly professed his religion, which he had concealed while he continued in England. Happening to contract an intimacy with one Palmio, a jesuit, he too readily listened to the detestable doctrine of that order, and was persuaded that he could not do a more acceptable or meritorious action than that of taking away the life of his sovereign and benefactor. Campeggio, the pope's nuncio, whom Parry consulted on this important question, removed all his doubts, and approved extremely of his pious undertaking. Parry accordingly retired to Paris, whence he proposed to pass over into England, in order to execute his bloody design. Remorse, however, staggered his resolution; it is not sometimes even in the power of fanaticism to silence the remonstrances of conscience. He was desirous of trying every



every method in his power to soften the persecutions carried on against the catholics, before he proceeded to extremities. His soul shuddered at the complicated horror of the action he was going to commit. He found means of being introduced to the queen; assured her that many conspiracies were formed against her life; and exhorted her, as the only means of rendering the attempts abortive, to allow the catholics a little more indulgence in the exercise of their religion. Finding all his attempts were in vain, he determined to execute his bloody design, and imparted his intention to Nevil, next heir to the Westmoreland family. He highly approved of the atrocious crime, and desired to share in an action which the interests of the church would sufficiently sanctify.

A book newly published by Dr. Allen, afterwards created a cardinal, confirmed their sentiments; and measures were formed for carrying their infernal design into immediate execution. But while they were waiting for a favourable opportunity, the earl of Westmoreland died; and Nevil, hoping to recover the honours and estates of that noble family, revealed the whole to the queen. Parry was seized, and made no difficulty of confessing the fact; and he suffered the punishment appointed by the law for treasonable practices.

A.D. 1585. The doctrine of putting tyrants to death was now generally asserted; a doctrine the more atrocious, as every prince whom the church of Rome thought proper to excommunicate, or declare a heretic, was called a tyrant, however just or prudent in the dispensations of government. Many great and brave men fell victims to the dagger of sanguinary calumny. Baltazar Gerard, a native of Burgundy, undertook the horrid task of assassinating the prince of Orange. He executed the bloody design with an intrepidity that would have done honour to a better cause. He sacrificed his own life, in order to destroy the famous restorer and protector of religious liberty. This event spread a general consternation through the Netherlands, where the people regarded the prince as their father, and where the prince of Parma had made an alarming progress in re-establishing the authority of Philip. In this deplorable situation the states offered the sovereignty of their country to Henry III. king of France. But the present condition of that monarchy obliged the king to reject so advantageous an offer.

Reduced to extremity, the states sent over a solemn embassy to Elizabeth, imploring the queen to take them under her protection. The business was of a delicate nature; and the council were divided in opinion, whether they should accept or reject the offer. Some considered the Flemings as rebels, whose revolt could not be countenanced without injustice, and whose proposals, if they were accepted, would expose the kingdom to dangers, to which they would bring no adequate advantage. Others represented the unbounded ambition of the king of Spain, his tyranny in the Low Countries, his implacable hatred to Elizabeth, as sufficient motives for accepting the offer. It was said, that the acquisition of the provinces, and the efforts of a brave people groaning under the weight of lawless power, would lessen the danger, by multiplying resources. The queen, always less enterprising than circumspect, thought proper to adopt the medium. She declined the sovereignty, that she might avoid the reproach of being an usurper; but she entered into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the states, whereby she engaged to send them six thousand men, and maintain them during the war: that the general, and two others, whom she should appoint, should be admitted into the council of the states; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other; that her expenses should be refunded at the conclusion of the war; and that the towns of Flushing and Brille, with the castle of Rammekins, should be immediately put into her hands, by way of security.

Elizabeth well knew that this measure would im-

mediately occasion a rupture with Spain; but the present power of the ambitious Philip did not terrify her. His late acquisition of the crown of Portugal, with the rich settlements in the East-Indies, and the great increase of his naval power, were not sufficient to deter her from succouring a people distressed, and supporting the liberties of a country threatened with the most arbitrary despotism. The earl of Leicester, who was appointed to command the English forces, embarked on the twenty-third of October, attended by a splendid retinue, composed of the young earl of Essex, his son-in-law, the lords Audley and North, Sir William Ruffel, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Basslet, Sir Walter Waller, Sir Gervase Clifton, and a select company of five hundred gentlemen. He was met, on his arrival at Flushing, by his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, governor of that place; and every town through which he passed discovered the sincerest joy; they considered him as their guardian angel, their deliverer from impending ruin.

Philip II. was one of the most formidable princes of Europe. Besides large acquisitions in America and the East, he was, in some measure, the arbiter of the court of Rome, and the protector of the holy league formed in France against the Hugonots. He made religion a political resource for his unbounded ambition. The idea of his prodigious power alarmed most of the princes of Europe; and the king of Sweden, when informed that Elizabeth had entered into a league with the states-general, highly blamed her conduct, and said she was tearing the crown from her head. But she shewed no less courage in the danger than prudence in the design. She dispatched a fleet of one and twenty sail, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, with two thousand three hundred land forces, commanded by Christopher Carlisle, to attack the Spanish settlements in America, the chief source of Philip's power, and the most defenceless parts of his extensive dominions. The appearance of the English being wholly unexpected in that distant part of the world, they easily made themselves masters of the capital of St. Domingo, reduced Carthagena, and burnt the towns of St. Antonio and St. Helena, in Florida. Drake lost several hundred men in this expedition, but brought home such a prodigious quantity of treasure, as sufficiently rewarded the survivors for their sufferings. At the same time, he displayed the weakness of the Spaniards in the New World in such alluring colours, that his countrymen were animated to attempt other enterprizes of a similar nature.

Leicester, whose merit was not equal to the favour he enjoyed from the queen, had less success in the Low Countries. The prince of Parma, at the head of twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, made himself master of Grave and Venlo; while, on the other hand, lord Walloughby, governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, cut off a large convoy of provisions belonging to the enemy; and Sir Philip Sidney and count Maurice surprised the town of Axel, in Flanders. The prince of Parma, exasperated at these losses, besieged Rheinburgh, garrisoned by twelve hundred English, under the command of colonel Morgan. Leicester thought this place of too much importance to be neglected, and immediately made dispositions for attacking Zutphen, a town of the greatest consequence to the enemy. The stratagem succeeded: the prince of Parma immediately abandoned the siege of Rheinburgh, and advanced to give Leicester battle before Zutphen. A bloody engagement ensued; but the English, after exerting all their valour, were obliged to retreat. Among others, the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, a man of the finest genius, and the most heroic virtue, perished in this battle. Being mortally wounded, and almost suffocated with thirst, a bottle of water was offered him; but observing a soldier lying by his side, in the same dreadful situation, he resigned to him the valuable acquisition, with this generous observation, "That man's necessities are still greater than mine."



A.D. 1586. Every day brought Elizabeth fresh intelligence of Philip's designs against her person and government. It was therefore of the last importance for her to secure the friendship of the king of Scotland. Wotton, her ambassador, by consulting only how to please him and gain his confidence, soon became thoroughly acquainted with all the secrets of his cabinet. It is no wonder Wotton succeeded in gaining the ascendant over a prince of so open and unguarded a temper as James: he was a master of profound dissimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of the most careless gaiety, the deepest designs and most dangerous artifices. Elizabeth was fearful lest James should contract an alliance by marriage, that might render him formidable to England: in the present state of the Scottish kingdom there was nothing to fear. But Wotton employed his intrigues to still more dangerous purposes: he formed a conspiracy for seizing the person of the king, and delivering him into the hands of the English princess; who would certainly not have been displeased had it succeeded, though she was intirely ignorant of the scheme. The treachery was, however, discovered, and Wotton fled into England.

Though James was highly exasperated at this design against his liberty, he thought it prudent to dissemble his resentment; and the negotiations were soon after renewed, and a treaty of alliance was concluded between the two kingdoms, for their mutual security, and the defence of the protestant religion, against the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. By this treaty it was stipulated, that if Elizabeth was invaded, James should furnish her with a body of two thousand horse and five thousand foot: that Elizabeth, in a similar case, should send him three thousand horse and six thousand foot: that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince that demanded assistance: that if the invasion should be made in England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, James should march his whole force to the assistance of Elizabeth; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign prince, so far as religion was concerned. By this treaty James was guaranteed not only against the dangers of an invasion, but also against domestic troubles, so much the more to be dreaded in Scotland, as the fanaticism of the presbyterian teachers had lately defied the authority of the king, the parliament, and the church. They had even proceeded to that height of audacity, as to excommunicate the archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he had found it necessary to restrain their licentious conduct; and the primate of the kingdom was constrained to divest himself of his ecclesiastical authority. One of the preachers declared publicly from the pulpit, that the king himself was the chief persecutor of the church; and, as a punishment, denounced against him the curse that fell upon Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race. To such unreasonable heights will religious bigotry sometimes carry its votaries!

The catholics extended their hatred much farther to Elizabeth. Her laws had irritated their zeal; and the anathemas of the pontiff convinced them, that it would be no crime to effect her destruction. The tyrant-killing doctrine did not fail of finding assassins for this implacable enemy of the Roman church. Among others that determined to put this destructive doctrine in execution, was one John Savage, who devoted his life to the service of the church, and undertook to execute this execrable design. Another plot was formed in the English seminary at Rheims; and a priest of that school passed over into England with a resolution to assassinate Elizabeth. He found means to engage in this infernal design one Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of fortune and polite education, who had wit and learning, and courage enough to be ambitious of restoring a captive queen to her liberty; and who was susceptible of that false zeal which believes every thing justifiable in defence

of religion. Babington engaged in the conspiracy several catholics of distinction; and it was agreed that a select number should join Savage in the execution of his vow. In the mean time, the papists, in order to carry on their plot with less suspicion, and lull, if possible, the watchful council of the English cabinet into a fatal security, published several hypocritical writings, in which they professed the highest regard for the person and government of Elizabeth, admonished the people of their persuasion not to engage in any practices against the state, but to confine themselves to such weapons as are alone lawful for christians to use, such as tears, prayers, and fastings.

But the watchful Walsingham was not to be deceived: he soon obtained a superficial account of the conspirators designs; and, by the assistance of one Maud, a man of impenetrable dissimulation, who found means to insinuate himself into the favour of Ballard, the minister was regularly informed of every part of the conspiracy. It had been determined, in several of their meetings, to assassinate Elizabeth, place Mary on the English throne, and restore the catholic religion. Babington had, some years before, contracted an intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a pensioner of the queen of Scots, and had by him been introduced to the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the court of France. That prelate strongly recommended him to the captive queen, and he, for some time, managed her correspondence with her foreign friends. But, on her being more closely confined, the connection dropped, and Babington laid aside all farther thoughts of Mary and her concerns. Unfortunately for him, Ballard rekindled all his former zeal for her service; and he undertook, with the assistance of an hundred gentlemen, to deliver the queen of Scots from her confinement.

The plan being settled, Babington wrote to Mary, informing her of all that had passed between him and Ballard; and insisted that the gentlemen, who were concerned in so dangerous an attempt for her service, should be assured of a reward suitable to their merit. This letter was written in the usual cypher which had passed between him and Mary; and was so agreeable to her, that she failed not to answer it in the same cypher, desiring the conspirators to be extremely cautious, lest they should precipitate matters before the return of their English friends from abroad, before they were assured of foreign succours, and before some disturbances were raised in Ireland. At the same time, she pointed out the most natural methods for her own deliverance, which were either by overturning a cart in the gateway of the house where she was confined, setting the stables on fire, or carrying her off when she rode out for the benefit of the air.

These letters were carried to Walsingham, who was still desirous of farther information. Accordingly he added to one of Mary's letters, delivered to him by Maud, his trusty agent, a postscript in the same cypher, requesting Babington to send her the names of the principal conspirators. The stratagem succeeded; and the statesman soon discovered, that Savage, already mentioned; Charles Tilney, a man of family, and one of Elizabeth's pensioners; John Charnock, a gentleman of Lancashire; Edward Abington, whose father had been cofferer to Elizabeth; Chideock Tichburn, a gentleman of Southampton; and one Barnwell, a person of quality in Ireland, were the six engaged by oath to assassinate the queen. At the same time, the ridiculous vanity of Babington furnished Walsingham with another method of discovery, and also an indication of defence. He had caused a picture to be drawn, in which he himself was represented standing amidst the six assassins, with a motto, implying, that they were all embarked in some dangerous enterprize. A copy of this picture was carried to Walsingham by another of his spies, who had found means to insinuate himself into Babington's confidence. Walsingham delivered this copy to the queen, that she might know the



the assassins, and be upon her guard if any of them should attempt to approach her person.

Convinced that all delays in enterprizes which depend upon secrecy are dangerous, Babington procured a licence for Ballard, under a feigned name, to pass over to the continent. The real intention of his journey was to hasten the foreign succours, whose arrival was desired with anxiety. And to remove all suspicion, Babington applied to Walsingham himself, pretended the greatest zeal for her majesty's service, offered to go abroad, and employ that confidence which he had gained among the catholics, to the detection and disappointment of their conspiracies. Walsingham desirous of seizing all the assassins, commended his loyal intentions, promised to assist him with his own counsel and advice in the execution, fed him with delusive hopes, and kept up a correspondence with him.

Babington having, as he imagined, gained the favour of Walsingham, began to flatter himself that the whole scheme would succeed according to his wishes. But while he was lulled in this fatal security, Ballard was seized by a warrant from one of the secretaries of state. This incident alarmed the conspirators, and introduced confusion into their councils. Some proposed, as the only method of escaping, to pass immediately over to the continent: while others advised, that Savage and Charnock should execute, without delay, their intended purpose upon Elizabeth. The last proposition was agreed to, and Babington furnished Savage with money that he might purchase cloaths necessary for obtaining the more easy access to the queen's person. The next day they began to apprehend that they had taken the alarm too hastily; and Babington, having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, the anxiety and concern with which the consciousness of guilt had inspired the conspirators, began to subside; they flattered themselves that the seizure of Ballard was owing entirely to the usual diligence of informers in detecting popish and seminary priests: Babington was even persuaded to take lodgings in Walsingham's house; but observing that all his actions were watched with the most careful assiduity by one Scudamore, he began to be alarmed for his safety. Soon after, as they were sitting at supper, Scudamore received a note from Walsingham, ordering him to watch Babington more narrowly than ever; and Babington by Scudamore's inadvertency, reading the note over his shoulder, was sufficiently convinced of his danger. He rose hastily from table, went out of the room, as if on some sudden occasion, made the best of his way to Westminster, and, after acquainting Charnock and some others with the discovery he had made, they withdrew immediately into the woods, where they concealed themselves for ten days; but were at last discovered near Harrow on the Hill, dressed like countrymen, and brought prisoners to London.

On the thirteenth of September Babington and Ballard, with five of their accomplices, were arraigned, and pleaded guilty; and the next day seven more of the conspirators were convicted on evidence. The first seven suffered the sentence pronounced against traitors in its utmost rigour; but the others were suffered to hang till they were dead. They all behaved with great decency and resignation, and confessed their sorrow for that part of the conspiracy relative to the murder of Elizabeth.

The council having rendered abortive this alarming contrivance, and punished the lesser conspirators, measures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots, on whose account, and by whose concurrence, this deep and dangerous plot had been formed against the life of the queen, and the peace of the kingdom. But great difficulties occurred with regard to the manner of proceeding. Scarce a precedent in the history of mankind could be found of a measure of this kind; not one in the annals of England. Some of the council therefore proposed, that no farther proceedings should be carried on

against the queen of Scots; thinking that the close confinement of a woman, who was now become very sickly, would be a sufficient security to the government. Leicester advised that Mary should be secretly dispatched by poison: but Walsingham declared his abhorrence of so detestable an action, and insisted that all their proceedings should be open and candid. The majority of the council declared for the same opinion, and a resolution was taken for trying the queen of Scots. The princess was accordingly removed to Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire, the last scene of her mortal pilgrimage.

She had for some time been so strictly guarded, that she was still ignorant of the detection of Babington's conspiracy; and she received the intelligence of this event with equal surprize and concern, from Sir Thomas Gorges, who had been sent for that purpose by Elizabeth. He chose to give her this information, when he was taking the air on horseback.

Her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, were immediately apprehended; all her papers were seized, and transmitted to the council: many letters from persons abroad, and some from English noblemen, expressing their firm attachment to her person and title. The queen thought proper to take no notice of this last discovery; but the persons themselves, conscious of their guilt, and dreading the punishment due to their crime, endeavoured to atone for their fault by changing their principles, and declaring themselves inveterate enemies to the queen of Scots.

An act had been passed in the last sessions of parliament, relative to the crime of treason, and it was determined to try Mary on this statute, and not by the common laws made against that crime. Accordingly the queen appointed a commission, consisting of forty noblemen and privy-counsellors, and judges, who were empowered to examine and pronounce sentence against Mary, whom they styled daughter and heir to James V. late king of Scotland.

On the eleventh of October, the commissioners repaired to Fotheringay castle, and Sir Walter Mildmay, and Edward Barker delivered to the queen of Scots a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commission, and of her approaching trial. Mary read the letter with a countenance more becoming her dignity than her situation, and told them, without the least emotion, that it was very surprizing the queen should command her as a subject, to submit to a trial and examination before persons of a rank far inferior to herself: that she was an absolute independent princess, and would submit to nothing that had a tendency to lessen her royal majesty, the state of sovereign princes, or the dignity or rank of her son: that however her spirits might be broken and oppressed by misfortunes and calamities, she was not yet reduced to that abject state her enemies desired; nor would she ever be prevailed upon to consent to her own degradation and dishonour: that though she had long lived in England, she had lived in captivity; was ignorant of the laws and statutes of the kingdom, destitute of council, and could not conceive who could be called her peers, or sit in judgment on a sovereign princess: that she had never enjoyed the protection of the laws of England, and therefore could not be supposed to have subjected herself to their jurisdiction and authority: that if in her own person every rule of justice should be violated, she should find her revenge in the judgment of the whole world, where her innocence would triumph on a theatre infinitely larger than that of a single kingdom.

This spirited answer to Elizabeth's letter greatly embarrassed the commissioners, who deputed lord Burleigh, the treasurer, Bromley, the chancellor, and Sir Christopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, to prevail upon her to relinquish her plea with regard to her royal dignity, and submit cheerfully to a trial which was now absolutely impossible to be avoided, even though her acquiescence could not be obtained. Various arguments were urged on this occasion, but



those which chiefly prevailed on Mary to lay aside her plea of royalty, were those advanced in the following speech made by vice-chamberlain Hatton: "You are, Madam, (said he) accused, but not condemned, of having conspired the destruction of our lady and queen anointed. You say, you are a queen: but in such a crime as this, and such a situation as your's, the royal dignity itself is not sufficient, either by the civil or canon law, or the law of nature and nations, to exempt you from judgment. If you are innocent, you injure your reputation by avoiding a trial. We have heard your protestations of innocence; but queen Elizabeth thinks otherwise, and is heartily sorry for the appearances that lie against you. She has therefore appointed commissioners, honourable persons, prudent and upright men, to examine your cause. They are ready to hear you with equity, and even with favour; and will rejoice if you can clear yourself of the imputations which have been thrown upon you. Believe me, madam, the queen herself will rejoice; for she affirmed to me at my departure, that no misfortune had ever given her so much uneasiness, as that you should be suspected of a concurrence in these criminal enterprizes. Laying aside, therefore, the fruitless claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which can now avail you nothing, trust to the better defence of your innocence; make that appear in open trial, and leave not upon your memory that stain of infamy which must attend your obstinate silence on this occasion." These arguments produced the desired effect: Mary gave up her plea of royalty, and agreed to appear before the court of commissioners.

The trial had the appearance of great order and solemnity. At the upper end of the room was placed a chair of state for the queen of England, under a royal canopy: over against it, at some distance, stood a chair for the queen of Scots: by the walls, on both sides, benches were placed for the commissioners. As soon as the court was opened, the chancellor, turning to Mary, told her, "that she was accused of conspiring the destruction of the queen, the realm of England, and the protestant religion; and that they were commissioned to examine into the truth of the accusation, and to hear her answer. Mary replied, "that she came into England to crave the assistance which had been promised her: that she was a queen, and no subject to Elizabeth; and if she appeared before them, it was only to secure her honour and reputation." The chancellor denied that any assistance had been promised her; and declared, that her protestation was in vain; for since the law, upon which the accusation was founded, allowed of no distinction in the person of the transgressor, it could not be admitted. The commissioners, however, accommodated matters, by ordering both her protestation and his answer to be recorded.

This contested point being settled, the crown lawyers opened the charge against Mary queen of Scots. They accused her of offering to cede to the king of Spain the right to the crown of Scotland, if James, her son, refused to be a convert to popery. Mary did not attempt to exculpate herself from this accusation; she only answered, that she had no longer a kingdom at her disposal, but had still power to give what belonged to her, and was not responsible to any person. Strong proofs were produced, that she had formed a resolution of disinheriting her son as an heretic; that the late alliance of that prince with Elizabeth had heightened these prejudices; and that her maternal tenderness was abated by time, resentment, and religious zeal.

But these facts no way affected Mary's life: she knew this, and took no pains to confute the assertions. The great business was to prove the capital charge of the impeachment, that Mary had concurred in the conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth.

In order to establish this accusation, copies of the intercepted letters between her and Babington were

produced, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed; the evidence of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who, even without being threatened with the torture, had sworn, that she both received these letters from Babington, and that they had wrote the answers by her order. The confession of Babington also corresponded with the depositions of her secretaries. Mary was incapable of making a satisfactory defence before the commissioners: her reply consisted chiefly in her own denial. She asserted, that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of secrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence could not be credited; and that if these men had received any letters, or wrote any answers, the imputation could never lie upon her. She added, that it was easy to forge the hand writing and cypher of another.

But if we reflect on the enterprising character of Mary, on the odious treatment she had received, on her hatred to Elizabeth, on the prevalence of the tyrant-killing doctrine, and on the established opinion, that it was lawful to make use of any violence against a prince excommunicated by the pope, and separated by the church, we may believe, without difficulty, that Mary might concur in a measure so advantageous to herself. Many reasons render the thing more than probable. To say that Mary's two secretaries held a correspondence with Babington, wherein she was not concerned; or that they should betray their mistress, without so much as having been suspected themselves; or that Walsingham, a minister of integrity, if ever there was one, had forged the letters, and counterfeited the hand, would be to start so many indefensible propositions. In short, the only circumstance in her defence, which to us may appear to have some force, was her requiring that Nau and Curle should be confronted with her, affirming, that they would not, to her face, persist in their evidence. However agreeable this demand was to natural justice, it was observed to her, that in cases of high-treason, the laws and customs of England did not admit of confronting the evidence with the prisoner, and that the judges were not empowered to grant any indulgence.

The trial being finished, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay castle to the star-chamber in London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who voluntarily attested the authenticity of the letters produced at the trial, they pronounced sentence of death against the queen of Scots. At the same time, a declaration was published, importing, "That the sentence against Mary no way derogated from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced."

Elizabeth had now sufficiently humbled her hated rival; but she was too politic to express her joy on this occasion. Majesty, in the very abyss of distress, was not an object of exultation. She affected to be deeply interested in the fate of an unfortunate relation; declaring, that however injurious her designs might be to herself, she was willing to bury them for ever in the gulph of forgetfulness; and that the safety of her people alone, which was nearly interested in the fate of the queen of Scotland, induced her to withhold a pardon. She summoned a parliament; that while she indulged the most implacable hatred, she might appear to be guided solely by the voices of her subjects. She well knew, that she should not want the most earnest solicitations from that assembly, to consent to a measure so agreeable to her secret inclinations. She was not deceived: the two houses confirmed the sentence pronounced against Mary, and requested the execution of it with all the ardour she could desire. Elizabeth failed not to support, with great propriety, the part she acted: she made a parade of humanity and hypocritical moderation, would promise nothing, and left the world in uncertainty with regard to her real sentiments. She complained of her own unfortunate situation; expressed her

uneasiness





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*The Death Warrant read to  
Mary Queen of Scots in the Hall wherein she was Beheaded.*



uneasiness from the importunity of her parliament; renewed her expressions of affection for her people; but still refused to declare her real intention with regard to the fate of the captive princess. She, however, complied with the request of the parliament, with regard to the publication of Mary's sentence. The lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk of the council, were sent to notify to the queen of Scots the sentence pronounced against her, its ratification by the parliament, and the earnest applications made by that assembly for its being carried into execution, from a persuasion that their religion could never, while she was alive, attain a full settlement and security. Mary received the news with joy, the idea of dying a martyr for the catholic faith supported her spirits in this melancholy moment. "I can hardly believe (said she, smiling) that the queen, my sister, has consented to my death; but if her will be such, that death, which will put an end to my sufferings, cannot be unwelcome to me: and I think that foul unworthy of celestial happiness, that should shrink in passing through the gloomy valley of the shadow of death."

Great efforts were, in the mean time, made by foreign powers, to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced against Mary. The ambassadors of France and Scotland made vehement remonstrances, though it has been pretended, that the opposition made by the king of France was not sincere: but however that be, it had no weight with Elizabeth; she still persisted in her former resolution. Her ministers, indeed, strenuously opposed every argument that had a tendency to make her hesitate. They enlarged on the troubles and conspiracies that had been excited by the queen of Scotland. They observed, that she was already degraded from her rank; and that, in natural equity, every person, much more a sovereign, had a right to justice against those who should attempt his life. They added, that while Mary lived, every thing was to be feared from the attempts of the catholics; that things were now come to such a crisis, that the death of one of the two queens was necessary to the security of the other; and that, in this extremity, prudence and justice demanded the punishment of Mary.

We shall not be surprised at this strenuous opposition of the ministry, when we consider the situation of England at that critical juncture. No successor to the crown was declared; the heir by blood, to whom the people were most likely to adhere, was, by education, an enemy to the national religion; and, from multiplied injuries, an implacable enemy to the ministers and principal nobility. Hence their personal safety, as well as the security of the government, seemed to depend solely on the queen's life, who was now somewhat advanced in years, and perpetually exposed to the dagger of assassination. No wonder, therefore, that Elizabeth's counsellors, who knew themselves so obnoxious to the queen of Scots, endeavoured to push every measure to extremity, in order to prevent her ever mounting the throne of England.

Elizabeth, however, still continued to conceal her sentiments, though her actions sufficiently indicated that she had malice in her heart; and her duplicity furnished her with new artifices. Rumours of invasions, rebellions, and assassinations, were spread with great address. The people were terrified at their danger, and the death of Mary was considered as necessary to restore the tranquillity of the nation. The captive princess, however, supported herself with such placid dignity, as does honour to her memory. When Sir Amias Paulet took down her canopy of state, she bore the insult with the utmost patience; and when he told her, that she could now be considered only as a dead person, and incapable of any dignity, she only answered, that she received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power could ever wrest it from her. She wrote a very pathetic letter to queen Elizabeth, requesting, "that after the fatal sentence was exe-

cuted, her body might be sent to France, there to be interred near the sacred reliëts of her mother, and accompanied to the grave with those rites and ceremonies which her religion required: that the execution of her sentence might be public; in the sight of all the world; and that her servants, after they had done her the last offices; and been witnesses of her perseverance in the faith, and of her submission to the will of heaven, might be suffered to depart without molestation, and enjoy the legacies bequeathed to them by their dying mistress."

A.D. 1587. Elizabeth now proceeded to the last act of this affecting tragedy. As many intreaties had been used, as many delays had interposed, and as many alarms had been spread among the people, as were thought necessary, or decency required; but even in taking her final resolution, Elizabeth thought some new artifice necessary. She sent for secretary Davison, a man of great parts, but easy to be deceived, and commanded him to make out a warrant for the execution of Mary queen of Scots. He obeyed the order; the queen signed the warrant, and told him to carry it to the chancellor, in order to its having the seal affixed to it. The next day, she sent him a message by Killigrew, enjoining him not to execute her former commands till farther orders. Davison came immediately to court, and informed the queen, that the warrant had already passed the seals. She seemed offended, and blamed him for his precipitation. Alarmed at this inconsistency of conduct, Davison informed the council of the whole transaction; declaring, at the same time, that he would proceed no farther without their participation. They all requested that the execution might be hastened; declaring, that if the queen was offended, they would all equally share the blame; and Beale was accordingly dispatched with the warrant, addressed to the earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, and Cumberland, commanding them to see it carried into immediate execution.

On the seventh of February, the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent reached Fotheringay castle, and informed Mary of their commission; adding, that she must prepare for death the next morning by eight o'clock. She received the summons with great calmness and composure. She confessed, indeed, that she did not expect to die so soon; but all her gestures, looks and words, were full of cheerful resignation. She desired that she might have a conference with her almoner, confessor, and Andrew Melvil, the master of her household; but they refused her request with regard to her confessor. They, however, recommended to her the dean of Peterborough, who would very readily assist her in making preparations for her passage into eternity. She replied, that his assistance was not necessary; and as they had thought proper to deny a request for which the dictates of humanity so strongly pleaded, she would endeavour to supply the defect by her own prayers. To the exercises of a spirited devotion she joined the tenderest care of all her domestics. She made them a proper recompence for their services, wrote letters in their favour to the king of France and the duke of Guise, and took her leave of them in a flood of tears. She had long expected that she should not be permitted to exercise the rites of her religion, and had procured a consecrated wafer from pope Pius, and reserved the use of it for this last period of her life.

She rose in the morning with her usual serenity, and dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one she had kept for herself; and on receiving the summons from the sheriff, appeared with a composed and cheerful countenance: her head was covered with a veil, extending to the ground; her beads hung at her girdle, and she held a crucifix in her hand. In the porch she was received by the earls and other gentlemen, and met by Sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, who bewailed his unhappy fate, in being appointed to carry the fatal tidings of her death to Scotland. Mary was deeply affected at the affection



of her servant, and endeavoured to comfort him. She observed, that there was more reason to rejoice than to lament, as he would soon behold the sorrows and miseries of his queen and mistress at an end; and after kissing him, with her face bedewed with tears, she bid him farewell. Then turning to the noblemen, she desired that her servants might be permitted to attend her in her last moments. The earl of Kent refused this favour. Touched with his cruelty, she cried, "I am the cousin of your queen; I am descended from the royal blood of Henry VII. I have been queen of France by marriage; I have been anointed queen of Scotland!" Striking expressions at that dreadful crisis! The rest of the noblemen were affected, and it was agreed that she might carry some of her servants with her.

She now entered the hall, where a scaffold, covered with black, was erected; and she beheld, with uncommon fortitude, the two executioners, and all the preparations of death. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her by Beale, clerk of the council: she kept a profound silence during the ceremony, but seemed wholly unaffected, while the numerous spectators that crowded the hall were dissolved in tears. The dean of Peterborough began a tedious discourse, in which he exhorted her to abjure the catholic religion, and acknowledge the justice of her sentence, threatening her with eternal perdition if she refused. She answered, with great vivacity, "Give yourself no farther trouble; I was born, have lived, and will die a catholic." The earl of Kent was greatly offended at a crucifix she held in her hand, and desired her to part with that popish trumpery, as he called it; adding, that she should carry Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, with great presence of mind, that it was not easy to have such an object in the hand without the heart's being affected.

Her private devotions being ended, she began, with the assistance of her women, to disrobe herself; on which her servants burst into tears and lamentations. She turned about, laid her finger on her lips, as a sign of imposing silence, gave them her blessing, and requested their prayers. After which one of her maids covered her eyes with a handkerchief; and, without fear or trepidation, she laid herself down; and, amidst the tears and mournful silence of the spectators, received the fatal stroke. The dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all the enemies of queen Elizabeth!" And the earl of Kent was the only person who replied, "Amen."

Thus died Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her imprisonment in England; a princess of consummate beauty, uncommon understanding, and distinguished by such qualities of mind, both natural and acquired, as rendered her the most lovely of women. But her connections with the profligate Bothwell, joined to the effects of a blind and headstrong passion, betrayed her into actions which nothing can excuse, nothing can alleviate; and afford us a striking instance of the inconstancy of the human heart, and the frailty of our nature. The rigorous treatment she met with from Elizabeth, seems to authorize her to lay schemes for regaining her liberty, but not to conspire against her life. The prevalent spirit and principles of that age, together with a bigotted zeal for the catholic religion, which she had acquired during her long captivity, induced her to join in a design repugnant to humanity.

When Elizabeth was informed of the death of the captive princess, she affected the utmost grief and rage. None of her ministers dared to approach her. She openly declared, that the execution had been done without her knowledge, and contrary to her inclinations. She wrote a very pathetic letter to the king of Scotland, calling heaven and earth to witness, that it was her resolution to have spared the blood of Mary. She committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the star-chamber for his offence. The minister well knew the danger of a

contest with his sovereign; he acknowledged his guilt, and sued for pardon. The queen was inexorable; a tedious imprisonment, and a fine that reduced him to beggary, were the reward of his services. No body was deceived by this behaviour of the queen; they knew that dissimulation cost her nothing. Davison wrote an apology to his friend Walsingham, containing many curious anecdotes. He declared, that on the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, who had made strong representations in favour of Mary, she commanded him to deliver her the warrant for the execution of that princess. She signed it readily, ordered it to be sealed, and appeared in such good humour on the occasion, that she said to him, in a jocular manner, "Go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick, though I fear he will die with sorrow when he hears it." At the same time, she blamed Paulet and Drury, that they had not before eased her of this trouble, and wished Walsingham would bring them to a compliance in that particular. "I told her (says Davison) that Paulet had absolutely refused to act any thing inconsistent with the principles of honour and justice." The queen was very angry, and accused him and others of perjury, in having taken the oath of association, whereby they had bound themselves to revenge her wrongs, and yet refused their assistance when it was wanted. "But (added she) there are others who will do it for my sake."

The grief of the king of Scotland was real; he gave way to the most violent complaints and menaces, and abandoned himself to the wildest resolutions. He refused to admit Cary, who brought the letter of Elizabeth, into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from the English court; war and vengeance seemed to have taken possession of his soul. Great part of the nobility caught the flame, and a rupture with England seemed inevitable. When the court went into mourning, lord Sinclair appeared in a suit of armour, and said, his dress only was the proper mourning for the queen of Scotland. Elizabeth was alarmed at these warlike appearances; and, as soon as the first flame was abated, she had recourse to conciliating measures. Walsingham wrote a long letter to James, in which he intimated the dangers to which Scotland would be exposed in a war with England; the inconveniences that must attend his receiving succours either from France or Spain; and how absurd it would be for James to risque his expectations of the crown of England, by irritating the people. These considerations, joined to the peaceable temper of the young prince, prevailed over his resentment, and a good correspondence with the English court was gradually restored.

Having thus dissipated the northern storm that threatened to discharge its fury on England, Elizabeth was more at leisure to watch the motions of Philip of Spain, a far more formidable enemy, who had, for some time, been making preparations for invading England. A prodigious number of ships were equipping in his ports; and though he had not yet declared war against England, no body was deceived in his intentions. But the navy of Elizabeth was able to dispute the prize of victory with the sovereign of the New World. Drake was sent, with a strong fleet, to insult the coasts of Spain, intercept the supplies of naval and military stores continually sending to Cadiz, and destroy the shipping of the enemy in their own harbours. Drake executed his commission with great courage and success, burning and destroying above an hundred sail of ships, most of them laden with provisions and military stores; and after taking the town of St. Vincent, and bombarding Lisbon, he failed for the Western Islands, in order to intercept a rich carrack, or galleon, called the St. Philip, then on her return from the East-Indies. He succeeded, and returned to England with an immense booty. But the most valuable acquisition was a packet of papers found on board the galleon, by which the English learned the nature of the



the oriental commerce, and inspired them with the thoughts of establishing an East-India Company.

Soon after this successful expedition, Thomas Cavendish returned from his voyage round the world. He was a gentleman of Devonshire, who having spent his fortune at court, resolved, if possible, to retrieve it by an attempt against the Spanish settlements in the New World. He fitted out three ships at Plymouth; one of an hundred and twenty tons, another of sixty, and a third of forty. With those small vessels he ventured into the South Seas, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took no less than nineteen vessels richly laden; and returning to England by the Cape of Good Hope, entered the Thames in triumph. His sailors and soldiers were dressed in silk; his sails were of damask; his top-sails cloth of gold; and his booty proportional to this magnificence. It is easy to imagine that such remarkable success must animate others to attempt expeditions of a similar kind.

But the English were not equally successful in the Netherlands. Leicester had intrusted the command of Zutphen and Deventer to Stanley and York, two of his creatures; who, instead of defending those important posts, treacherously delivered them up to the duke of Parma. Alarmed at these practices, the states sent an embassy to the English court, requesting that the government might be taken from the earl of Leicester, and given to some more able and prudent general. Elizabeth, notwithstanding her partiality for her favourite, recalled Leicester; and Maurice, the young prince of Orange, being appointed governor of the United Provinces, soon shewed himself worthy of his father. The lord Willoughby was made general of the English forces in the Low Countries, and received orders to submit to the authority of prince Maurice.

A.D. 1588. But the preparations of Philip of Spain principally engaged the attention of Elizabeth. That hypocritical monarch, though he had not yet declared his intention, was preparing to take his revenge, and to seize the crown of England. Pope Sixtus V. not less ambitious than Philip, excited him to the enterprize: he again excommunicated the queen, and published a crusade against her, with the usual indulgences. All the ports of Spain resounded with preparations for this alarming expedition; the Spaniards seemed to threaten the annihilation of the English. Elizabeth, who was well informed of the storm that was gathering against her, took every precaution to render the attempts of the enemy abortive: she augmented her navy, and exercised her militia. Nothing was neglected; fear was a stranger in the English council.

Philip had spent three years in preparing for an invasion of England; and his fleet, which, on account of its prodigious strength, was called the Invincible Armada, was now completed. A consecrated banner was procured from the pope, and the gold of Peru was lavished on this occasion. This tremendous armament consisted of the following particulars: nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers; eight thousand two hundred and fifty seamen; two thousand and eighty galley-slaves; and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance. The marquis of Santa Croce, an officer of great reputation and experience, was appointed to command the armada; and by his counsels and directions all the naval preparations were conducted. There was hardly a noble family in Spain, but sent either a son, a brother, or a nephew, on board this fleet, in order to acquire riches and estates in England, which was considered as an easy conquest. The duke of Parma, in order to insure success, was ordered to provide transports sufficient to embark an army of twenty-five thousand men, and land them in England as soon as the Spanish fleet appeared on the coast of Flanders. Ships were accordingly provided, and the duke quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieuport.

The magnanimity of Elizabeth was remarkable on this trying occasion. Her fleet at that time consisted of no more than twenty-eight sail, and those, for the most part, small vessels; but the alacrity of her subjects sufficiently atoned for the weakness of her navy. The maritime towns, the nobility and gentry, testified the greatest zeal on this occasion. The city of London fitted out thirty ships, though fifteen only had been required. The gentry and nobility hired and armed forty-three ships at their own expence. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, was lord admiral, and took upon him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The main fleet was stationed at Plymouth; while a smaller fleet, consisting of forty vessels, under the command of lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the forces commanded by the duke of Parma.

The English land forces were superior in number to those of Spain; and though inferior in discipline and experience, they were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of the liberties and laws of their country. Twenty thousand men were cantoned along the southern coasts of England; another body of disciplined forces encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the command of the earl of Leicester, whom the queen, on this occasion, created general in chief of all her forces; and the lord Hunsdon commanded a third army, consisting of thirty thousand men, for the defence of her majesty's person. Arthur, lord Grey; Sir Francis Knowles, Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, men renowned for their valour and experience, were consulted about the management of the war; and, pursuant to their advice, all the landing-places on the coast from Hull to the Land's-End, and thence to Milford-Haven, were fortified and garrisoned. The militia of the country were armed and regulated under proper officers, who received instructions for interrupting the disembarkation of the enemy, wasting the country before them, attacking their rear, and keeping up a continual alarm in their army, till a sufficient force could be assembled to give them battle. Sir Robert Sydney was sent into Scotland, in order to induce James to continue firmly attached to the English interest. The Scottish monarch was sufficiently disposed to cultivate an union with Elizabeth, and even to march, at the head of all the forces of his kingdom, to the assistance of the English. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the connection resulting from their common religion, prevailed upon that prince to seize a squadron of ships, which Philip had either purchased or hired in the Danish harbours. But her chief hopes of success were placed on the affections of her people. The very papists themselves, though they knew the pope had absolved them from their oaths of allegiance, exerted themselves on this occasion. Conscious that they could not expect to be intrusted with authority, several of the young nobility served as volunteers, either in the fleet or army: some equipped ships at their own expence, and gave the command of them to protestants; while others were active in animating their tenants and vassals in support of their sovereign. Party distinctions were forgotten, and every man exerted himself in the defence of his country.

The queen, to excite the martial spirit of the nation, appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, harangued her army, and expressed an entire confidence in their loyalty and courage. She assured her troops, that the weakness of her sex should not prevent her marching at their head against the Spanish invaders; that she would behold and reward their bravery herself; and that she would sooner perish on the field of battle than live to see the slavery of her people. "My arm (said she) is but the arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and, what is more, of a king of England." The whole army caught the heroic ardour of the queen; they were



impatient to meet the enemy, and convince the haughty Spaniards that they still possessed all the spirit of their ancestors.

The death of the marquis of Santa Croce prevented the sailing of the armada. The duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, was appointed admiral in his room. This interval was employed by Elizabeth in making new preparations for rendering the design abortive. At length the invincible fleet sailed from Lisbon on the twenty-ninth of May; but being overtaken with a dreadful tempest, the fleet was obliged to put into the Groyne, having received considerable damage. After a delay of two months, the armada sailed once more to prosecute the intended enterprize. The fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, of which near a hundred were galleons, and of a greater burden than any that had ever before appeared on the coast of England. The Spanish admiral was ordered to sail as near the coast of France as possible, in order to join the prince of Parma, and avoid meeting the English fleet, which might occasion some delay in the enterprize; for it was never imagined that they could make any effectual opposition. But an accident induced the Spanish admiral to neglect this prudent advice. He took a fishing-boat in his passage, the master of which informed him, that the English admiral, persuaded that the late storm, which scattered the armada, had prevented any attempt being made this season, had laid up his ships, and discharged the greater part of his seamen. Deceived by this intelligence, the Spaniard determined to destroy the English ships in Plymouth harbour before he joined the prince of Parma. He accordingly steered towards that port, hoping to obtain an easy victory. The armada was disposed in the form of a half-moon, and stretched to the distance of seven leagues from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The ocean seemed to groan beneath its burden, and the winds to be tired with impelling so enormous a weight. But this tremendous appearance dismayed not the English; they knew their huge vessels were so ill constructed, and so difficult to be managed, that they would not be able to support themselves against the repeated attacks of ships at a distance. Experience soon convinced them that they were not mistaken. Two of the largest ships in the Spanish fleet were soon after taken by Sir Francis Drake; and while the enemy advanced slowly up the channel, the English followed their rear, and harassed them with perpetual skirmishes. The Spaniards now began to abate in their confidence of success: the design of attacking the English navy in Plymouth was laid aside; and they directed their course towards Calais, in order to join the prince of Parma.

The alarm had now reached the coast of England, and the nobility and gentry hastened out with their ships from every harbour, to join the admiral, who soon found his fleet amounted to one hundred and forty sail. He still hung upon the rear of the Spaniards, and distressed them with repeated attacks. At last the armada came to an anchor before Calais, in expectation of being joined by the prince of Parma; but before that general could embark his troops, all hopes of success vanished, by a stratagem of the English admiral. He filled eight of his smaller ships with combustible materials, and setting them on fire, sent them, one after another, into the midst of the enemy's fleet. Terrified at this appearance, the Spaniards cut their cables, and betook themselves to flight in a very precipitate and disorderly manner. In the midst of this confusion, the English fell upon them with so much fury, that twelve of their largest ships were taken, and many more greatly damaged.

The Spaniards were now convinced that the intention of these prodigious preparations was entirely frustrated; and would willingly have abandoned the enterprize, and returned immediately to their own

ports; could they have done it with safety: but this was impossible: the wind was contrary; and the only chance of escaping, was that of making a tour of the whole island, and reaching at last the Spanish harbours by the ocean. But a violent storm soon overtook them, and completed the destruction of the invincible armada; not half the number of vessels returned to the ports of Spain. It is said that Philip, being informed of these disasters, fell on his knees, to thank heaven for leaving him so much; while the Spanish clergy, confounded at an event so contrary to their expectations, assigned a very ridiculous cause for it, namely, that some infidel Mahometans were suffered to continue in a catholic kingdom.

A public thanksgiving was ordered by Elizabeth; and she herself repaired, in great solemnity, to St. Paul's, to perform that sacred duty; and eleven standards taken from the enemy were hung up in the church, as trophies of the success of the English. The queen bestowed rewards on many of her officers who had so nobly exerted themselves in defence of their country; and the whole kingdom was one continued scene of joy.

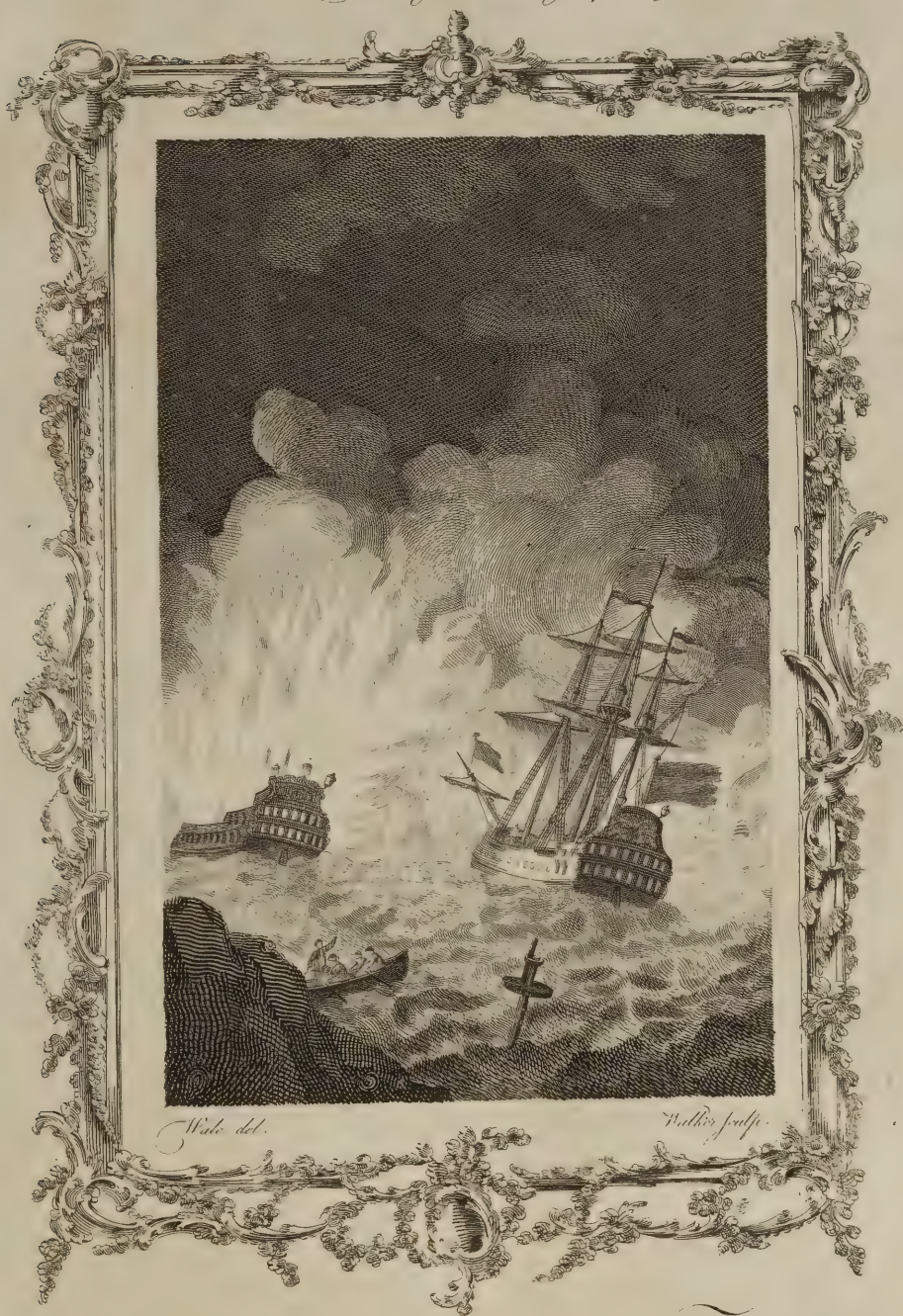
Soon after the dispersion of the Spanish armada, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, the queen's great, but unworthy favourite, paid the debt of nature. He had discovered no conduct in any of his military enterprizes, and was even suspected of cowardice; yet he was entrusted with the chief command of the English at a time when the Spaniards were expected to invade the kingdom; a partiality that might have proved fatal to Elizabeth, had the prince of Parma landed his troops in England. But the queen's affections seemed to terminate entirely with his death: she caused his goods to be exposed to sale, in order to reimburse herself for the money she had lent him.

A. D. 1589. Nothing is more seductive than victory. The English having defeated the Spanish armada, attempted to take the kingdom of Portugal from Philip, and give it to Don Antonio, a bastard of the house of Braganza. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were the leaders of this romantic enterprize. About twenty thousand volunteers engaged in the service. The ships were hired, as well as the arms and stores provided, at the expence of the adventurers. The queen contributed only six ships and sixty thousand pounds towards this expedition.

The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the fifth of April, arrived safely at the Groyne, and soon became masters both of the place and harbour. They now sailed for the coast of Portugal; and in their passage were met by the young earl of Essex, who had equipped a few ships at his own expence, and sailed on a cruise against the Spaniards. This reinforcement revived the spirits of the adventurers; they seized the town and castle of Panicha, and determined to march to Lisbon by land, Drake promising to follow with his fleet. On their arrival, they became masters of the western suburb of Lisbon without opposition; but the next day a large body of Spaniards sallied from the citadel, and cut off several of the English, with some of their best officers. The earl of Essex behaved with the most surprising courage on this occasion: he led the English against the assailants, and drove them back to the citadel. A revolt of the citizens was every moment expected; but after waiting two days, without any appearance of an insurrection being made in favour of Don Antonio, the English abandoned the enterprize, and marched to Cascaris, a little town at the mouth of the Tagus. Here they found their fleet under the command of Drake, who had not been able to enter the river, the passage being defended by all the Spanish galleys, and a battery of fifty pieces of cannon. It was now determined not to make any farther attempt upon the capital; and, after blowing up the castle of Cascaris, and burning Vigo, they returned to England, after losing a great number of men by sickness and fatigue.



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Defeat of the SPANISH ARMADA in 1588.*





In the mean time, the parliament met at Westminster, and voted double supplies to the queen; who knowing that the puritans formed a majority in the house of commons, laid a strict injunction on the members not to meddle with ecclesiastical matters. A motion was, however, made, for restraining the tyranny of the ecclesiastical commission: but the fear of displeasing the queen had so great an effect on the members, that the motion was not seconded. Nor were the commons successful in their attempts to rectify the abuses of purveyance, by which the officers of the crown took up at discretion, for the queen's service, or rather under pretence of that service, whatever provisions and carriages they thought necessary. The price was fixed much lower than the current value, and the payment always distant and uncertain: Hence the most enormous abuses were continually practised on the subject. But Elizabeth put a stop to their proceedings: she told them, that she had already given orders for making a strict enquiry into the abuses complained of, and would shortly complete the design; but would not permit them, by laws moved without her consent, to bereave her of the honour attending these regulations.

The affairs of England were now in a state of tranquillity. The Scots, since the death of Mary, were no longer terrible. James, surrounded by factions, invested with little authority, and naturally inclined to repose, was so far from being able to give the English any disturbance, that he found it his interest to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. He had lately married a daughter of the king of Denmark, and by that means lost the favour of the catholic party. Philip of Spain had sufficiently seen his error, to attempt a new invasion: he was not so fond of enterprize to squander the treasures of his kingdom in enterprizes big with abridgment. Elizabeth was therefore now able to assist the Hugonots in France; who were still persecuted by the league. The duke of Guise, more absolute than Henry III. had compelled that prince to take up arms against them, and also against the king of Navarre, the presumptive heir of the crown. Elizabeth furnished the latter with large sums; and, by her assistance, he had gained a victory over the league at Coutray. He could not, however, maintain his advantage, because the Germans, who were marching to his assistance, were defeated by the duke of Guise. Unforeseen events, however, changed the face of things in France. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with the admiration of Guise, and strongly prejudiced against the king, took up arms against him, and Henry was obliged to fly from his capital for safety. He, however, dissembled his resentment, entered into a negotiation with the league, and loaded Guise and his partizans with offices and favours. Deceived by these appearances of friendship, Guise, and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, came to court, and were both assassinated by the king's orders. This perfidious conduct rendered the league more furious and formidable than ever. The citizens of Paris renounced their allegiance, and were followed by those of many considerable places in the kingdom. Henry finding it impossible to resist the storm that was gathering round him, was obliged to have recourse to the Hugonots for assistance; he joined the hero whom he had been obliged to treat as an enemy. At the same time, he enlisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry; and being still supported by his chief nobility, he assembled an army of near forty thousand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, threatening the severest revenge against the inhabitants. But the city was saved by the resolution of Jaques Clement, a Dominican monk. Inflamed by the bloody spirit of bigotry which distinguished this century, he embraced the resolution of sacrificing his own life to save the church from the persecutions of an heretical tyrant. He found means to be admitted into the king's presence, and plunged a dagger into the breast of his sovereign, who expired on the first of August.

The king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. ascended the throne, but found he had a kingdom to conquer, and subjects to subdue.

Towards the close of this year died the famous Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, one of the most able and accomplished ministers that ever appeared in this or any other country, and not more distinguished by his great abilities than his unfulfilled virtues. Though he had passed through many great employments, and had been very frugal in his expences, he died so poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, who was first married to Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards to the earl of Essex, the great favourite of queen Elizabeth.

A. D. 1590. Elizabeth perceiving that Philip aimed at universal monarchy, and that the first step towards accomplishing that alarming design was the deposition of Henry IV. she sent that prince a body of troops, which did him signal service. The famous sieges of Paris and Rouen, which the duke of Parma had the honour of raising, deceived, however, the hopes of the queen. She seemed dissatisfied with the conduct of her ally, and complained of his exposing the English too much on every occasion; a complaint that seems not to have been well founded, as it was undoubtedly owing to the valour of those troops, especially to their officers, who, under the command of the young earl of Essex, risked every thing for glory. But while the English were gathering laurels in the fields of France, the queen sustained an irreparable loss, by the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, lord high chancellor of England. He was a person of great abilities, unshaken probity, firmly attached to the constitutions of his country, and a munificent patron of learning.

A. D. 1591. Desirous of depriving Philip of part of the treasure of the Indies, the true source of all his power, Elizabeth resolved to distress him in that part of the world. Accordingly the lord Thomas Howard was dispatched, early in the spring, to the Azores, or Western Islands, with a squadron of seven ships, to intercept the galleons in their return to Europe; but the Spanish monarch, apprized of her design, fitted out a fleet of fifty-five sail, and sent them to the Azores, to convoy the India ships. Howard, who knew nothing of this strong fleet, escaped with difficulty. His little squadron was riding at anchor in the harbour of Flores when the Spanish fleet appeared. He, however, found means to put to sea, by which the enemy were disappointed in their hopes of taking him and his whole division. Sir Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge*, was not so fortunate: he was surrounded by the enemy, and all hopes of escaping were cut off. In this desperate situation he attempted to break through the Spanish fleet, but was disappointed; and after an engagement of fifteen hours with the whole force of the enemy, he was obliged to surrender, but not before he was mortally wounded. The rest of the squadron returned to England, disappointed, indeed, in their expectations of acquiring part of the riches of the New World, but not in essentially distressing the enemy; for the Plate fleet had been so long detained at the Havannah, through fear of the English, that they were obliged to put to sea at an improper season; in consequence of which, the greater part of them were lost before they reached the ports of Spain.

A. D. 1592. Though Henry IV. had obtained some advantage over the league, the catholics were far from being intimidated: they made the most violent efforts against their sovereign, and the cardinal legate published the pontiff's bull for the election of a popish king. They intended to have given the crown to Philip; and the duke of Parma marched a powerful army into France, to over-awe the assembly, which the Spanish party proposed to be held at Rheims or Soissons. But the duke of Mayenne, sensible of the consequences, ordered the assembly to be held at Paris. This, in some measure, disconcerted the plan  
of



of the prince of Parma; and Henry drew all his troops out of Normandy, in order to fight the Spanish general before he could advance into the heart of the country. What the consequence would have been, it is impossible to say; but all the vast designs of Philip were rendered abortive by the death of the prince of Parma, who paid the debt of nature in the forty-fifth year of his age. Even Elizabeth herself is said to have dropped some generous expressions to the memory of that great man; and, perhaps, few princes ever excelled him in virtue, in civil, and in military accomplishments. His great merits were soon conspicuous after his death. No other general had authority sufficient to maintain a proper discipline in the Spanish troops. The soldiers mutinied, and a great number of them deserted.

Elizabeth, though she assisted Henry, did not lay aside her favourite scheme of humbling the pride of Philip, by cutting off the sinews of his strength in the West-Indies. Sir Walter Raleigh was sent with a squadron of fifteen men of war, either to attack Panama, or intercept the Plate fleet in their return to Europe. No man was ever better adapted to enterprises of this kind than Sir Walter: his schemes were great, but difficult, if not impracticable to any capacity but his own: his learning was not inferior to his knowledge, his constancy to his courage, nor his virtue to his genius, which was equal to the greatest undertakings. Having been detained too long in port by contrary winds, he sailed three months later than he intended; and after passing the Land's-End, he learned, that orders had been sent from Spain to stop the return of the Plate fleet to Europe that season. This intelligence, together with a violent storm which separated his fleet, obliged him to alter his plan of operations. He sent one part of his squadron, under Sir Martin Forbisher, to cruise on the coast of Spain; and another part under Burroughs, a brave sea officer, to the Azores. The earl of Cumberland was also at sea with three men of war, and had chased a galleon into Flores, just as Burroughs arrived at that island; while the Spanish fleet, which was then at sea, went in search of Forbisher. Burroughs would have made himself master of the galleon which had taken shelter in Flores, had not a dead calm succeeded, and given the Spaniards an opportunity of unloading the treasure, and setting the ship on fire. He had, however, the good fortune, soon after, to take another galleon, after a desperate engagement, in which the greater part of the Spanish crew, consisting of six hundred men, were either killed or wounded. The English gained both riches and honour by this capture. The money publicly known amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and the embezzlements were thought to be at least equal in value. But though Elizabeth exerted all her power to recover the riches that had been secreted, no discovery was made.

A. D. 1593. The expences of these expeditions amounted to one million two hundred thousand pounds, so that Elizabeth, notwithstanding her strict economy, could not support so heavy an expence without the assistance of parliament. But however pressing her wants might be, she supported all her haughtiness towards the parliament. When the speaker of the house of commons demanded for the members assembled in parliament, personal security, freedom of debate, and access to the throne, she answered, by the mouth of the lord-keeper, that their persons should be safe while they abused not this privilege; that liberty of speech was granted the commons, but they must know in what that liberty consisted: it was not a liberty of saying what they pleased; it extended no farther than Yes or No; and that she would not refuse them access to her person in weighty and important matters, at a convenient season, and when the cares of government would permit. At the same time, she enjoined the speaker, if he perceived any idle heads so negligent of their own safety, as to attempt any reformation in the church,

or innovation in the commonwealth, to refuse the bills offered for that purpose, till they were examined by such as were better qualified to consider of those things, and more able to judge of their propriety.

But notwithstanding the imperious and menacing air of this speech, the puritans were not intimidated. Peter Wentworth ventured to transgress the imperial orders of Elizabeth. He presented a petition to the upper house, requesting that they would join with the commons in a supplication to her majesty, that she would be pleased to entail the succession of the crown. Elizabeth was offended at this attempt, however respectful and cautious. Wentworth was sent to the Tower; and Sir William Bromley, who seconded the motion, to the Fleet prison. Even this arbitrary proceeding could not repress their farther attempts for freedom. Morrice, attorney of the court of wards, exposed, in their proper colours, the enormous abuses of the ecclesiastical commission, and made a motion for redressing these grievances. Exasperated at the temerity of Morrice, the queen sent for the speaker, and told him, that she had assembled the parliament for two purposes only; to maintain the uniformity of the national religion, and to provide for the defence of the kingdom against the enormous power of Spain; that their deliberations must turn intirely on these points; that she had already enjoined them not to meddle either with the affairs of the state or religion; and wondered how any person could be so assuming as to attempt a subject so expressly contrary to her prohibition. Morrice felt the weight of the queen's resentment: he was seized in the house by the serjeant at arms, discharged from his office, disabled from acting in his profession, and confined some years in Tilbury castle. So determined was the queen to support her prerogative, and so strong was the love of liberty and independence in the puritan party.

A severe bill was soon after passed against the non-conformists of all persuasions. It was enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age, who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend the public service of the church of England, should be committed to prison; that if, after being condemned for this offence, he persisted three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm; and that if he either refused this condition, or returned from his banishment, he was to suffer capitally as a felon, without benefit of clergy. Both catholics and puritans had reason to complain of this law, which, under almost any other reign, might have occasioned a civil war. But the imperious Elizabeth had subdued the people, partly by fear, and partly by the esteem she had gained by her magnanimity. The commons seemed intirely passive under this haughty treatment; they granted extraordinary supplies without the least difficulty.

The king of France, notwithstanding all his heroic qualities, and the great assistance he received from the English, soon perceived that arms alone would never make him master of his kingdom. He found it impossible to triumph over the rage of a party, whom religious zeal had rendered the most obstinate rebels. A conspiracy was even formed in his own court, for electing some catholic prince to fill the throne of France, if Henry any longer delayed to embrace the established religion. The more sensible among the protestants perceived the necessity of satisfying the catholics. Henry accordingly abjured Calvinism, either from conviction, or, as it is rather supposed, from political motives. But however that be, the papists triumphed greatly in gaining so illustrious a proselyte; and the dreadful disputes which had for so many years deluged France with blood, began to subside. Elizabeth, who was herself chiefly attached to the protestants by political reasons, reproached Henry for this interested conversion in a very angry letter. Sensible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, she listened to his apologies, and continued her



her assistance: she even entered into a new treaty with him, whereby it was stipulated, that no peace should be made but with the consent of both parties.

Philip confined not his intrigues to England only; he endeavoured to excite fresh disturbances in Scotland; and large supplies were promised by the governor of the Netherlands, if the catholics would attempt to wrest the sceptre from James, and give it to a prince of the Romish persuasion. The project was, however, principally levelled against England; for though the Spaniards promised to send an army into Scotland, it was only to cover their enterprize against Elizabeth, whom they intended to assassinate; and, during the general consternation, which they imagined must attend her death, they proposed to invade England, which would then become an easy conquest. They proceeded so far in this detestable scheme, that several of their agents were discovered and executed. Elizabeth complained loudly of these base attempts in every court of Europe, and determined to take a noble revenge in the field of battle.

A. D. 1595. While the queen was making preparations for carrying the war into the territories of Spain, several noble achievements were performed at sea by the English; but the most remarkable was an expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana, a large tract of land in South America, rather possessed than inhabited by the Spaniards. He had, at his own expence, sent one Whiddon to view the coast, and make all the observations in his power. His report confirmed Raleigh in his resolution of endeavouring to wrest that extensive country out of the hands of the Spaniards. His undertaking was so generally applauded, that both the treasurer and admiral of England contributed to the expences of fitting out a fleet for carrying the design into execution. Accordingly, on the sixth of February, Sir Walter sailed from Plymouth; and on the twenty-second of March, took the city of St. Joseph, in the island of Trinidad, and made Boreo, the Spanish governor, prisoner. Having procured all the information possible with regard to the strength and riches of Guiana, Raleigh manned his long-boats with about a hundred men, and proceeded above four hundred miles up the river Oroonoko; but met with so many difficulties from the navigation and the heat of the climate, that he did not reap all the advantages so brave and dangerous an undertaking deserved. It is certain, however, that he made great discoveries; and though we have no authentic account of the riches he acquired in this undertaking, there is sufficient reason to believe they were very considerable. He was received with the highest applause on his return, and a very pompous account of his voyage was published.

A. D. 1596. The necessary preparations being made for carrying the war into the very heart of Spain, a powerful fleet, consisting of one hundred and ninety vessels, having on board six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two seamen, sailed from Plymouth on the first of June. The fleet was commanded by lord Effingham, and the land forces by the earl of Essex. The lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford, had commands in this expedition, and formed a council to the admiral and general.

Every precaution was taken to render the expedition successful. The general rendezvous was appointed at Cadiz, and armed tenders were dispatched before the fleet, to intercept every ship that could carry any intelligence to the enemy. Near Cadiz they took an Irish vessel, by which they learned that the harbour was full of merchant ships of great value; and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security, without the least apprehensions of a visit from an enemy. This intelligence greatly encouraged the English, and promised a fortunate issue to the enterprize.

Sir Walter Raleigh proposed to attack the ships

and vessels in the bay; and was strongly seconded by the young earl of Essex, who burnt with an eager desire of signalizing his courage on this important occasion. The motion was agreed to; and it was determined that Raleigh should lead the attack in the Warpsite, and be seconded by Sir George Carew in the Mary Rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lion, Sir Francis Vere in the Rainbow, vice-admiral Crois in the Swiftsure, Sir Coniers Clifford in the Dreadnought, and the lord Thomas Howard in the Nonpareil.

The Spaniards, in order, if possible, to render the attempt of the English abortive, ranged their galleys under the walls of the city, so as to flank the English ships as they passed: some culverins were planted to secure the channel of the harbour; and the artillery, both of Fort St. Philip and the curtain of the fortification, were brought to bear on the English fleet. Besides these, the Spaniards had put guns on board all their large galleons, which were covered by Fort Punta, situated in the middle of the harbour.

At break of day Sir Walter, at the head of the English van, advanced to the attack, and received the fire from Fort St. Philip, the curtain, and seventeen galleys; but he answered only by a flourish of his trumpets, pursuing his course with amazing intrepidity, in order to encourage the ships that followed him, and reserve his fire for the body of the enemy. After a long and most desperate engagement, Sir Walter prepared to board the Spanish admiral, a ship of fifteen hundred tons; but the Spaniards perceiving his intention, ran her on shore, and set her on fire. Three other galleons followed the example of their admiral, but two of them were saved, and brought away by the English boats.

During this engagement, the earl of Essex, with five hundred men, landed at the Puntals, and marched directly to Cadiz. Five hundred Spaniards advanced about four hundred paces from the city to meet him; but were struck with a panic, retired into the city with the utmost precipitation, and were closely followed by the English. Cadiz was now in the utmost consternation; and before any measures could be taken for making a proper defence, the English had forced the gate, and were soon in possession of the market-place. The garrison and inhabitants retired to the castle and town-house, but soon offered to capitulate; and it was agreed that their lives should be saved on their paying seventy thousand ducats. A prodigious quantity of silver was found in the place, and sent immediately on board the English fleet.

While Essex was employed in the reduction of Cadiz, Sir Walter Raleigh was sent to burn the merchant-ships at Port Real. The Spaniards offered to pay two millions of ducats for their ransom; but Raleigh rejected the offer, saying, that he came to destroy, and not to ransom the ships of the enemy. The Spaniards, however, found means to unload some of their ships, and set fire to others, in order to deprive the English of their riches. Besides the merchant-ships, two galleons, thirteen men of war, eleven ships freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others, were taken by the English; besides which, they destroyed a prodigious quantity of military and naval stores prepared for an intended expedition against England. The whole loss was estimated at twenty millions of ducats.

No Englishman of note perished in this memorable conquest, so glorious to the English and fatal to the Spaniards, except Sir John Wingfield, who was killed in the city; and the victory was obtained with the loss of two hundred men only. Besides the vast riches lost by the Spaniards, and the ruin of their trade to the New World for that year, they were obliged to submit to the mortifying conditions of seeing one of their principal sea-ports in the hands of an enemy whom they hoped to conquer.

This success was regarded by Essex only as a step to farther conquests. He insisted on keeping pos-



session of Cadiz, and undertook, with four hundred men and three months provisions, to defend the place against all the attempts of the enemy, till succours could arrive from England. But this offer was rejected; nor were his schemes for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, assailing the Groyne, or taking St. Andero and St. Sebastian, accepted. All the other seamen and soldiers, satisfied with the honour they had acquired, were impatient to return home in order to secure their plunder. Essex complained of their want of spirit in this enterprize, and the queen herself was not pleased at their return without attempting to intercept the India fleet: but the great success of the enterprize against Cadiz covered all their miscarriages. Effingham was created earl of Nottingham, a promotion which gave great offence to Essex, because it was said, in the preamble to his patent, that this dignity was conferred upon him for his good services in taking Cadiz, a merit which Essex insisted belonged principally to himself; and even offered to maintain his claim by single combat, against Nottingham, his son, or any of his family.

A. D. 1597. Exasperated by the losses he had sustained by the taking of Cadiz, Philip determined to make another effort for the conquest of England. He accordingly assembled a formidable fleet early in the spring, at a time when Elizabeth thought him absolutely disabled from executing any scheme of revenge. His fleet rendezvoused at Ferrol, and having taken on board the land forces destined for the expedition, steered directly for England; but before they reached the channel, a violent storm dispersed the fleet, and rendered the attempt abortive for that year. In revenge for this attempt Elizabeth determined to attack Tercera, the principal island of the Azores, and, if possible, intercept the Spanish fleet, in their return from the West Indies. A large armament, consisting of one hundred and twenty-two ships, was accordingly fitted out with the utmost expedition, and six thousand land forces were embarked. The command of the whole expedition was given to Essex, together with one of the divisions of the fleet; the second division was commanded by lord Thomas Howard, and the third by Sir Walter Raleigh: lord Montjoy, was appointed lieutenant-general under Essex; and Sir George Carew, lieutenant of the ordnance. The principal volunteers were the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich.

The destination of the fleet, which sailed on the ninth of July, was first against Ferrol and the Groyne, in order, if possible, to surprize the Spanish fleet in these harbours; and afterwards against the Azores. But contrary winds, storms, and a fatal quarrel between the earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, broke these measures, and the fleet returned to England about the end of October, without having performed any memorable action.

The war with Spain though successful, exhausted the queen's treasure, and she was obliged to call a parliament to obtain supplies. These were readily granted; but the commons, notwithstanding their former attempts miscarried, ventured to present a petition to the queen against the abuse of monopolies. Her answer was conceived in general terms, without promising to redress the evil. But on dismissing the parliament she told them, in her speech from the throne, "That with regard to exclusive patents, she hoped her loving and faithful subjects would not take away her prerogative, the chief flower in her garden, and the principal pearl in her diadem; but that they would rather leave these things to her disposal." It was hardly to be expected, that the liberties of the people of England could gain ground under a government supported with so much vigour and ability.

A. D. 1598. France was now reduced to the most deplorable situation. Torn in pieces by discord, fanaticism, and civil wars, a peace became in some

measure necessary for Henry, who had nothing so much at heart as the happiness of his people. He communicated to his allies the proposals of the court of Spain, and signified his desire of concluding a general treaty of peace. Elizabeth and the States general were alarmed at this design, and sent ambassadors to oppose the pacific sentiments of the French monarch. He shewed them at once the solidity of his reasons and the rectitude of his views; and as Philip would not treat with the Hollanders upon the condition of acknowledging them a free people, nor Elizabeth negotiate without their concurrence, he concluded, at Vervins, a separate peace; whereby he recovered possession of all the places seized by Spain during the course of the civil wars, and procured himself leisure to attend the domestic settlement of his kingdom. Some of the chiefs of the English ministry, particularly lord Burleigh, who best merited the queen's confidence, advised her to embrace pacific measures; but all his reasons were urged in vain. That spirited princess, at other times so attentive to the prevention, now listened not to the ears of adverse fortune. She no longer dreaded the attempts of the Spaniards; the armada's of Philip had lost their terror. Animated with the hopes of sharing in the riches of America, and deeply interested in the fate of the new republic, she preferred an honourable war to the advantages of a peace, which must have entailed misery and slavery upon Holland. The earl of Essex encouraged her in these sentiments. He represented to her, that the defence of the Hollanders was the original cause of the war; and that it was at once unsafe and dishonourable to abandon the cause he had undertaken to defend, till she had placed them in a state of greater security, and procured them that liberty for which they had so long and so nobly contended.

The arguments of Essex, whose person was very agreeable to the queen, prevailed: the favourite seemed daily to gain the ascendant over the minister. That nobleman was no less distinguished by his understanding than by his birth and figure. He was bold, generous, sincere, a firm friend, active, and passionately fond of glory; but carried away by his passions, and incapable of submitting to the rein of prudence. These passions at last proved his destruction. The Hollanders considered Elizabeth as their guardian angel, and readily submitted to any terms she pleased to require. The debt they owed the queen was now fixed at eight hundred thousand pounds; of which sum they agreed to pay thirty thousand pounds a year during the continuance of the war, and these payments were to be continued till they had paid four hundred thousand pounds. They also agreed to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns while England continued the war with Spain; and that if Philip should attempt an invasion of England, to assist the queen with a body of five thousand foot and five hundred horse.

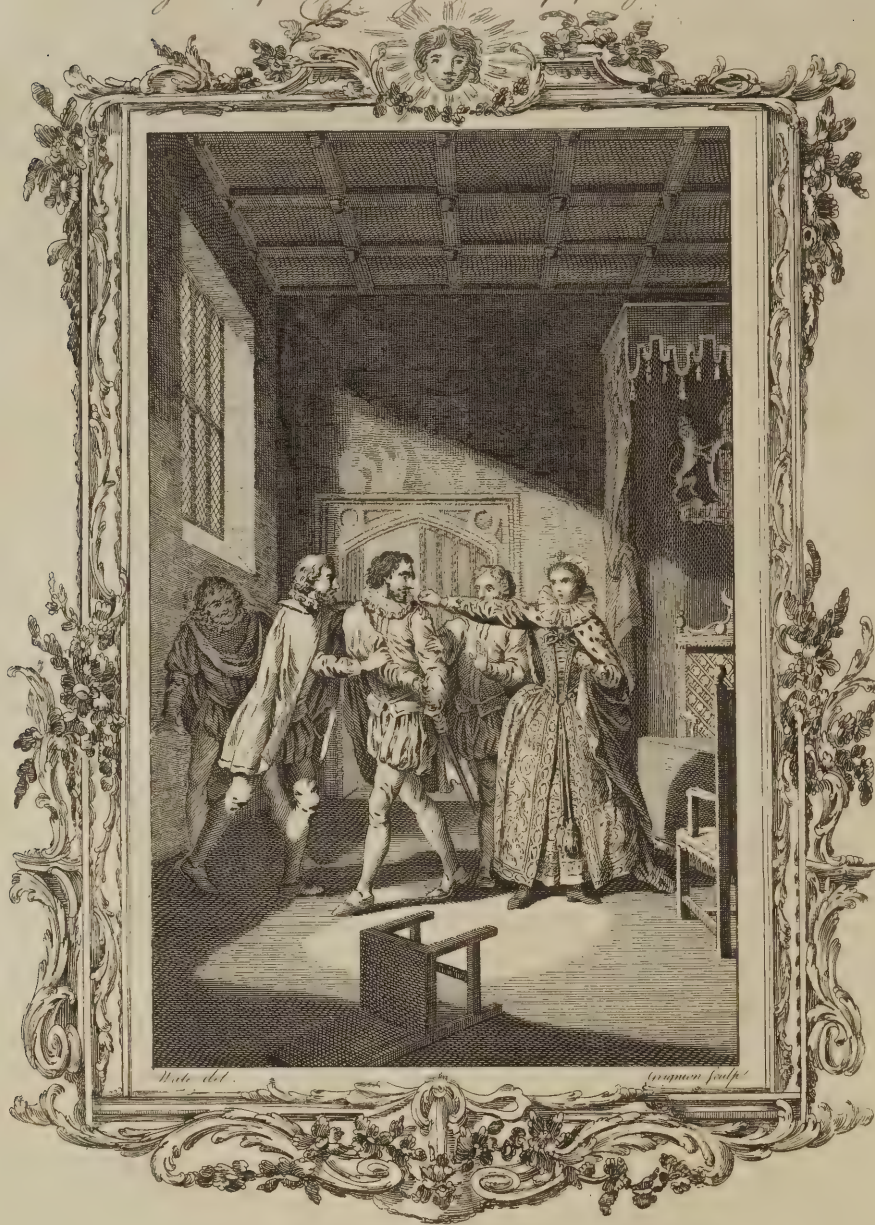
This treaty was ratified on the eighth of August, and soon after Philip II. of Spain expired at Madrid, in the seventy-third year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign. The satisfaction of Elizabeth at this event was greatly lessened by the loss of lord Burleigh, her zealous and faithful counsellor. That truly great man had long and earnestly requested his mistress to grant him some moments of interval between business and the grave; but he asked in vain. He continued immersed in all the fatigues of office till death, on the fourteenth of August, gave him that repose which was denied him by Elizabeth. Lord Burleigh was now on the verge of eighty, and though many ministers have lived with less envy, none ever died with greater reputation. He was chiefly distinguished for solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application to business; he had been regarded as the chief minister near forty years, and his death, by a rare instance of fortune, was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people.

Nothing





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Queen Elizabeth Striking*  
*the* EARL of ESSEX.



Nothing but his own imprudence could now have shaken the credit of Essex; but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference which Elizabeth's temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. Disputing, one day, on some affair with the queen, he carried matters so high, as to turn his back upon her with an air of contempt. Elizabeth's anger, which was naturally prompt and violent, rose on this provocation, and she instantly gave him a box on the ear. The passion of Essex was too violent to be restrained. He laid his hand upon his sword, and swore that he would not have taken so gross an affront from her father Henry himself. The admiral and vice-chamberlain interposed between the sovereign and the subject, and prevented any farther consequences at that time; but Essex left the court, with a seeming resolution never more to return. His friend Egerton, the chancellor, exhorted him to repair his indiscretion by proper acknowledgments, to acknowledge his faults, and consider his duty and his fortune. He conjured him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which must ensue from his supporting a contest with his sovereign, and deserting the service of his country. Essex answered, in a letter full of resentment, and which breathed all the violence of his haughty soul; but was, at the same time, so spirited, that it would be injustice not to lay it before the reader. "My very good lord, Though there is not that man this day living whom I would sooner make the judge of any question that might concern me, than yourself, yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in some cases I must appeal from all earthly judges; and if in any, then surely in this, when the highest judge on earth has imposed on me the highest punishment, without trial or hearing. Since then I must either answer your lordship's argument, or abandon my own defence, I will force my aching head to do me service for an hour. I must first deny my discontent, which was forced, to be an humorous discontent; and that it was unreasonable, or has so long continued, that your lordship should rather condole than expostulate with me. Natural seasons are expected here below, but violent and unreasonable storms come from above. There is no tempest equal to the passionate indignation of a prince; nor at any time so unreasonable, as when it lighteth on those that might expect a harvest of their lawful and painful labours. He that is once wounded, must needs feel the smart till the hurt is cured, or the part become senseless: but cure I expect none; her majesty's heart being obdurate against me; and senseless I cannot be, because formed of flesh and blood. But you say, I may aim at the end: I do more than aim; I see an end to all my fortune; I have put a period to all my desires. In this course do I any thing more for my enemies? When I was at court, I found them absolute; and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave my friends? When I was a courtier, I could yield them no fruit of my love; and now I am a hermit, they shall bear no envy for their love of me. Or do I forsake myself, because I enjoy myself? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or do I ruin my honour, because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false badge or mark of the shadow of honour? Do I give courage or comfort to the foreign foe, because I reserve myself to encounter with him? Or because I keep my heart from business, though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, no, my good lord, I give every one of these considerations its due weight; and the more I weigh them, the more I find myself justified from offending in any of them. As for the two last objections, that I forsake my country when it has most need of me, and fail in that

"indissoluble duty which I owe to my sovereign; I answer, that if my country had, at this time, any need of my public service; her majesty, who governs it, would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my country by two bonds; one public, to discharge carefully and industriously that trust which is committed to me; the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and body; which have been nourished in it. I am freed from the first, by being dismissed, discharged, and disabled; by her majesty; from the other nothing can free me but death; and therefore no occasion of my performance shall sooner offer itself, but I shall meet it half way. The indissoluble duty which I owe to her majesty, is only the duty of allegiance, which I never have, nor ever can fail in: the duty of attendance is no indissoluble duty. I owe her the duty of an earl and lord-marshal of England: I have been content to do her majesty the service of a clerk, but I can never serve her as a villain or slave. But yet you say I must give way to the times: so I do; for now I see the storm approaching, I have put myself into the harbour. Seneca says, we must give way to fortune: I know that fortune is both blind and strong, and therefore I go as far as possible out of her way. You say the remedy is not to strive: I neither strive nor seek for remedy. But you say, I must yield and submit: I can neither yield myself to be guilty, nor allow the imputation laid upon me to be just. I owe so much to the Author of all truth, as I can never yield truth to be falsehood, nor falsehood to be truth. Have I given cause, you ask, and yet take scandal when I have done? No, I gave no cause, not so much as Fimbria's complaint against me, for I received the whole sword into my body: I patiently bear all, and sensibly feel all that I then received, when this scandal was given me. Nay more, when the vilest of all indignities is done me, does religion enforce me to sue for pardon? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, my lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of princes, shew no sense of princes' injuries: let them acknowledge an absoluteness on earth, that do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, I feel it: my cause is good, I know it; and whatever happens, all the powers on earth can never exert more strength and constancy in oppressing, than I can shew in suffering every thing that can or shall be imposed upon me. Your lordship, in the beginning of your letter, makes me a player, and yourself a looker-on; and me a player of my own game, so you may see more than I. But give me leave to tell you, that since you only see, and I am alone the sufferer, I must, of necessity, feel more than you."

The friends of Essex imprudently shewed this spirited letter; but notwithstanding this additional affront, the queen's partiality for that young nobleman was so strong, that she forgot every provocation. He soon became the only confidant of Elizabeth, and the sole director of the affairs of the kingdom. But few are capable of enjoying the height of prosperity; it darkens the eye of wisdom, and becomes the precipice of destruction to folly. Essex was no sooner established in the queen's favour, than he abused it. The troubles which still subsisted in Ireland opened a new scene for his ambition, and he rashly engaged in an undertaking which terminated in crimes and misfortunes.

The strict œconomy of the queen had hitherto prevented her from keeping a sufficient force in Ireland to subdue the rebels; and the policy of legislation, the only means of forming conquered savages into useful subjects, had been entirely neglected.

They



They were treated rather like wild beasts than men; and the Irish, in return, thought nothing so glorious as that of shaking off the yoke of the English. Their firm attachment to the church of Rome heightened their aversion to their protestant oppressors; while their bogs and inaccessible woods afforded them retreats, and formed ramparts impenetrable to the enemy.

Hugh O'Neill, whom the queen had created earl of Tyrone, and whose treachery was equal to his ferocious valour, excited a great rebellion; and having received assistance from the king of Spain, gained advantages considerable enough to make the court of London very uneasy. He had already assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and the patron of Irish liberty. It was therefore determined to prosecute the war with vigour, and subdue the rebels by extraordinary efforts. The queen cast her eyes on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man, who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed with talents that would sufficiently atone for his want of experience. Jealous of every occasion that offered for distinguishing himself, Essex represented, that this expedition required a man of birth, experience and reputation, much superior to those of Mountjoy, and at last procured the appointment for himself. Had he listened to the advice of his enemies, he could not have engaged in a more fatal undertaking. But Essex was incapable of caution; he imagined that every difficulty would give way before him; and that his presence, at the head of a numerous army, would be sufficient to hush the ferocious Irish into peace. The queen's preparations were equal to the tenderness she cherished for her favourite, and her desire of subduing the flagitious rebels. She raised an army of twenty thousand men; a force considered as abundantly sufficient for finishing the war in a single campaign. Essex was created lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and furnished with a commission more ample than any that had hitherto been granted. He was empowered either to continue or finish the war; to pardon the earl of Tyrone, and other rebels; an authority never granted to any of his predecessors.

A.D. 1599. Essex set out for his government about the middle of March, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from an affection to his person, had attached themselves to his fortunes; and attended by the acclamations of the populace, by whom he was greatly beloved. The first act of his authority in Ireland was an indiscretion, though of the generous kind. He appointed his friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horse, though the queen had enjoined him not to employ that nobleman; and even repeated orders were hardly sufficient to induce him to revoke the commission. Any other man would have fallen a victim to such temerity. The rest of his conduct was conformable to this beginning. Instead of leading his powerful army into Ulster against Tyrone, and putting an end to the rebellion, by reducing the chief, he suffered himself to be persuaded by the Irish council to march into Munster, situated at the other extremity of the kingdom. He indeed reduced the rebels to submission, but he lost a very considerable part of his army in the attempt; and had no sooner left the country, than they again revolted. By this time the season was considerably advanced, his army sickly, and greatly reduced in their numbers; so that he was obliged to request a reinforcement of two thousand men, in order to enable him to march against Tyrone. The troops were immediately sent by Elizabeth, and Essex at last advanced into Ulster against the chief of the rebels. Tyrone, though at the head of an army greatly superior in numbers to that of the English, wisely avoided a decisive action, and proposed a conference with Essex; in order, as he pretended, to put a stop to the flames of civil discord, which had so long wasted Ireland. The offer was accepted, and the two generals met without any of

their attendants. Tyrone behaved, during the conference, with the greatest submission, and a cessation of arms was concluded till the first of May. By this treaty the expensive expedition of Essex was rendered abortive, and affairs continued on the same footing as before. The queen did not fail to let him know that she was highly dissatisfied with his conduct, but commanded him to continue in Ireland till farther orders.

The haughty Essex was now sufficiently alarmed. Persuaded, that if he continued any longer at a distance from the court, he should lose all his influence with the queen, while his enemies enjoyed the malignant satisfaction of triumphing in his fall, he determined to disobey the orders of Elizabeth. He accordingly left Ireland, and arrived at London before any one was the least apprized of his intentions. He immediately repaired to court, and presented himself before the queen, covered with dust and sweat. Whether Elizabeth's tenderness awaked at the sight of her favourite, or whether surprize prevented her from attending to proprieties, she gave him a very kind and flattering reception; and, on his departure, he was heard to thank God, that though he had met with many troubles and storms abroad, he had found at home a sweet and pleasing calm.

But this placid interval was deceitful. Like the momentary cessations in a storm, the tempest returned with all its force. Essex soon learned how much his presumption and his faults had weakened his influence over Elizabeth's heart, which was less tender than haughty. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber, and to be twice examined before the privy council. His answers were calm and submissive, but not sufficient to satisfy Elizabeth: she committed him to the custody of the lord-keeper; and none of his friends, not even his counsellors, were permitted to visit him. This disgrace seemed to humble his pride; he dropped many expressions of humiliation and sorrow, none of repentment. He fell sick, and his life was thought to be in danger. The queen appeared greatly interested in his recovery: she sent him a message by Dr. James, that if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would herself pay him a visit. This proof of her tenderness had the most salutary effect, and the favourite nobleman soon recovered his health.

The departure of Essex from Ireland revived the courage of Tyrone. The English army, now without a leader, was not sufficient to stop his progress: he reduced the whole province of Ulster to obedience; and being encouraged by a bull sent from pope Clement VII. granting him and his adherents the same indulgences as those who fought against the Turks in the recovery of the Holy Land, he flattered himself with being soon master of the whole kingdom. He was also promised a supply of men and money from Spain; and having received a consecrated plume from the pope, he called himself the champion of the catholic religion.

A.D. 1600. Alarmed at the progress of the rebels, the queen sent lord Mountjoy into Ireland. The whole island, at his arrival, was in a very desperate situation; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was not discouraged. He advanced immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, and soon penetrated into the heart of that county, the principal seat of the rebels. He drove them from the open fields, and obliged them to take refuge in their bogs and forests. Sir George Carew had equal success in Munster, and the queen's authority was once more established in Ireland. The success of Mountjoy rendered the conduct of Essex less excusable at court, though his popularity increased with his misfortunes. The ministry was accused of malice, and the queen herself of injustice. Alarmed at the prejudices of the people, Elizabeth determined to bring Essex to an open trial before the privy council. Coke, the attorney general, opened the cause against him, and treated him with the cruelty and insolence which that great lawyer usually



usually exercised on the unfortunate. Essex made no defence; he declared he would never have any contest with his sovereign; and that he should readily submit to any judgment they might think proper to pronounce against him. The chancellor's sentence, on this occasion, is remarkable: "If the earl of Essex (said he) had been tried in the star-chamber, my sentence must have been for as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual imprisonment in the Tower; but since we are now in another place, and in a course of favour, my sentence is, that the earl of Essex is not to execute the office of a counsellor, nor that of earl-marshal of England, nor of master of the ordnance; and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner till it shall please her majesty to release this, and all the rest of his sentence." The celebrated Sir Francis Bacon was ordered by the queen to draw up a narrative of the whole proceedings, in order to satisfy the nation that she had acted with the utmost lenity. Bacon, who was firmly attached to Essex, gave the whole transaction a very favourable turn for his patron: he painted, in the most elaborate expressions, the dutiful submission made by that nobleman before the council. The queen, when Bacon read the passage to her, could not forbear smiling; and observed, that old love could not easily be forgotten. He replied, that he hoped her majesty meant it of herself.

Essex received his chastisement with so much humility, that the queen, persuaded that it was sincere, gave him proofs that she had not entirely withdrawn her countenance from him. She gave orders that his sentence should not be recorded, and restored him to his full liberty; but at the same time advised him to be cautious of giving farther offence, and ordered him not to appear at court. Essex immediately prepared for his departure into the country; but before he set out, he wrote a letter to the queen, in which he told her, that he kissed her majesty's hands, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he never could recover his usual cheerfulness till she deigned to admit him to that presence which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment; and that, in the mean time, he would retire into a country solitude, and labour assiduously to atone for his former offences. Pleased with these sentiments, the queen replied, that she wished his actions might be conformable to his expressions; but as he had so long abused her patience, she would take some time to try his sincerity. She added, "That if the furnace of affliction produced such good effects, she should ever after have the better opinion of her chemistry."

A. D. 1601. Happy had it been for Essex, could he have conformed to that submission he knew so well how to describe; but his restless passions were too powerful to be guided by the rein of prudence. Though blessed with the society of an amiable and sensible wife, with whom he perused the writings of the ancients, so capable of healing the diseases of the mind by lessons equally solid and agreeable, he could not escape the illusions of ambition; he cherished a passion that preyed upon his repose. Elizabeth reflected not, that this haughty spirit, when driven to extremities, was capable of trampling under foot every species of duty, as well as the laws of his country. By pushing her precautions too far, she inflamed his resentment. He lost all hopes of her favour, forgot her former kindnesses, and flew to revenge. He imprudently followed the interested counsels of some needy friends who lived upon his bounty, and determined to have recourse to violent measures. To increase the number of his partizans, he paid his court to the catholics, and secretly solicited the king of Scotland's assistance. He acquainted him, "that whatever appearances the English court affected, a resolution was formed to place the Infanta of Spain on the throne of England; that to facilitate this design, all places of power, all posts of importance, were in the hands of those who were

sworn enemies to the Stuart family; the lord high-admiral had the command of the navy and army; Buckhurst was at the head of the treasury; Cobham was warden of the cinque ports; Cecil lord-lieutenant of the north; Raleigh governor of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey; and Carew president of Munster; places very favourable for landing the Infanta." He added, "that the queen's understanding was so greatly impaired, that she was incapable of acting for herself, and was entirely guided by her ministers; that it was therefore absolutely necessary for him to act openly against this conspiracy; by sending ambassadors immediately to the English court, to demand a public declaration of his title to the succession, and the removal of his enemies; all creatures and pensioners of Spain, from the court and council."

But Essex placed his chief dependence for support on the puritans, whose manners he now entirely adopted. The most celebrated preachers of that sect resorted to his house, which now became a kind of pulpit, where the fervours of fanaticism constantly discharged themselves. The genius of the age was so entirely devoted to these rhapsodies, that the language of the reformation had more attractions for the people than pleasure itself: nothing more effectually ingratiated an ambitious leader with the public than these religious entertainments. The ambitious Essex spared not the queen in his discourses; he represented her as an old woman, whose temper was as crooked as her person. Elizabeth was informed of these liberties, which highly incensed her against him. He could not have attacked her in a more tender part. Elizabeth was always fond of flattery, and loved to be complimented on her beauty; nor could either her own good sense, or old age itself, cure her of this preposterous infirmity.

Essex had now formed a select council of male-contents, consisting of the earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir John Davis, and John Littleton of Frankel. The rest of his friends, according to a list he produced at Drury-house, the usual place of their meeting, consisted of one hundred and twenty of the first noblemen and gentlemen in the kingdom. Here all their plans were laid, and all their resolutions formed. Among other criminal projects debated in this assembly, was that of the most proper method of taking up arms; and it was at last agreed, that the first attack should be made upon the palace; that Sir Christopher Blount, at the head of a choice detachment, should take possession of the gates; that Davis should seize the hall; Danvers the guard and presence-chamber; and that Essex, attended by a select number of his partizans, should rush in from the Meuse, oblige the queen to remove his enemies, assemble a parliament, and settle a new plan of government.

Elizabeth was informed of all these resolutions; and took the necessary precautions to render them abortive. Essex never doubted but the citizens of London, by whom he was greatly beloved; would take up arms at the first signal. He was, however, mistaken. The court had taken measures to prevent it; and when he appeared in the city, accompanied with about two hundred men, he found that his seditious exhortations had no effect. They gazed at him as he passed along the streets, but none took up arms in his defence. Disappointed of assistance, he returned to his own house, which was soon surrounded by a detachment of the guards commanded by the admiral. He at first determined to defend himself to the last extremity, and perish like a soldier with the sword in his hand, rather than by the axe of a base executioner. But he soon after abandoned this resolution; and, notwithstanding all his bravery, submitted at discretion.

Elizabeth, who had behaved on this occasion with the greatest tranquillity and presence of mind, soon



gave orders for trying the most considerable of the prisoners. The earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned on the nineteenth of February. The trial was soon finished: the crime was notorious. Far from making any defence, Essex gave himself up entirely to the sentiments of religion, which he had before politically affected, and not only acknowledged himself guilty, but also impeached his friends; a circumstance, which at other times, he would have considered as the most infamous baseness. The celebrated Sir Francis Bacon, is reproached with having pleaded on the trial against Essex his friend and benefactor, without being obliged to it by any office. Blemishes appear in the characters of the greatest men; Bacon was at this time ambitious of making his fortune.

It now remained with Elizabeth to pardon or execute her favourite nobleman, and she long balanced between justice and clemency. She felt all the force of an ill-extinguished passion, and if the earl had solicited her pardon, love would certainly have granted it. She considered this obstinacy as the consequence of contempt, and signed the warrant for his execution. He suffered in the court-yard of the Tower, pursuant to his own request, on the twenty-fifth of February. His behaviour in his last moments were conformable to his condition, penitent and resigned. He reflected not on his enemies, but prayed for the life of the queen and the prosperity of his country.

Thus fell Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He was descended from a royal lineage on the female side, and endowed with superior talents and heroic qualities. He was generous, liberal, and humane, a patron of learning, in which he himself held a considerable rank, a warm friend and an open enemy. His foibles were, vanity, ambition, and an impetuosity of temper which he could not restrain. He ruined himself for want of knowing how to enjoy good fortune with moderation. The people, by which he was too much beloved, were irritated by his death; and the queen, who was accused of cruelty, no longer heard the usual acclamations when she appeared in public.

Henry IV. of France, desirous of forming a close connection with Elizabeth, in order to establish a plan for effecting a perpetual balance of power in Europe, made a journey to Calais; and Elizabeth, in hopes of having a personal interview with a prince she so highly esteemed, repaired to Dover. Some considerations, however, prevented their meeting; but the queen expressing a desire of conferring on some business of importance with a minister in whom an entire confidence might be placed, Henry sent over Roissy, afterwards duke of Sully. What appears very extraordinary is, that both these princes, without communicating their sentiments to each other, had conceived the same design of humbling the house of Austria, and establishing a just equilibrium between the powers of Europe. It principally consisted in uniting the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, into one republic. But the wounds which France had received during the civil wars were not yet healed; the attention of Henry was still necessary to recover the languishing state of his country. The execution of this design therefore was put off, and never after resumed.

The death of Philip II. did not put a period to the designs of the Spaniards for disturbing the peace of Elizabeth. The same councils still continued, and the same measures continued to be pursued. The preparations for an expedition against Ireland had been for some time finished, but suspended on account of the troubles that broke out in Spain. These having now subsided, Don John d'Aquila was sent at the head of a body of troops into that kingdom, and made religion a pretence for the enterprizes of ambition and rebellion. He assumed the title of "General of the Holy war, for the preservation of the faith in Ireland." Care had been taken to au-

thorize these measures by bulls from Rome; and d'Aquila endeavoured to persuade the people, that a queen deprived of her authority by the pope, had no longer any right to the crown; that her subjects, absolved from their oaths of allegiance by the holy father, ought to take up arms against her, and drive her from a throne of which she ought to be considered as an usurper. He added, that the sole intention of his coming was to assist them in that religious undertaking, and to deliver them from the dominion of the devil. Mountjoy saw the gathering storm, and exerted all his abilities to break its force. The Irish shewed every where signs of a general insurrection, and the utmost vigour was necessary to prevent it. He immediately laid siege to Kinsale, which the Spaniards had taken immediately after their landing; but he had hardly began his operations before he received intelligence, that another body of two thousand Spaniards, under the command of Alphonso Ocampo were landed, and had taken possession of Baltimore and Berehaven. He found himself therefore obliged to detach Sir George Carew to oppose the progress of the enemy. Tyrone immediately advanced to the relief of Kinsale; but Mountjoy, having received information of his design, advanced to meet him at the head of part of his army, totally defeated the rebels, and took several of them prisoners. Tyrone himself escaped into Ulster, but was utterly incapable of giving the English any farther disturbance. The Spanish general now perceived that all resistance would be in vain, and immediately offered to surrender all the places held by the Spaniards in Ireland, and evacuate the kingdom. The conditions were accepted, and the Spaniards embarked for their own country. This defeat struck the rebels with terror. They saw the foreign forces on whom they so greatly depended, incapable of giving them any support, and despaired of being able to make head against the English.

But notwithstanding Mountjoy's success, the war in Ireland was very burdensome to the queen, and she was obliged to call a parliament in order to obtain supplies. No opposition was made to the request of her majesty; but the commons revived the great question with regard to monopolies, so destructive to trade and burdensome to the people. The small revenues of the crown being insufficient for the queen to confer favours or rewards on those that had served her faithfully, she supplied the defect by lavishing exclusive privileges; and those who were provided sold them to others. In consequence of these monopolies, almost every kind of merchandize was advanced at the pleasure of individuals; and that liberty which constitutes the very soul of commerce was no longer known. The effects were visible by a continual decline of trade; and the nation felt all the vexatious effects of avarice, supported by the royal authority. Nor was the abuse confined to the common necessities of life; salt, oil, vinegar, paper, cloths, iron, lead, skins, bottles, brushes, and many other articles; when this astonishing list was read in the house of commons, one of the members asked, with great vivacity, "Is not bread among the number?" And observing that the house seemed astonished at the question, "Yes, bread!" added he, if things continue on the same footing, we shall see that monopolized before the next parliament." But it appeared useless to complain, as absolute authority was then considered as the basis of the English government. The courtiers, accordingly, supported that tenet with all their eloquence. Bacon asserted that the royal prerogative ought neither to be contested nor examined; that it gave the sovereign the power of extending what was restrained by the laws, and of restraining what the laws had made free and open. Another observed, that it would be a frivolous attempt to bind up the queen's hands by act of parliament; because she was possessed of an unlimited dispensing power, and consequently could extricate herself



self whenever she pleased; and even if the statute should contain a clause exclusive of that power, she could equally dispense with that clause, and consequently with the statute itself. One of the members went so far as to declare, that the Deity had given to princes the power that belonged to himself; and attempted to prove his assertion from a passage in the Psalms, "I have said that ye are Gods." But notwithstanding these strange positions of the courtiers, many of the members strongly opposed this alarming abuse; and the last parliament having presented a petition to the throne without effect, they proposed to pass a bill against all monopolies whatever. The queen perceived this resolution, and wisely avoided the blow. She was unwilling to refuse the royal assent to a bill, that however it might lessen the prerogative of the crown, could not fail of being very advantageous to her people. She therefore sent for the speaker, and ordered him to acquaint the house, that she would immediately suppress all such exclusive grants as were most burdensome to her subjects.

Struck with astonishment at the goodness and condescension of the queen, the joy of the commons was excessive. They had always been used to the tone of absolute authority, and haughty refusal, and could hardly contain themselves within the bounds of decency, at finding the royal prerogative at last given way to the interest of the nation. One of the members observed, that this message from the queen was a kind of gospel of glad tidings, and ought to be written in indelible characters on the tablets of the heart. They voted, that the speaker, at the head of eighty members, should return her majesty their humble thanks for this instance of parental regard. The speech delivered by the speaker on this occasion, was more proper to be addressed to the Supreme Being than an earthly monarch. So fulsome was the language of flattery! Nor did they wait till she had satisfied them with regard to the particular monopolies she meant to abolish, they immediately voted her four times the usual supply. An instance then without example. But they well knew the imperious disposition of the queen, and that by giving even the most distant hint of their being dissatisfied with her promise, would have forced her into a denial of their requests. Thus Elizabeth, by prudently receding in time from what was then considered as the right of the crown, maintained her dignity, and preserved the affections of her people. Her successors imitated not her example in this particular: they wanted her address as well as her power, to triumph over the principles of liberty.

A.D. 1602. The remaining events in the reign of Elizabeth are neither very numerous, nor very important. Exasperated at the Spaniards for having involved her in so many difficulties by fomenting the rebellion, and assisting the insurgents in Ireland, she resolved to find them sufficient employment at home. She accordingly ordered a squadron of nine ships to be fitted out, under the command of Sir Richard Leveson and Sir Richard Monson, with orders to sail on an expedition to the coast of Spain. This fleet left England early in the spring, and soon after part of the squadron fell in with the galleons loaded with treasure; but were not strong enough to attack them with any prospect of success. The other division also met with a fleet of very rich ships, and was, for the same reason, obliged to let them pursue their course unmolested. These disappointments induced the two admirals to join the little squadrons, and pursue the design of the expedition in company. For some time they met with no ships of the enemy, and it was determined, in order to prevent the expedition from being entirely fruitless, to attack the harbour of Coimbra in Portugal; where they were informed a rich carrack had taken shelter. The harbour was defended by a castle mounted with heavy pieces of cannon; eleven galleys were moored near the entrance, and the militia of the country, amounting to near twenty thousand men, appeared on the shore.

But all these indications of a powerful opposition was not sufficient to intimidate the English. They broke into the harbour, dismounted the guns of the castle, sunk, burnt, and put to flight the galleys, and made themselves masters of the carrack. With this prize they returned to England, where her loading was valued at near a million of ducats; a very sensible loss to the Spaniards, and a still more considerable supply to Elizabeth.

Though the catholic religion was not tolerated in England, great numbers of people still professed the tenets of Rome; the kingdom was full of priests of that persuasion; and a very rancorous quarrel now broke out between the jesuits and the secular clergy, on the following occasion: one Blackwell, a person entirely devoted to the interest of the jesuits, had been placed over these seculars as their superior. Not content with exercising the common jurisdiction, he oppressed them in the most cruel manner; and when they appealed to the pope for redress, the superior represented them as schismatics and heretics. The most bitter invectives were published by both parties, and the whole body of the catholic clergy seemed to be engaged in this furious contest. Whether the whole affair was serious, or a scheme to lull the government into a fatal security, while the Spaniards struck some decisive blow, is now impossible to be known; but it is certain that the bishop of London, from political motives, fomented this division, which at last rose to such a height, that the council of state thought proper to interpose their authority; and perceiving that their disputes were incompatible with the peace of the nation, commanded them all to depart the kingdom immediately.

During these transactions lord Mountjoy improved so well his late victory in Ireland, that Tyrone and his friends were soon reduced to the greatest distress; and many of them, after concealing themselves in woods and morasses; where they lived rather like beasts than men, thought proper to abandon their retreats, and submit to the mercy of the English government. They were received with kindness, and the terms imposed upon them were so mild and generous, that Tyrone himself, seeing all hopes either of succeeding in escaping to the continent, were vanished, applied, in the most abject manner, both to the queen herself and the governor, for pardon. The queen was long resolved not to shew the least favour to that ferocious and perfidious rebel, but being continually importuned by her council, who represented the prodigious expence she had been at, in maintaining an army in Ireland to pursue the rebels, and that by shewing clemency to the great leader in every insurrection, she would infallibly restore tranquillity to that distressed kingdom, and introduce a proper legislation among the people; she was at last prevailed upon to recede from her resolution. She signed his pardon, and sent it to Mountjoy; sacrificing her resentment to the peace of her subjects, who had so long felt all the dreadful effects of civil discord.

A.D. 1603. The terms to which the lord-deputy was restrained were, however, thought so severe by the council, that they apprehended Tyrone would never submit to them. Had that furious leader perceived even the smallest prospect of supporting himself against the English, there is not the least doubt but he would have rejected the conditions with disdain; but he was deprived of every resource, and enjoyed only the wretched alternative of accepting the queen's pardon on her own terms, or perish with hunger. He chose the former, and on the thirteenth of March, repaired to Mellefont; where he presented himself upon his knees before the lord-deputy, and in that submissive posture received his pardon. O'Rourke, another active chief in the late insurrections surrendered about a month after Tyrone; and thus that dreadful rebellion which had raged in Ireland with the utmost violence during eight years, and had cost the queen near four hundred thousand pounds annually, was entirely suppressed; the whole kingdom



was reduced to a state of subjection, and tasted the pleasures attendant on tranquillity.

Elizabeth was not long capable of enjoying the satisfaction of seeing this considerable part of her dominions in a state of peace. She had, for some time, fallen into a state of melancholy, was observed to be continually in tears, and to labour under some extraordinary affliction. She had always been particularly careful of her health, but now obstinately refused all the remedies prescribed by her physicians. Her council used every method in their power to prevail upon her to recede from this fatal resolution, but in vain. The archbishop of Canterbury, and secretary Cecil, begged her, on their knees, to take what was necessary for her sustenance and relief; but she refused their request, and, in an angry tone of voice, desired they would leave off their importunities, and suffer her to die in quiet.

Various opinions have been formed with regard to the cause of this profound melancholy: some ascribed it to her repentance for having granted a pardon to Tyrone; others to the chagrin of seeing her courtiers turn their eyes upon the king of Scotland as the presumptive heir to the English crown, and their shewing dispositions to neglect her at a time when she laboured under the debilities of age and infirmities; while others attributed it to her passion for Essex, which a very remarkable incident had lately revived. After his return from his expedition to Cadiz, she made him a present of a ring, which she desired him to keep as the pledge of her affection; at the same time assuring him, that whatever disgrace might attend him, or whatever prejudices she might entertain against his conduct, yet, on sight of that precious pledge, she would recollect her former tenderness, be ready to give him a favourable hearing, and to listen candidly to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, preserved this pledge of her majesty's affection; and, when under sentence of death, resolved to try the experiment. He accordingly prayed the counts of Nottingham to carry the ring to Elizabeth; but the earl, her husband, the capital enemy of Essex, would not suffer her to execute the commission. The queen waited for this ring with the most passionate anxiety, and construed her not receiving it as a mark of contempt. Exasperated at what she considered as the highest affront, she signed the warrant for his execution. Some time after, the counts being seized with a violent illness, was stung with the deepest remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the queen, she revealed the fatal secret. Astonished at this alarming confession, Elizabeth burst into the most violent passion of grief and rage. She struck the dying counts in her bed, telling her, "That God might pardon her, but she never could." This remarkable fact has been rejected by many historians as romantic; but from the proofs collected by Dr. Birch, in his memoirs of this princess, the truth of it seems to be sufficiently established.

From that moment Elizabeth abandoned herself to the deepest and most incurable melancholy, without discovering the cause which preyed upon her spirits. A miserable languor soon reduced her to the utmost extremity, and it was visible to all about her that her end was approaching. The council had frequent meetings, and seriously deliberated on the necessity of fixing the succession. The counsellors themselves were in general firmly attached to James; but they were fearful of the consequences that might result from the intrigues of the catholic and puritan factions; and therefore reasonably concluded, that Elizabeth's own declaration in favour of the Scottish monarch would greatly tend to strengthen his title. The lord high admiral declared, that when she was first seized with this dreadful distemper, she had said the following words to him in private, "My throne has always been filled by a succession of princes, and ought only to go to my next heir." This declaration was not considered as sufficiently explicit; and it was thought proper, that the lord high-admiral, the lord

keeper, and secretary Cecil, should, in the name of the whole council, intreat the queen to reveal her intention with regard to the person she wished to wear her crown. They found her on the very brink of eternity, and almost speechless; but she had strength sufficient to repeat the substance of her former declaration to the lord high-admiral, "that she herself had filled a royal throne, and desired to have a royal successor." Cecil thought that even this declaration was not sufficiently explicit, and requested her to make a farther explanation. "I desire (said she) that a king should succeed me; and who should that king be, but my nearest kinsman, the king of Scotland?" This declaration being made, the archbishop of Canterbury desired her to put her whole trust in the Almighty, and fix her thoughts on that great and merciful Being, who alone could support her in the hour of death. She answered, that she did put her whole trust in him, nor had her thoughts in the least wandered from him. Soon after, her voice failed, and she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours; and she expired without one struggle, pang, or convulsion, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

The character of Elizabeth has been often drawn; both by the pens of adulation and satire. But notwithstanding all her faults, and all her vices, she will always be ranked, by the candid and judicious, among the greatest monarchs in Europe. Her vigour, her constancy, her indefatigable vigilance, her heroic fortitude in danger, her unavaricious œconomy, her penetration, and address in difficulties, add a lustre to her reputation that all the efforts of her enemies have never been able to tarnish; they were hardly ever equalled, perhaps never surpassed by any monarch, ancient or modern. At the same time, the meanness of vanity, the weakness of love, the transports of jealousy and anger, the artifices of duplicity, and the thirst of despotism, have exposed her memory to very just reproaches. But it should be remembered, that in the midst of all her attempts to become arbitrary, she still secured the affections of her people. She even, on many occasions, gave them proofs of her confidence. "I will never believe any thing of them (said she) that parents will not believe of their children." In a word, her private character is very exceptionable, but her princely qualities render her the object of undisputed applause.

Those who are desirous of forming an adequate idea of the ancient constitution of England, would do well to study the reign of Elizabeth, as there remain monuments sufficiently numerous to ascertain the most noted acts of her administration. At the same time, the great popularity she always enjoyed, sufficiently demonstrates, that she did not infringe the established liberties of the people. During the reign of the Tudors, the principles of despotism took deep root in the kingdom. Elizabeth found these principles confirmed when she ascended the throne; and though she carried them to their full extent, she was better beloved by her subjects than any of her predecessors. The constitution was swallowed up by the prerogative, and every attempt against it was termed rebellion. Arbitrary courts of justice, established and maintained by that prerogative, were the terrible supports of despotism. The star-chamber, a court which every true Englishman now reflects upon with horror, extended its jurisdiction to all manner of offences, contempts, and disorders, not cognizable by the common law. Penalties, fines, imprisonment, or corporal punishment, were there inflicted at discretion. The judges were mere dependants upon the court, because they were removable at pleasure. They only gave their opinions when the sovereign was present, he being then the only judge. The court of high commission was equally formidable to the subject, and equally destructive to liberty. Its principal object was that of heresy, a subject on which so many rash judgments are continually formed. The manner of proceeding, and the sentences promulgated



mulgated against even opinions which were not justly punishable, rendered it a powerful instrument of tyranny. The martial law was not only exercised on military people, but on all without distinction, in cases of insurrection and public disorder: it was even extended to those who brought bulls from Rome, foreign libels, or prohibited books. Nothing could be more arbitrary than that rigorous law; nothing more repugnant to the principles of genuine justice. In a word, Elizabeth wanted no power but that of imposing taxes; and even that her prerogative supplied, by granting monopolies, requiring forced loans and free gifts, by purveyance, embargoes on merchandize, and many other burthenome expedients. The parliament, indeed, assumed the legislative power, but the crown, in fact, exercised it, by edicts and proclamations. At the same time, even the laws themselves were rendered uncertain, by virtue of the dispensing power of the sovereign. We may judge of the despotic authority of Elizabeth by the following curious anecdote preserved by several of our historians. Dr. Haywarde having dedicated an historical performance to Essex during the time of that nobleman's disgrace, the queen was so highly offended at his presumption, that she enquired of Bacon, whether the book contained any thing that might impeach the author of high-treason? "I find nothing of that," replied the sage, "but there is sufficient matter to convict him of felony." "Which are the passages?" asked the queen hastily. "The author" said Bacon, "is guilty of theft, having translated many passages from Cornelius Tacitus, and inserted them in his text." This answer did not satisfy the queen; she pretended that the person who had put his name to the performance was not the writer; and added, that she would have him racked, in order to oblige him to produce the real author. "No, madam," answered Bacon, "it is not the writer but the style that ought to be put to the torture. Let the doctor have pen, ink, paper, and books, and let him be enjoined to continue the story; and I will undertake, on comparing the style, to determine whether he is the real author or not." Thus an innocent man of letters would have been put to the torture, for no other crime than that of having given to Essex, that munificent patron of the learned, a public testimony of his respect, had not the wit and address of Bacon prevented it.

The absolute authority of the crown was not, however, without its advantages, both in maintaining the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and in giving vigour to the councils, and expedition to the business abroad. But, at the same time, it was found, by melancholy experience, that arbitrary power is by no means so well calculated as regular justice to maintain good order, and restrain licentiousness among the people.

Before we conclude these observations on the reign of Elizabeth, it is but justice to say something with regard to her œconomy, in which she surpassed most of the English princes. Her ordinary revenue did not exceed five hundred thousand pounds a year. During the whole course of her reign, she received no more from parliament than twenty subsidies, and thirty-nine fifteenths. It is not easy to compute the exact value of these subsidies, because they were always decreasing: they fell, during the course of this reign, from one hundred and eighty-two thousand pounds sterling, to eighty thousand. The war with Spain cost, in two years, one million three hundred thousand pounds; and that in Ireland, during ten years, more than three millions. It is astonishing how Elizabeth could undertake and execute such great things with such small resources. The foreign trade of England considerably increased; but monopolies and exclusive privileges greatly injured the inland trade of the kingdom. The navy, though considerably augmented, was very weak in comparison of what it became afterwards. Before the reign of this princess, it was usual for the monarchs of England to have recourse to the city of Antwerp for

voluntary loans; but their credit was so low, that, besides the exorbitant interest of ten or twelve per cent. they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security. Sir Thomas Gresham, one of the greatest and most enterprising merchants of that age, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant a loan to the queen, and the money was regularly paid. This established her credit in the city, and she was no longer obliged to have recourse to foreigners for assistance. In the year 1660, the queen granted the first charter to the East-India Company.

The state of the English manufactures was very low at this period, and foreign wares of almost all kinds were preferred. The persecutions in France and the Low Countries afterwards drove a great number of foreigners into England; and, by their assistance, both the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom were greatly improved. It was then that Sir Thomas Gresham built, at his own expence, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange, for the reception of merchants. The queen, highly pleased with his public spirit, visited the structure, and gave it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

A remarkable revolution in the manners of the people happened during this reign, but it by no means contributed to augment the power of the crown. The old hospitality of the nobility every day declined, and even their houses were far less numerous. The queen, by proclamation, obliged them to observe a restriction in that article, and from that moment their influence declined. They had fewer retainers, and, consequently, were less able to form plots and conspiracies. A taste for luxury prevailed among them, by which their fortunes were soon impaired; while the merchant and mechanic were enriched at their expence and prodigality. In consequence of this, the towns became more populous; and the country people, by means of agriculture, acquired an independency, which rescued them from the yoke of the nobility. The barons were now no longer formidable to the crown; but what it gained on one hand, it lost on the other. The commons grew more jealous of their privileges: they encroached upon the prerogative, and gave, at last a mortal blow to monarchy. We shall see how this was effected in the subsequent reigns of the Stuarts.

The English began early to cultivate maritime affairs, and made discoveries in various parts of the world. In the year 1536, Henry VIII. encouraged a society of merchants to send two ships, in order to make discoveries in the northern parts of America, where it was hoped a passage to India might be found. The attempt proved abortive with regard to the principal intention, but it laid the foundation of that beneficial fishery which the English still carry on at Newfoundland.

Edward VI. was very desirous of making discoveries in the north-east parts of Europe; and encouraged a company of English merchants to send Sir Hugh Willoughby with three ships, in order to open a new passage to Russia by the northern ocean, and, if possible, to pursue their course to China. The attempt proved unfortunate to the commander in chief, who being obliged, by the sudden approach of winter, to take shelter in an obscure harbour of Russian Lapland, was there, with his whole crew, frozen to death. One of the ships, commanded by Richard Chancellor, was more fortunate, by reaching the White Sea, on the coast of Russia. Chancellor landed at the abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel, in order to wait of the Czar John Basilowitz, then engaged in the Livonian war. At this time the Russians had neither harbours nor shipping on the shores of the Baltic; their rich furs, hemp, &c. were carried into Livonia, and thence distributed to the different parts of Europe. Chancellor reached the Czar's court at Moscow, and was kindly received by the emperor; who, desirous of opening a trade from



one of his own ports with the English, granted the merchants of that kingdom very extensive privileges.

The trade to Turkey was begun in 1583, and a company established for carrying it on with spirit and advantage. Before that time, the emperor of the Turks had always considered England as a province of France. The power and reputation of Elizabeth destroyed this erroneous opinion: he gave the English a kind reception, and granted them even larger privileges than those he had before given to the French.

Notwithstanding the attempt made in 1536 for finding a north-west passage to India proved abortive, the English were not discouraged. Sir Martin Forbisher made a second attempt, and penetrated much farther than any European before his time. He discovered the Streight which still bears his name; and made so many flattering discoveries, that though he succeeded not in his principal design, a second voyage was attempted some years after, but no north-west passage could be found.

The first attempt of the English for establishing a trade to the coast of Guinea was made by Mr. John Hawkins, about the year 1562. He purchased a considerable number of negroes in Guinea, and carried them to Hispaniola, where he disposed of his slaves and English merchandize, and loaded his vessels with hides, sugar, and ginger; commodities that found a quick sale in England, and rendered the voyage very lucrative to the merchants.

Two attempts were made, during the reign of Elizabeth, for settling colonies in America, and both proved abortive. One was attempted by Sir Humphry Gilbert in Newfoundland, and the other by Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia. Raleigh procured a charter from the queen in 1584: but notwithstanding all the attempts of that great man, who seemed born for making discoveries, he succeeded not in his design; all the settlements in America owe their establishments to later times.

Soon after the revival of learning in Europe, it was cultivated with attention by the princes and nobility of England. Henry VIII. was considered as one of the most learned persons of his time. Queen Catherine Parr translated a very useful treatise into English in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. Lady Jane Gray, considering her age, her sex, and her station, may be considered as a prodigy of learning. She was familiarly acquainted with the writings of the ancients, and caught their noble sentiments at a very early age. Elizabeth wrote and translated several books, and was familiarly acquainted both with the Greek and Latin languages. But cardinal Wolsey may be considered as the father of revived learning in England. Wolsey had a soul exquisitely susceptible of the glory arising from a patronage that gives a surer immortality than power or titles can communicate. The fame of Leo X. who restored the arts in Italy, excited his emulation; he was desirous of disseminating the seeds of literature in his native country. The learning of the English was then useless and heavy; they were totally strangers to taste. Wolsey saw this, and had the virtue to attempt the improvement of the one, and the introduction of the other. He was himself well acquainted with many branches of learning, as well as master of all the qualities of a fine gentleman and a polite courtier. But it was not enough for Wolsey to confine his love of learning and the muses to his own example and munificence, without planting those seminaries which, in succeeding ages, were productive of many of the noblest fruits of study. He searched for men of genius and letters, as the lord of the soil does for a mine of treasure. His house, like Cicero's Tusculanum, was the retreat of the learned. Whenever he found a foreigner celebrated for his literary acquisitions, he settled on him a handsome salary, and invited him to England. He intended to procure copies of all the MSS. in the Vatican for his college

at Oxford; which, if finished according to his plan, would have been the noblest foundation in the world.

Henry Howard, earl of Surry, was one of the greatest ornaments in the court of Henry VIII. He was famous for the tenderness and elegance of his poetry, in which he excelled all the writers of his time. His great merit excited the jealousy of Henry; and, after the formality of a trial, he was condemned and executed for high-treason on the nineteenth of January, 1547.

Archbishop Warcham shone as a divine, a lawyer, and a statesman; but was at last supplanted in the king's favour by Wolsey. Erasmus makes honourable mention of this prelate, whom he esteemed a perfect model of the episcopal character. He died on the 23d of August 1532.

Archbishop Cranmer was one of the most learned persons of his age, and has been justly esteemed one of the chief ornaments of our church and nation. He was in high esteem with Henry VIII. for his learning, his sincerity, his prudence, and his moderation. But he fell a sacrifice to the bigotted fury of queen Mary, on the 21st of March, 1556.

Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, was a polite scholar, and one of the most perfect characters of his age. The celebrated Erasmus, one of whose excellences consisted in doing justice to the merit of his friends, tells us, that he was comparable to any of the ancients.

John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, was one of those great men that assisted in the revival of learning in England. No higher testimony need be given of the merit of Collet, than his great intimacy with Erasmus. There was a remarkable similitude of manners, of studies, and of sentiments in religion, between these illustrious men, who ventured to withdraw the veil of ignorance and superstition, and expose them, in their genuine colours, to the eyes of the world; and to prepare the minds of the English for that reformation in religion, and the restoration of learning, which soon after followed. Collet, Lynacre, Lilly, Grocyn, and Latimer, were the first that revived the literature of the ancients in England. He founded St. Paul's school, and died in 1519.

William Tindale, canon of Christ-church, Oxford, and deservedly styled the English apostle, was the first that translated the New Testament into English from the Greek. This work appeared in 1526; and three or four years after, he published an English translation of the Pentateuch from the original Hebrew, and intended to have gone through with the whole: but his attempt provoked the catholic clergy, and he was burnt for heresy at Wilford, near Brussels, in 1536.

Sir Thomas More was a great master of the elegant learning of the ancients. His *Utopia*, a kind of political romance, which gained him the highest reputation as an author, is an idea of a perfect republic, in an island supposed to be newly discovered in America. He was beheaded, for denying the king's supremacy, on the sixth of July, 1535.

Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, and Roger Ascham, tutor to queen Elizabeth, were the politest scholars of their time in the university of Cambridge. Among other useful attempts for the improvement of learning, they introduced the true pronunciation of the Greek in that seat of the muses.

Richard Hooker, some time master of the Temple, and afterwards rector of Bishop's Bourn, in Kent, was one of the most celebrated writers of the age in which he lived. His "*Ecclesiastical Polity*", which is a defence of the government of the English church against the cavils of the dissenters, is written with a classic simplicity, and esteemed one of the completest works, both for style and argument, that ever appeared in the English language. Queen Elizabeth used to call him "*The judicious Hooker*", an epithet by which he is still distinguished. He died on the second of November, 1600.



Sir Philip Sidney was the delight and admiration of the court of Elizabeth. He was the ornament of the university; and appeared with equal advantage in a field of battle; at a tournament; in a private conversation among his friends, or in a public character as an ambassador. His talents were equally adapted to prose or verse, to original composition or translation. His *Arcadia* was not only admired for its novelty, but continued to be read longer than such compositions generally are, and has passed through fourteen editions. He died the sixteenth of October, 1586.

John Stow was one of the most industrious antiquaries this kingdom has produced. He was bred a taylor, but quitted his employment to pursue his beloved study of the history and antiquities of England, to which he had an invincible propensity. His principal works are his "*Survey of London*", his "*Additions to Hollinghed's Chronicle*", and his "*Annals*". The folio volume, commonly called "*Stow's Chronicle*", was compiled from his papers after his decease. He died the fifth of April, 1605.

Sir Thomas Bodley deserves to be mentioned here, as a man of letters; but much more for the ample provision he has made for literature, by the library he founded at Oxford, and in which he stands unrivalled. In 1599, he opened his library, a mausoleum which will perpetuate his memory as long as books themselves endure. He died the twenty-eight of January, 1612.

John Gertarde, a surgeon of London, was the greatest English botanist of that age. He published his *herbal* in 1597, which has, ever since its first appearance, been considered as a very useful work.

Edmund Spenser, the celebrated author of the "*Fairy Queen*", was the father of the English heroic poem, and of true pastoral poetry in this island. He stands distinguished from almost all other poets, by that faculty by which a poet is distinguished from other writers, namely, invention; and excelled all his cotemporaries in harmonious versification. The stanza of Spenser, and the old words which constantly occur, contribute to give that great poet an air of peculiarity; and hence all the imitations of him resemble the original. But Parnassus proved a very barren soil to Spenser. Elizabeth was far from having a just sense of his merit. After the death of Sir Philip Sidney, he languished without a patron, and died, in want of bread, in 1599.

Besides the writers already enumerated, many others flourished during this period of history. John Rogers, a clergyman of Lancashire, translated the Bible into English, with notes. Thomas Sternhold and John

Hopkins translated the Psalms into metre, as we still hear them sung in many of our churches. John Leiland, the famous antiquarian, flourished in this period. Fairfax translated Tasso with ease and elegance; and Harrington, Ariosto with tolerable accuracy.

Several discoveries, some of them very useful to this kingdom, were made during this period of history. One Owen is noted, as being the first who cast brass cannon in England, some specimens of which are said to be still in the Tower of London. They were cast about the year 1536. Musquets, or hand-guns, were introduced in the year 1521. These superseded the practice of bows and arrows, which were soon after laid aside.

About the year 1535, glasses were first manufactured in England: the finer sort of it was made in Crutched-Friars, London; and the flint glass, little inferior to that of Venice, at the Savoy-house in the Strand.

The first manufacture of knives in England was begun in 1563, by Thomas Matthews, on Fleet-bridge, London. Before that time, they were imported from Germany; but the art was soon improv'd by the English, and large quantities were soon after exported to different parts of the world.

In the year 1589, William Lee, M. A. of St. John's college, Cambridge, invented an engine, or steel-loom, called the Stocking-frame, for knitting or weaving of stockings. This was not above twenty years after the English had been taught the art of knitting them with wires or needles, by the Spaniards. Mr. Lee's invention has been of great advantage to the stocking manufacture, by enabling the English to export vast quantities of all kinds to foreign countries.

We have the best authority for fixing the first manufacturing of sail-cloth in England to the year 1599, being the preamble of an act made for encouraging that useful manufacture. Before that time it was imported from France and Germany.

About the same time, that useful instrument, the telescope, was discovered by one Janssen, a spectacle-maker at Middleburgh, in Zealand. He knew not, however, the theory, on which the instrument depended, and therefore never made them of any considerable length: eighteen inches was the utmost extent of his instruments. Galileo, astronomer to the grand duke of Tuscany, was the artist that perfected the discovery; and rendered it of the greatest service in astronomical observations; and hence the telescope has acquired the name of Galileo's tube.

The progress made in the mathematical arts was chiefly confined to the studies of Dee, and one or two more, who were patronized by Burleigh.



## B O O K XI.

From the beginning of the reign of James I. to the restoration of Charles II.

## J A M E S I.

A.D. 1603. **T**HE heirs male of the house of Tudor failing, James, king of Scotland, great-grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. had an incontestible right to the crown of England. The will of Henry VIII. had, indeed, set aside the claim of that family; but the testament was now odious to the nation, and Elizabeth had named James as her successor. The whole nation appeared greatly interested in favour of their new monarch, he was received in the capital with the greatest rejoicings, and crowned at Westminster on Monday the twenty-fifth of July, by Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, amidst the acclamations of the people. But James, though far from disliking the adulation of his subjects, hated the bustle of a mixed multitude; he was much fonder of ease and tranquillity.

He was not, however, insensible to their affections; and began his reign with lavishing a profusion of titles on his courtiers; no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons received the honour of knighthood, within six weeks after his ascending the English throne. By so indiscriminate a method of bestow-favours, he imprudently lessened the rewards of merit. Titles were no longer marks of distinction; and being distributed without choice or deliberation, they were considered rather as proofs of the facility and good nature of the prince, than the marks of any determined friendship and esteem. To ridicule this imprudent manner of lavishing titles, a pasquinade was affixed to the gate of St. Paul's, advertising that an artist had discovered the best method of retaining, in weak memories, the names of the new nobility.

The greater part of these honours were conferred upon the Scots, at which the English were offended, and it might have occasioned national quarrels, had not James prudently resolved to employ only Englishmen in the administration. Among these secretary Cecil, created successively lord Effendon, viscount Cranborne, and earl of Salisbury, was always regarded as prime minister and chief counsellor. He was the son of the famous Burleigh, whose name, it was natural to suppose, must be odious to James, as the declared enemy of his mother, and the chief cause of her tragical catastrophe; but Cecil had taken care to make his peace with James before the death of Elizabeth. Skilled in the arts of cunning and duplicity, he had for some time before the queen's decease, kept up a correspondence with James, and informed him of every thing transacted in the English council that regarded his interest. Sir Walter Raleigh, lord Grey, and lord Cobham, who had not taken the wise precautions of Cecil, and had been at the head of the faction which brought the earl of Essex to the scaffold, immediately felt the effects of the new monarch's prejudice, and were dismissed from their employments.

The eyes of all the sovereigns of Europe were fixed in anxious expectations upon James, from the moment of his ascending the English throne; they beheld in him the son of a prince who died a martyr to the cause of popery, and who had suffered a long series of troubles in a kingdom whither she had

fled for protection. The hopes of the catholics and the fears of the protestants were equally excited on this occasion; and ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Christendom soon appeared at the English court, in order to compliment the king on his new acquired dignity, and to conclude with him new treaties and alliances. Besides envoys from Venice, Denmark, and the Palatinate, Henry Frederick of Nassau, assisted by the famous pensionary Barnevelt, represented the states of the United Provinces; Aremborg was sent by the archduke Albert, and Taxis was soon expected from Spain.

Henry IV. of France could not reflect, without concern, that James, in one part of his life, had entered into negotiations with Spain, and thought he had every thing to dread from such an union, especially if James, whose real disposition was as yet unknown, should discover an enterprising genius. The marquis of Rosny, afterwards the famous duke of Sully, a minister worthy of Henry IV. was charged with the affairs of France at the English court. That able statesman proposed a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns, in order to invade the territories of the house of Austria on every side, and humble the exorbitant power of that ambitious family. But the genius of the English monarch was little adapted to such vast enterprizes; the love of peace was his ruling passion, and Rosny found James to be master of so much art and dissimulation, that all his address was insufficient to discover the real intentions of the English monarch. He refused to make any declaration but in general terms, of his sincere desire of living in friendship with France. A solemn conference was, however, at last held, and it was agreed that the Dutch should have the liberty of levying forces both in France and England; that the two monarchs should supply that republic with the sum of one million four hundred thousand livres a year for the maintenance of their forces; that the whole sum should be advanced by the king of France, but that one third of it should be deducted to discharge a debt due from that monarch to Elizabeth; and that if the Spaniards attacked either the territories of France or England, the contracting princes should assist each other, Henry with a force of ten thousand, and James with that of six thousand men.

The tranquillity which reigned in England was now disturbed by a conspiracy said to have been formed in the kingdom against the government. The design was to place Arabella Stuart, a near relation of James, and descended equally with him from Henry VII. on the English throne. She had been long a state prisoner in the Tower, and possibly never knew that the least design was formed for her liberty. Indeed the whole conspiracy is still a mystery; time itself has afforded no clue that will help us to unravel it. But however that be, Sir Walter Raleigh, with his friends the lords Cobham and Grey, Sir Griffith Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Sir George Brooke, Bartholomew Brooksby, and Anthony Cappely, with two priests, Watson and Clarke, were sent to prison. The trial of these conspirators, it indeed any conspiracy





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*[Faint, illegible text or markings, possibly a signature or date.]*



spiracy ever existed, was imperfect and confused; no signs of guilt appeared; no regular plot had been formed. A few passionate words, flowing from the disappointed ambition of the dismissed courtiers, composed perhaps their whole crime. Sir Edward Coke, the celebrated lawyer, who managed the prosecution on the part of the crown, used the most violent and opprobrious terms on this occasion. He called Raleigh a traitor, a monster, a viper, a spider of hell; terms that sufficiently point out the manners of the age, and will for ever throw a stain on the character of that famous pleader. Raleigh, however, defended himself with surprizing temper, eloquence, and courage; but notwithstanding all the force of his arguments, he was found guilty by his jury, contrary to all law and the principles of equity. The two priests were executed, Cobham, Grey and Markham were pardoned, after they had laid their heads upon the block. Raleigh also was reprieved, but not pardoned, and he continued many years after in confinement.

Secure from this danger, James turned his thoughts towards secular controversies, of which he was much fonder than of the duties of a king. The severities of Elizabeth had restrained the partizans of the Roman church; but the fanaticism of the puritans was not to be subdued. These fiery disciplinarians expected better treatment under a prince who had been trained up by their own sect in Scotland. But James was too well acquainted with their independent principles, was too jealous of his new authority, and too much a friend to pleasure, to shew them any favour in a country where they were not the predominant party. He was, however, very willing that a conference should be held at Hampton-court, where he himself undertook to preside in person.

A. D. 1604. The conference was opened on the fourteenth of January, and James, in quality of president, displayed his uncommon talents in disputation. They disputed not upon doctrine, the proper object of controversy, but on simple ceremonies, the sign of the cross in baptism, the wedding-ring, the surplice, and the bowing at the name of Jesus; these were the topics debated before this assembly, and these were the mighty particulars that had excited so violent a misunderstanding between the two parties, and set the whole nation in a flame. Great expectations were formed by the leaders of both parties on the issue of this debate; but surely they must have been totally unacquainted with the dictates of the human heart, who could expect that a candid indifference, and a sincere search after truth, would be observed in a theological enquiry, so long and warmly debated in the kingdom. It must, however, be owned, that the king from the first opening the controversy, was strongly biased in favour of the episcopal party; he frequently said, with a decisive tone of voice, "No bishop, no king;" and the prime observed, that his majesty, doubtless, spoke by the Spirit of God. The alteration of some few passages in the liturgy were the only fruit of this conference. Each party retained their former prejudices, increased by the animosity of a public disputation.

James was persuaded that in supporting the episcopalians, he supported his own prerogative. They admitted a series of subordination, and acknowledged the king as supreme head of the church; whereas the dissenters were infected with the levelling principles, and considered all men as equal. The love of liberty had taken considerable root in Europe, especially in England, where it was carefully nourished by the puritan party. This is, with great probability, attributed to the taste that now prevailed for letters, which enlarged at once the ideas and the views of men. The works of the ancients, and the history of so many celebrated commonwealths, could not fail of cherishing a republican spirit, in proportion as they cultivated the understanding.

The parliament, whose meeting had been deferred on account of the plague, which raged so dreadfully in London, that no less than thirty thousand persons

died of it in one year, assembled on the nineteenth of March, when James opened the session with a speech from the throne. Though few productions of that age surpassed this speech, either in style or matter, yet it is destitute of that majestic reserve, which should always be observed by a king in his addresses to the great council of the nation. The general propositions are, however, just, and the following passage demands the applause of every lover of English liberty. "When I have done all that I can do for you, I do nothing but what I am bound to do, and am accountable to God should I do the contrary; for I acknowledge that the most essential difference between a lawful king and an usurping tyrant, consists in this; that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant thinks that his kingdom and people are only ordained for the gratification of his desires, and unreasonable appetites, the righteous and just king, on the contrary, acknowledges, that he himself is only ordained for promoting the wealth and prosperity of his people; and that his greatest and principal happiness must consist in their prosperity. If you are rich I cannot be poor; if you are happy I cannot be unfortunate: and I protest that your welfare shall be the constant object of my study and attention. That I am a servant is most true; and that as I am head and governor of all the people in my dominions, considering them in number, and in different ranks; so, if we will take the people as one body and mass, then as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the head, so must a righteous king acknowledge himself to be ordained for his people, and not his people for him: For though a king and people are relative, yet can he be no king if he is destitute of subjects; but there are many people in the world, that are without a king. I shall therefore never be ashamed to confess it my principal honour to be the great servant of the commonwealth, and ever think the prosperity thereof to be my greatest felicity." The rest of the speech was calculated to effect an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and in expressing his favourable intentions towards the Roman catholic party, he even dropped some severe expressions against the puritans.

This speech produced not the desired effect. The protestants were alarmed at the advances made towards the catholics, and the puritans were enraged to hear the king profess himself their open enemy. The commons determined now to shake off that pusillanimity which had rendered them so subservient to the orders of the crown in the preceding reign, and to assert their privileges with spirit and firmness. A calf soon offered for carrying their design into execution. Sir Francis Goodwin having been declared duly elected knight of the shire for the county of Bucks by the committee of elections, after a full hearing on a petition of Sir John Fortescue, the king commanded the commons to re-consider the case, and to consult the judges on the occasion. This the commons absolutely refused, and a breach between the king and his parliament would probably have been the consequence, had not the moderation of Goodwin disengaged the king from an affair which might have been attended with fatal effects. It had been the common practice during the late reign, when any person was declared disqualified to sit in the house, by the chancellor, for him to issue his writ for a new election. The house now opposed this act of prerogative, as injurious to the freedom of elections and the privileges of parliament. They asserted, that they alone had the right of issuing writs for filling vacancies; and the crown made no difficulty of confirming it. Happily James possessed neither capacity to perceive the consequence, nor sufficient art and vigour to check the first attempts of liberty.

Nor was the privileges of elections the only grievance the commons attempted to remove. They endeavoured to free trade from the shackles of monopoly, which the imperious, and in this instance, the ill-judged tyranny of Elizabeth had laid upon it. Their endeavours failed indeed of success; but the

very



very design deserves to be remembered with applause. The same fate attended a similar attempt to free the people from the burden of purveyance. They offered the king fifty thousand pounds a year if he would consent to abolish it. James refused to comply, and the design became abortive.

The same spirit of independence urged the commons to oppose the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, which true policy must have considered as the greatest advantage to both. The king was very desirous of completing this union. He told the parliament, "that he justly regarded it as the peculiar felicity of his reign, that he had terminated the bloody animosities of these hostile nations, and reduced the whole island under one empire, enjoying tranquillity within itself, and security from all foreign invasions." He added, "that while his subjects of both kingdoms reflected on the disasters of former times, he hoped they would entertain the strongest desire of securing themselves against a return of similar calamities, by a thorough union of laws, parliaments and privileges." But these reasons, however powerful when considered without prejudice, lost their effect. The commons ascribed the excessive zeal of the king to that partiality in favour of his ancient subjects, of which, on other occasions, they thought they had sufficient reason to complain. So strangely will prejudice warp the reasoning faculty of human beings!

When the question of a supply was brought before the house, the same spirit of opposition appeared among the commons. The smallest supply, however reasonable and necessary, appeared to them unreasonable and exorbitant. James, desirous of concealing his wants from the parliament, and determined not to suffer the mortification of a refusal, sent a message to the commons, informing them, that he desired no supply. This conduct of the parliament displayed the principles which were now taking root in the nation. James foresaw not the consequences: he relied upon the rights of the crown, without imagining that his subjects could have any rights to throw in the opposite scale against them.

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, the peace with Spain was finally concluded. This treaty contained some articles not at all favourable to the states of the United Provinces; but as they were never executed, nor any complaints made on that head by the Spaniards, it is natural to imagine, that, by some secret agreement between the contracting parties, they were never intended for any thing more than mere form. Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, the town of Ostend capitulated, after a three years siege. The Spaniards found nothing in the place but heaps of ruins to recompense them for the vast sums of money, and the incredible number of lives they had lost in making the conquest. James gave himself no concern about the loss of this fortress, resolving to improve his present connection with Spain. He accordingly dispatched the earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral, with the character of ambassador extraordinary, to that court, attended by a numerous and magnificent retinue. The Spaniards were extremely surprized on their arrival, when they beheld the blooming countenances, and graceful appearance of the English, whom their bigotry, inflamed by their priests, had represented as to many monsters and demons from the infernal regions.

We come now to relate an event which has not its parallel in history; namely, the gun-powder plot, which affords a striking instance of the human mind, when blinded by religious prejudices. The catholics, persuaded at first that the son of Mary Stuart would mitigate the severity of the laws in their favour, were enraged to find themselves treated with the same rigour: they forgot the real duties of religion to indulge the principles of a blind and headstrong zeal. Catesby, a gentleman descended from an ancient family, of good parts, and master of a considerable estate, had formed a plan for overturning the English

government; and in order to carry the design into execution, had made several journeys to the court of Philip, in order to procure an army of Spaniards to land in England: but the late peace having rendered his plan of an invasion abortive, he formed a most extraordinary method of revenge; and declared his intention to Piercy, a descendant from the illustrious house of Northumberland. The hardships under which the catholics laboured was often the subject of their conversation; and Piercy, in a fit of enthusiastic zeal, hinted a design of assassinating the king. Catesby answered, that the attempt, if successful, could not possibly remove the evil; that a more general revenge was necessary, in order to restore the catholic religion in England. The whole royal family, the nobility, and the parliament, are (said he) equally infected with the same heresy, and must all be destroyed, before a catholic prince can be placed upon the throne, and religion restored to its ancient purity. Nor is this undertaking either impossible or difficult. They will all assemble on the first meeting of the parliament, and afford us an opportunity of a sure and ample vengeance. A mine may easily be run under the parliament-house; and a few barrels of powder, properly placed, will bury all our enemies in one common ruin." Piercy was highly pleased with the contrivance of Catesby; and it was agreed between them to communicate the design to a few of their friends, and, among the rest, to Thomas Winter, who was immediately dispatched to Flanders in search of Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal for the catholic religion, and courage to execute any desperate enterprize, they were well acquainted.

Thus far every thing had succeeded according to their wishes. Fawkes was found, and entered into the conspiracy with all the ardour of bigotted enthusiasm. A house was hired in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble; and it was agreed to carry a mine from the cellar under the room in which the parliament met; and the very moment when the king was delivering his speech to both houses, to set fire to the magazine, and destroy the whole assembly by one dreadful blast: thus making the very spot, where the edicts for proscribing the catholic religion had received their sanction, the scene of this dreadful catastrophe.

A.D. 1605. These consultations were held in the month of December of the preceding year; and it being expected that the parliament would meet in February, the work was immediately begun, and carried on with astonishing perseverance. They never desisted from their labour, relieving one another by turns; and that no alarm might be given to the neighbourhood, they entered Piercy's house by night, and carried with them provisions sufficient to support them till the mine was completed. They had also provided themselves with fire-arms and ammunition, fully determined, in case of being discovered, to perish rather than be taken.

On the second of February they had nearly pierced the wall through three yards thick; and were greatly terrified at hearing a noise, which they knew not how to account for, as it seemed to proceed from the other side of the wall. A discovery was now greatly feared, and the conspirators prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity; but, upon inquiry, it was found, that the place from whence the noise proceeded was a large vault under the house of lords, filled with coals, which were now selling off, and that the vault was to be left to the highest bidder. This opportunity was not to be neglected; Piercy immediately hired the place, deposited in it thirty-six barrels of powder, and covered the whole with faggots. Every thing was now ready for the dreadful blast; but the parliament being prorogued to the fifth of November, the conspirators had more time to finish that diabolical undertaking. More faggots were carried into the vault, and the doors boldly thrown open, as if it contained nothing dangerous, or that ought to be concealed.





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England*



*GUY FAWKES Seiz'd by order of S<sup>r</sup> THO<sup>s</sup> KNEVET*



The success that had hitherto attended their undertaking rendered them confident of success; and they began to deliberate on the best method of executing the remaining part of the project. The duke of York, whose tender age would not suffer him to be present at the opening of the parliament, must be secured, as well as his sister the princess Elizabeth, then at lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire. Percy undertook to secure or assassinate the duke; and Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood, and Graunt, who were now let into the secret of the conspiracy, engaged to assemble their friends, under pretence of a hunting-match, seize that princess, and immediately declare her queen. Some proposed to apply immediately to foreign courts for assistance; but this was thought too dangerous; and it was resolved to make no application of that kind till the plot had taken effect.

At last the day for carrying this infernal scheme into execution approached; and the conspirators, without the least remorse of conscience, waited with impatience for its arrival. The secret, though known to above twenty persons, had been kept with the utmost caution. Not a syllable had transpired, nor one of the conspirators had abandoned the enterprise, either through fear of punishment, or the hopes of reward. Religious frenzy had stifled at once the voice of conscience and the soft whispers of humanity. A bigotted partiality to preserve a professor of the catholic religion, at last saved the kingdom from destruction.

The following letter was sent, about ten days before the meeting of the parliament, to lord Monteagle, son to lord Morley, a catholic peer. "My lord, Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety: for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow, this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, but can do you no harm: for the danger is past as soon as you have burned this letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you."

This letter gave Monteagle some uneasiness. It had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand, and seemed to contain some mystery which it was not easy to explain. Had his own safety alone been concerned, in all probability, he would have slighted the notice, as he was inclined to think it was nothing more than an attempt of his enemies to prevent his attendance in parliament; but fearing lest the king's life might be in danger, he carried it directly to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. The minister was also inclined to treat it with neglect; but as the words seemed to convey an ambiguous meaning, he determined to lay it before his majesty. The king was of a different opinion: he conjectured, from the serious and earnest style of the letter, that something very dangerous and important was intended; and that the effect, which was represented to be at once both sudden and terrible, seemed to denote some contrivance by gun-powder. He was, however, of opinion, that either nothing should be done, or enough to prevent the danger; and that therefore the search should be deferred till the day before the meeting of the parliament, when the vaults under the parliament-house should be carefully inspected. Accordingly, on the fourth of November, the lord chamberlain, who was obliged by his office to see every thing in readiness for his majesty's coming, visited all the places about the parliament-house.

He slightly inspected the cellar, in one of the corners of which stood Fawkes, who passed for Percy's servant. The lord chamberlain was struck with the appearance of the man, in whose countenance all the marks of ferocious courage were conspicuously painted. Percy was known to be a very rigid papist, and to reside very little in town: the large quantity of fuel was, therefore, considered as a little extraordinary; and it was thought necessary to make a more particular inspection of the cellar; but, at the same time, it was resolved, that this search should be made in such a manner as should render it effectual, without giving the least alarm. These resolutions being taken, Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of the peace, with proper attendants, was sent about midnight to examine the cellar, under pretence of searching for stolen goods. Fawkes had just finished all his preparations, and was coming out of the cellar when Knevet arrived. The daring conspirator was immediately seized; and, after removing the billets, the barrels of powder were discovered. Fawkes had a dark lantern in his hand; and the matches, with every thing necessary for setting fire to the powder, were found in his pockets. The guilt of this determined conspirator was now sufficiently apparent; and knowing that all denial would be in vain, he avowed the design, and that it would have been executed on the morrow; at the same time, expressing the utmost regret that he had lost the opportunity of setting fire to the powder; and of softening his own death with the pleasure of perishing with his enemies. He expressed the same intrepid boldness when examined before the council. He shewed not the least concern but for the failure of the enterprise; nor could the threats of torture prevail upon him to discover his accomplices. This obstinacy continued two or three days; but being closely confined in the Tower, and the rack placed before him, his courage at last forsook him, and he made a full discovery of the whole contrivance, and named all his accomplices.

The conspirators who then resided in town, though they knew that the letter to Monteagle had alarmed the ministry, and even that a search was intended to be made by the lord chamberlain, never abandoned their hopes of success till they heard that Fawkes was taken. It was then, indeed, too evident that the whole plot was discovered; and they fled immediately into Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby, persuaded that the attempt had succeeded, was already in arms to seize the princess Elizabeth, who had prevented their design by flying to Coventry. The whole county was now alarmed; and Sir Richard Walsh, high constable of Worcestershire, assisted by a great number of the inhabitants, surrounded the conspirators in Holbeach. Their number, including all their attendants, never exceeded eighty; but notwithstanding their inferiority, they prepared for a vigorous defence, determined either to perish or escape. But misfortune still pursued them. A quantity of powder laid before the fire to dry, taking fire, disabled them from making any defence. The people rushed in upon them. Catesby and Percy were killed by a single shot: Winter, Digby, Rookwood and Bates, were taken, and carried to London, where they made a full discovery of the conspiracy, and, together with Garnet the jesuit, died by the hands of the common executioner.

The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thousand pounds, under pretence of his having been acquainted with the conspiracy, though the only grounds of suspicion were, his having admitted Percy, his kinsman, into the number of gentlemen pensioners, without tendering him the oath of supremacy. The lords Mordaunt and Sturton, two catholic noblemen, were also tried in the star-chamber, and fined, the former in ten thousand, and the latter in four thousand pounds. The lord Monteagle had a grant of two hundred pounds a year in land, and a pension of five hundred pounds for his life, as a reward.



reward for discovering the letter which occasioned the whole conspiracy to be rendered abortive. Some Roman catholic authors have maintained that the gunpowder plot was nothing more than an idle chimera; but their assertions are founded on no historical evidence; the fact is certain; and however incredible it may appear that the human mind should be capable of forming so horrid a contrivance, the whole is founded on proofs impossible to be invalidated.

This astonishing discovery occasioned the meeting of parliament to be put off till the ninth of November, when the king opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he endeavoured to restrain the fury of the English against the catholics. He observed, that it would be highly unjust, it would be criminal, to involve the whole body of catholics in the guilt of a few; that it could not be supposed they were all disposed to engage in committing such horrid barbarities; that all men who embraced the tenets of the Roman church, should not be considered as supporters of the pope's power of dethroning kings, or sanctifying assassination; for though the wrath of heaven is denounced against crimes, yet innocent error may obtain favour. "For my own part, added he, conspiracy, however atrocious, shall never alter my plan of government: while I punish guilt with one hand, I will support and protect innocence with the other."

A. D. 1606. The moderation of James was not, however, agreeable to his subjects, particularly the puritans, who represented his lenity as a proof, that his heart was inclined to the doctrines of Rome. But this suspicion was not sufficient to alienate the hearts of his subjects from him; the commons even laid aside their parsimonious tenets and granted him a considerable supply. But while the parliament were closely engaged in the business of the nation, and the passions of the people warmed by the recent guilt and obstinacy of the conspirators, a report was suddenly spread, that James and his principal favourites were assassinated at Oking, about twenty miles west of London. The account was very circumstantial; James was said to have been stabbed with a poisoned knife, and that the murderers were composed of English Jesuits, Scots in disguise, Frenchmen and Spaniards. The court and city gates were instantly shut; the guards at both were doubled; the citizens were put under arms; and Sir William Wade, lieutenant of the Tower, made the necessary dispositions for preventing a surprize, and standing a siege. The parliament was sitting when the report arrived, and all business was immediately suspended. Sir Maurice Berkley and two other persons were dispatched to know the truth, while terror and confusion seemed to have seized every order and rank of men. A small space of time was, however, sufficient to remove this universal consternation. In about two hours the report became doubtful, and in three a proclamation was published by the privy-council, informing the people that no unfortunate event happened. James himself reached London about two in the afternoon, and was met at Hyde-park by the whole house of commons, with the speaker at their head.

The supply, though very considerable, obtained from parliament, was soon squandered by the king's profusion. What considerably increased the royal expence, was a visit he received from his brother-in-law the king of Denmark. The whole court was employed in feasting and revelry, in masques and interludes. In the midst of these rejoicings, the prince of Vaudemont, third son to the duke of Lorraine, attended by seven earls, ten barons, forty gentlemen, and one hundred and twenty domestics, arrived at court, and greatly increased the splendor that then reigned in every part of the palace.

The parliament met again at Westminster on the eighteenth of November, when the project for an union between the two kingdoms was again the object of parliamentary discussion. James was very desir-

ous of completing this union; and pointed out, in an excellent speech, the advantages that both kingdoms must receive from so necessary a treaty. But all his reasonings were in vain; the parliament, swayed perhaps by the vulgar motive of national antipathy, resisted all his efforts, and the projected treaty became abortive. It was left to later times, and to an age more capable of perceiving the real advantages of the nation, to complete an union of so much importance to both kingdoms.

A. D. 1607. Though the principal subject debated in parliament during this session, was the union between the two kingdoms, it was not the only one; the puritans exerted themselves as usual in bringing in bills against pluralities; restraining the execution of ecclesiastical canons not confirmed by parliament; and moved for a toleration of those who opposed the ceremonies of the church: but all their efforts were in vain: James had too severely felt the effects of suffering that sect to gain an ascendancy in the government. In the mean time an insurrection happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leicester, occasioned by large tracts of land being inclosed, whereby the people were deprived of their right of commonage. A body, consisting of three or four thousand men, roved about the country, demolishing inclosures, and laying open the lands that had been taken from them. They were headed by one John Reynolds, a person of very low condition, but who had acquired great authority among the multitude. Several proclamations were published, and the sheriffs raised the posse of their respective counties against them, but carefully avoided a general engagement. At last James published a conciliating proclamation, expressing his unwillingness to proceed against them by martial law, and promising them mercy, and redress of their grievances. This produced the desired effect: the people laid down their arms, and returned to their respective habitations. A few weeks after this commotion subsided, James, though no supply had been granted him by the parliament, paid a debt of sixty thousand pounds contracted by Elizabeth, who, about nine years before, had borrowed that sum of the citizens of London, and left it undischarged at her decease.

A. D. 1608. Nothing memorable occurs in the transactions of this year, but the death of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, lord high-treasurer. He was succeeded in his office by Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, a nobleman of great talents, and every way qualified to instruct James in the methods used by former kings for raising money without the assistance of parliament.

A. D. 1609. Early in the spring was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that memorable war, which had, for near half a century, been carried on with the utmost fury, between Spain and the states of the United Provinces. Every stratagem had been tried, and every force exerted to annihilate a people who had made such uncommon efforts in defence of their independence. At last the haughty Spaniard, finding the commerce of his kingdom entirely ruined, and his provinces exposed to the most imminent danger from the maritime forces of the states, consented to acknowledge as a free people, those whom he had so long treated as rebellious subjects, and solemnly to relinquish all pretensions to sovereignty over them. This event was at once mortifying and dissatisfactory to James, who always considered the Hollanders as rebels. It was his avowed maxim in all debates concerning his prerogative, that subjects ought not to withdraw their allegiance from their princes on any account whatever. He therefore considered this treaty as a dangerous precedent, and prejudicial to the sovereign authority of kings.

A. D. 1610. Notwithstanding the many artifices made use of by James for levying money upon his subjects, he soon found his exchequer empty, and was obliged to summon a parliament to obtain the necessary supplies. The nation being enriched by commerce,



commerce, and the revenues of the crown not augmented in proportion to the price of provisions, the king found himself poor in the midst of public wealth. Economy, indeed, was not one of James's virtues: he was lavish of his treasures to his rapacious courtiers, and always in want, because he wanted sufficient fortitude to restrain, within proper bounds, his passion for conferring favours. The talk of procuring a supply to his majesty was undertaken by the earl of Salisbury, who, in order to conciliate the affections of the commons, assured them that the king was resolved to redress all their grievances, and then proceeded to explain the causes which obliged the king to have recourse to his parliament for a supply. He enumerated the debts of the late queen, which the king had discharged; the maintaining an army of nineteen thousand men in Ireland; the great sums he had expended in discharging the debts contracted by Elizabeth; in his own journey, and that of his household, from Edinburgh to London; in entertaining the king of Denmark and foreign ambassadors; in supporting three courts, for himself, the queen and the prince of Wales; in sending envoys to different courts on the continent; and in liberalities to his officers and dependents. He represented to them, that Elizabeth, though a single woman, had received very large supplies during the last years of her life, which alone was expensive to her; that she had, notwithstanding, alienated a great part of the crown lands, an expedient, which, though it supplied the present necessities, multiplied those of her successor. These, and several other reasons, were urged by the treasurer, to obtain a large supply from the parliament; but they were urged in vain; the commons determined to avail themselves of the king's poverty in order to keep him in dependence. They complained loudly of the king's prodigality, and excessive profusion towards his own countrymen: while others affirmed that his real intention was to sap the privileges of the subject by gradual usurpations, and, at last, to bury the liberties of Englishmen in the gulph of prerogative. But being unwilling to shock the king with an absolute denial, they expressed their willingness to comply with the king's desires, provided they did not exceed the bounds of reason. Accordingly, the earl of Salisbury moved for a conference with the commons; where he proposed that an adequate supply might be granted for his majesty's present occasions, and that two hundred thousand pounds a year should, for the future, be added to the royal revenue, in order to support the dignity of the crown. Faced at this proposal, the commons voted one subsidy and one fifteenth, which did not amount to more than one sixth part of what had been asked for the king's present occasions; and absolutely refused to settle any standing revenue, unless the king would consent to purchase it with some valuable consideration. By the ancient right of poundage the king was to have five per cent. on all merchandise, but as the ancient rates were followed, which did not amount to one third of the real value, he thought he might make some improvements, and these were made with great moderation. This did not, however, satisfy the commons, they presented a remonstrance on that subject, in which they said, that such a practice threatened ruin to the ancient liberties of the kingdom, and invaded the properties of the people. They even passed a bill for the suppression of those taxes; together with another of more importance, against ecclesiastical regulations made without the authority of parliament; but they were both thrown out by the lords.

These bold attempts, with others of a similar nature, could not fail of being very disagreeable to a prince firmly attached to the arbitrary principles of his ancestors. He told the parliament in his speech, that he would never agree to have his power disputed, but should always be willing to explain the motives of his conduct, and to regulate it by the laws. In a work published in England, he expressed himself in

these terms, "A good prince, though above the laws, will make his actions conformable to them; and thus set an example to his people, whilst he himself is not amenable nor subject to the laws." Convinced that the royal authority hath no bounds even in England, he found, with indignation, that bounds were prescribed to it. At last he dissolved the parliament, but did not by that means weaken the new system. These agitations seemed to announce those violent storms, which, in the reign of his successor overwhelmed the throne.

A.D. 1611. The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon Henry IV. of France; who, by his experience and good sense, was become one of the greatest politicians, as well as generals, of the age. That prince saw, that while the house of Austria, through its widely extended branches, was always ready to embrace every opportunity of aggrandizing itself, France had every thing to fear from its ambition; and he had formed a noble plan for humbling that ambitious family. But all his great designs were blasted in a moment by the poniard of the fanatical Ravallac. That infamous miscreant had for some time followed the king in his incursions, in quest of an opportunity of perpetrating his horrid purpose. That very morning he intended to stab him at the Feuillans, where he went to hear mass; but was prevented by the interposition of the duke de Vendome. After dinner the king appeared extremely uneasy, and leaning his head upon his hand; was heard to say, "My God! what is this that will not suffer me to be at quiet? About four in the afternoon he went into his own coach with the duke d'Epemon, and several other noblemen. In passing through the street de la Roqueta, which is very narrow, a stop was made by two loaded carts: the king had sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations that were making for the queen's entry; all the pages were gone round another way, except two, one of whom went before to clear the street, while the other stepped behind to tie his garter. Ravallac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpose. He mounted on the coach-wheel, and, with a long knife, sharp on both sides, struck the king over the shoulder of the duke d'Epemon. Henry exclaimed, "I am wounded!" The assassin repeated the blow with greater violence, and the knife, penetrating the thorax, divided the vena cava, so that the king expired immediately. Ravallac was not perceived by any person while he perpetrated this atrocious murder; so that had he thrown the knife under the coach, he might have escaped unnoticed: but he stood upon the wheel fixed like a statue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up, would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epemon called aloud, "Save him on your life!" and the miscreant was taken alive. On his examination he boldly confessed he perpetrated the murder, because the king would not take up arms against the Hugonots, and that his making war against the pope was nothing less than making war against God; "because the pope was God, and God was the pope." The fanatical villain soon after suffered for his treachery all the torments a human being is capable of supporting. This dreadful assassination put the finishing stroke to the honours of fanaticism. The catholic religion appeared more odious than ever, though there were fanatics also among the reformers.

The discovery of the principle on which this regicide had been committed, gave James great uneasiness; and as the Jesuits were universally believed to have been the authors of it, James thought it absolutely necessary to remove from his person, men who held so detestable a doctrine. A proclamation was accordingly issued commanding all Jesuits and priests of the Romish persuasion to depart the kingdom immediately, and all recusants not to come within ten miles of the court. At the same time the justices of



the peace in every county were ordered to administer the oath of allegiance to all catholics. But these precautions did not divert James from exerting himself to improve the navigation and commerce of the kingdom. He encouraged discoveries of every kind that had a tendency to promote the happiness of his people. He erected large storehouses for the benefit of victualling his ships and supplying them with military stores, and carried naval architecture to a much greater degree of perfection than it ever before had reached in England. His care for promoting the interest of the East-India company, ought also to be mentioned with honour. That company, which had been incorporated by queen Elizabeth, had hitherto subsisted under great disadvantages, from the difficulty and length of their voyages, and the barbarous disposition of the inhabitants of the countries they had discovered; but the large returns of a fortunate voyage, induced them to apply to the king for an enlargement of their charter, by which they proposed to increase the trade, the shipping, the strength, and the wealth of the kingdom, and to deprive the Turks and Persians of the commerce of the East-Indies. James entered into all these considerations with an attention becoming the father of his people; he granted them a perpetual charter, enlarged their patent, and formed them into a body corporate and politic. He also prohibited the importation of pepper by any other traders, and fixed the retail price of that commodity. These privileges tended greatly to increase the strength and opulence of the company; much larger ships, and more in number, were sent annually to India than before.

James was, however, much better fitted to shine in a college than on a throne. He made light of politics, while controversy excited all his zeal. The famous preacher Arminius, of Amsterdam, had been chosen professor of divinity at Leyden, and had been accused by the Calvinists with teaching absurd doctrines concerning free-will and predestination. Before his death, which happened in 1608, his party remained masters of the field of disputation, and his chair was now filled by Vorstius, who had published several treatises in defence of the Arminian principles. James opposed the doctrine of Arminius, and considered Vorstius as a dangerous rival in scholastic reputation. The royal disputant, therefore, attacked the professor with all the rage of arrogance and presumption. Fearful of the consequences that might ensue from this scholastic warfare, the states thought proper to deprive Vorstius of the chair he had filled with so much reputation. The king was appeased by this mark of condescension in the states, though he very charitably hinted to them, "That as to the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left it entirely to their own christian wisdom; but surely never heretic better deserved the flames." The states, however, had too much sense and humanity to understand his majesty's meaning; they even procured a chair for the ejected professor in another university. But these disputes did not terminate so fortunately; the verticious pensioner Barneveldt, one of the greatest men the republic ever saw, and who justly deserved the name of father of his country, fell a victim to the fanatical enthusiasm of the opposite party. The learned and illustrious Gratius was also committed to prison, for defending Barneveldt.

But amidst these theological disputes, in which James was engaged, he forgot not a project he had formed in favour of humanity, and which did him more real honour than all his scholastic divinity. This was the civilizing of the Irish, and making them acquainted with the happiness that attends a well-regulated society. During the space of four hundred and forty years that Ireland had been subjected to England, the inhabitants of that island retained their ancient manners, which had no other tendency than that of keeping the people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder. Involved in stupid ignorance, they were a wretched prey to the tyranny

of their conquerors. The custom of the Irish, like that of other barbarians who formerly over-ran Europe, was to punish the greatest crimes by fines only. Murder itself was atoned for in this manner; and every person, according to his rank, had a certain rate or value affixed to him: this rate was called his *Eric*. When Fermanagh was formed into a county, the viceroy of Ireland told Maguire, that he should send him a sheriff or provost. "Your sheriff (said the Irishman) shall be well received; but tell me beforehand his *eric*, that if my people kill him, I may be able to levy the money upon the county." James abolished this, and many other barbarous customs, secured and determined their property, defended the people from the oppressions of the nobility, punished all crimes with severity, introduced agriculture into that fruitful but uncultivated country, maintained a sufficient number of troops to keep good order among the people, abolished their prejudices, and enlightened their understandings with the rays of learning. In a word, after proceeding regularly, during the course of a few years, he came, at length, to govern, by justice and the laws, a people who appeared incapable of acknowledging them. He frequently boasted of the management of Ireland as his master-piece; and it will appear, upon the necessary inquiry, that his vanity in this particular was not altogether without foundation: it doubtless forms the most glorious monument of his reign.

About the same time, James gave an agreeable specimen of his impartiality, in the execution of Robert Creighton, lord Sanquhar, who had basely assassinated one Turner, his fencing-master. In vain was all the interest made by several of the nobility in his favour. The king observing how much the English were provoked at his attachment to his countrymen, listened not to the intercessions that were made to save him: he prudently suffered the law to take its course, and Sanquhar fell a victim to his crime.

A. D. 1612. Henry, prince of Wales, the object of national affection, paid the debt of nature on the sixth of November, in the seventeenth year of his age. He was a youth of very promising talents, and of an amiable character. He spent his time in studies becoming a prince, and exercised himself in the most manly diversions. He possessed the advantage of a fine person, and there was a martial turn in his disposition which could not fail of being very agreeable to a warlike people. His death diffused an universal grief through the nation, and his tomb was watered with the tears of the English.

Nor was this the only loss that James sustained in the course of this year: his principal counsellor, the earl of Salisbury, died on the fourteenth of May. His death was a great misfortune to James, who was thereby deprived of a very able minister, and one perfectly acquainted with the constitution and genius of the English. He was a person of great parts, honour and fidelity; a lover and encourager of virtue and learning in others.

A. D. 1613. On the fourteenth of February, the marriage of the princess Elizabeth with the elector Palatine was celebrated with great rejoicings. No expence was spared to render the entertainments on this occasion as magnificent as possible. The nation were very much pleased with this match, as it promised the greatest advantages to the protestant interest in Europe. But these hopes were, in the end, rendered abortive, and the marriage proved a source of discontent between James and his parliament.

The king, during his whole reign in Scotland, was hardly ever without a favourite; and both the English and Scots had, ever since his accession, laboured incessantly to supply this defect in England; but, for some time, their attempts were rendered abortive. At last the lord Hay introduced Robert Carr, a Scottish gentleman descended from an ancient family, and who had formerly been a page of honour to the king in Scotland. Hay, without mentioning him at court,



court, assigned him the office, at a match of tilting, of presenting to the king his buckler and device. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, the unruly horse, on which he was mounted, flung him, and broke his leg in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern, ordered him to be carried to the palace, and to be attended with the utmost care. Carre was then about twenty years of age, of an easy air and graceful demeanour, extremely ambitious, and profoundly ignorant. James paid him a visit as soon as the tilting was over, and Carre soon became the favourite of the monarch. Honours and estates were heaped upon him, and he was the channel through which the royal favours flowed to others. He was, however, sensible of his own ignorance and want of experience; but found a faithful friend and judicious counsellor in Sir Thomas Overbury, who endeavoured to instil into him the principles of prudence and discretion. By following the friendly admonitions of that great man, Carre enjoyed at once the highest favour of the prince, and the good wishes of the people. James, not content with knighting his favourite, created him viscount Rochester, and invested him with the honour of the garter.

James, at his first mounting the English throne, shewed the greatest favour to the families of Howard and Devereux: he restored young Essex to his blood and dignity, and conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the house of Norfolk. He also married young Essex to the lady Frances Howard, second daughter to the earl of Suffolk: but as she was only in her thirteenth, and he in his fourteenth year, they were thought too young to cohabit together; and it was resolved that the earl should pass some time in the Low Countries, where he enjoyed an opportunity of completing himself in the art of war. Upon his return, he found his countess the most celebrated beauty of the age, while he himself was considered as one of the most promising young noblemen in Europe; but he was ignorant that lord Rochester, the favourite, was his rival in the heart of his lovely bride. Presuming on his great interest with the king, Rochester made professions of love to the young countess, and was too successful in his addresses; but the return of Essex interrupted the enjoyment of their guilty pleasures. Essex claimed the privileges of a husband, but met with an absolute denial. Alarmed at this strange behaviour, and ignorant of the cause, the young nobleman, for some time, exerted all his endeavours to gain her favour; but finding his attempts in vain, he determined to give himself no farther trouble, but leave her to pursue her own inclinations.

Had the countess been satisfied with being the mistress of Rochester, all the misfortunes that afterwards attended both herself and the favourite, might, possibly, have been avoided; but lost to all sense of shame, she aspired to be his wife; and accordingly prevailed upon her lover to use his influence with the king, in order to procure for her a divorce from Essex. Rochester imparted this scheme to Sir Thomas Overbury, his faithful counsellor; who, alarmed at the proposal, used every argument in his power to divert his friend from so foolish and base an attempt. The warmth of his honest expostulations carried him so far, that he threatened Rochester with the loss of his correspondence and friendship, if he could so far forget his honour and interest, as to prosecute his intended marriage with a woman of such abandoned principles. Rochester had the weakness to impart this conversation to the countess, who instantly vowed the severest revenge against this bold arraigner of her honour and conduct. The favourite himself was also so infatuated by her charms, that he joined with her in resolving the ruin of Overbury. He accordingly repaired to court; and, after extolling, in the highest manner, the great abilities of Overbury, insinuated, that he was lately grown so insupportably insolent, that he could with he was removed, by some

honourable employment, to a greater distance from the seat of power. Far from suspecting the cause of the favourite's application, James appointed Overbury his ambassador to a foreign court. On receiving notice of the honour conferred upon him, he consulted with Rochester how he ought to proceed, as he considered his appointment as nothing more than an honourable banishment. The insidious favourite, under pretence of not being able to support his absence, persuaded him to reject the offer. Overbury followed his advice; but the favourite repairing immediately to court, represented the refusal of Overbury as the highest insolence. James, who could not bear the slightest contempt of his authority, sent the unhappy Overbury to the Tower.

The troublesome counsellor being thus removed from the scene of action, the divorce was solicited with such success, that the sentence was soon pronounced; and the king not only gave his favourite leave to marry the countess, but also created him earl of Somerset; that her second husband might not be inferior in dignity to her first. The nuptials were solemnized in the most magnificent manner; and nothing now was wanting to complete their triumph but the death of Overbury, without which that implacable woman could not be satisfied. She used every art to effect her bloody purpose; and at last prevailed, both on her husband and the earl of Northampton, her uncle, to engage in the atrocious design of taking him off by poison. Several attempts were accordingly made for this purpose, but the strength of Overbury's constitution as often rendered them abortive. At last nature gave way to repeated attacks, and he died in the Tower on the sixteenth of September, by a poisoned clyster. He was buried with the utmost dispatch and secrecy; and tho' this precipitate interment caused a strong suspicion in the public, the horrid action was not discovered till some years after.

A. D. 1614. Without œconomy, and lavish to his favourites, the resources of James were ill proportioned to his wants. After selling baronets' titles to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds, and employing those sad expedients, the effect of which degrades more than it multiplies nobility, he found himself obliged to call a parliament. The commons, still animated with the same spirit against the prerogative, determined to make an attempt for prescribing it within proper bounds. The office of a member of the house of commons, once regarded as a burden, was now, from the authority it assumed, become an object of emulation. The ministry had exerted their utmost efforts to procure a majority; but the measures of the court were so disagreeable to the nation in general, that all their endeavours proved ineffectual; and instead of granting a supply, as desired by the king, they resumed the subject debated in the last parliament; and boldly remonstrated against the regal usurpations, in levying new customs and impositions by the sole authority of the prerogative. Nor did they think their remonstrances sufficient: they applied to the lords for a conference, in order to concert measures to prevent, if possible, the same practice for the future; and secure the liberty of the subject, by circumscribing the unlimited power of the crown. Informed of their intention, and determined to render the design abortive, James dissolved the parliament, after a session of about two months, in which not one statute was enacted, nor any supply granted. The only result of their meeting was an increase of jealousy between the prince and the people. In the space of six hundred years, there are only three instances of the parliament's refusing an aid to the crown. The commons seemed determined to provoke the indignation of the king; and James carried his resentment so far, that he imprisoned some of the members who had been the leaders in this opposition; a step which exposed him still farther to the hatred of the nation.

A. D. 1615. Deprived of the advantage of Overbury's



bury's counsel, the earl of Somerset found himself greatly embarrassed in the management of public affairs. His small experience rendered every thing difficult; he became odious to the court; and tho' the king's partiality continued, his insolence and weakness gave his enemies so many advantages, that it was evident he must soon be removed. The queen herself was insulted by this favourite minion, and joined the party formed against him. After many consultations on the best method of effecting the ruin of Somerset, it was agreed to give the king a new favourite. The scheme succeeded; and George Villiers, a young man remarkable for his beauty and effeminacy, was the object chosen for this purpose. James first beheld this gaudy object at a comedy acted at Cambridge, where he was conspicuously placed, and immediately engaged the attention of the king. Villiers was conducted to court, and soon weakened the influence of the favourite. He was immediately knighted, and made a gentleman of the bedchamber, with the yearly pension of a thousand crowns.

Somerset saw his fall was approaching, and exerted all his influence to avert it. But his efforts were in vain: the discovery of Overbury's murder reduced him to the level from which he had been raised by the hand of folly. The apothecary's boy, who had been employed in administering the poisoned clyster, revealed the whole secret to Winwood, secretary of state. The evidence of the boy was confirmed by the information of the countess of Shrewsbury, then a prisoner in the Tower. That lady had found means to insinuate herself into the confidence of Sir Jarvaile Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower; and being of an intriguing disposition, she drew the secret from him. James was soon informed of the atrocious deed; and the lieutenant being questioned, could not help betraying, by his countenance, the guilt that rankled at his heart. He confessed all he knew, and it was now determined to prosecute all the actors in this detestable tragedy. Accordingly Weston, who had given Overbury the poison in tarts and jellies, and at last in a clyster; Mrs. Turner, chief confidant of the countess of Somerset; Franklin, the apothecary, who had prepared the poison; and Sir Jarvaile Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower, were ordered to be apprehended. All these, together with Somerset and his countess, were convicted of the atrocious fact, on the fullest evidence. Somerset and his countess only were pardoned; the rest suffered the punishment due to their crimes. After some years imprisonment, James set them at liberty, and conferred on them a small pension, on which they lived retired in the country, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity.

The fortune of Villiers, in the mean time, grew with amazing rapidity. He was created duke of Buckingham, lord high-admiral of England, constable of Windsor, and, in a few years, loaded with those honours and favours that might have rewarded the merit of many illustrious men. His family also was advanced to opulence. But this strange and unworthy profusion increased the king's necessities, and obliged him to raise money by very obnoxious means. He restored to the Dutch the three important fortresses of Flushing, the Brille, and Ramma-kins, for three hundred thousand pounds. These places had been put into the hands of Elizabeth by the states of the United Provinces, as securities for the sum of eight hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and eight pounds, which that prince had advanced during their war with Spain. The necessities of James obliged him to accept the small sum above-mentioned, and the places were accordingly delivered up on the fourteenth of June. From this period we may date the full liberty of the Dutch republic.

But the money was soon dissipated, without the possibility of knowing how: none of the king's debts were paid; the navy was not repaired, nor had any money been sent to the army in Ireland, though their

wants formed the chief pretence for treating with the states. At length it was discovered, that the lord treasurer Suffolk had converted the greater part of the money received from Holland to his own use. As he was father-in-law to Somerset, and consequently no friend to Villiers the favourite, this opportunity to ruin him was readily embraced. The lord-treasurer was accused in the star-chamber, of several misdemeanors in the execution of his office, and particularly with having secreted large sums received from the Dutch. Sir Edward Coke, who carried on the prosecution against him for the crown, aggravated his misdemeanors, his extortions, his mismanagement of the king's treasure, his boldness in applying it to his own use, the corruptions and artifices of his deputy Bingley, to abuse the confidence of such as had any business with his master. He produced several precedents of treasurers who had been punished for much s lighter crimes than those of the earl of Suffolk, and displayed the dangerous consequences that must result from the corrupt administration of the public money. Had Suffolk thrown himself upon the mercy of the king, he would have been acquitted; but he endeavoured to invalidate the evidence brought against him, and justify his conduct against the malignant accusations of his enemies. He failed in the attempt; and his judges pronounced him guilty. He was fined thirty thousand pounds, and condemned to imprisonment during the king's pleasure. Nor did his deputy Bingley escape: he was severely reprimanded, and fined two thousand pounds.

Villiers now wholly engrossed the royal favour; the friends of Somerset were no longer capable of giving him any disturbance. He accordingly began to exert his influence by filling all the places about the court with his own creatures. The lord chief-justice Coke was deprived of his office, on pretence of some trifling misdemeanors: but the real cause of his disgrace was his opposing the king in bestowing a vacant bishopric in commendam. His place was filled by Montague, and Bacon, on the death of Ellesmere, was appointed lord chancellor.

A. D. 1617. James, instigated both by political and religious motives, was very desirous of establishing in Scotland the worship and tenets of the church of England, so favourable to the authority of the crown; for at this time no people in the world were less submissive to that authority than the Scots. The highlanders, divided into seven clans, or tribes, formed, as it were, a distinct nation, equally untractable and barbarous. The inhabitants of the Lowlands, where the feudal government still subsisted, were strongly attached to their chiefs and their tribes, in whom they placed their greatest confidence, and very little in their king, with whose weakness they had been acquainted. The kingdom was torn in pieces by internal divisions, which had only been from time to time suspended by their natural hatred of the English; and what was still worse, fanaticism raged in all its horrors. The authority of the bishops scarce subsisted; the puritan preachers, assuming to themselves a character little inferior to that of the prophets or apostles, disdaining all submission to the spiritual rulers of the church, by whom their innovations were strongly opposed. The prelates and abbots, however, still maintained their seats in parliament, and the church was still supposed to be represented by those spiritual lords, in the states of the kingdom. But their vast revenues, in which their real power consisted, were no more; the greater part had been seized by the more powerful barons, and what remained, after many delapidations, was, by act of parliament, vested in the crown. James, when only king of Scotland, had yielded, much against his inclinations, to the ascendancy of the enthusiasts. When he came to the crown of England, he was more capable of making them feel the weight of regal power, and had gained considerable advantages over them by virtue of his right of supremacy. He was now resolved to visit his native country, in order



to carry into immediate execution the plan he had formed for extending the episcopal power, and establishing the superiority of the civil government over the jurisdiction of the clergy. Had he proceeded gradually, and concealed his real intention, he might, in all probability, have succeeded; but he pushed his design with too much violence, and by attempting to introduce some ceremonies used in the church of England, rendered the whole sufficiently apparent, and in the end abortive. The fire of devotion, excited by novelty, and inflamed by opposition, so possessed the minds of the Scottish reformers, that all rights and ornaments were rejected with disdain, as useless burthens; retarding the imagination in its rapturous extacies, and cramping the divine spirit by which they supposed themselves to be animated. Hence the enlivening intercourses of society, every sweet or cheerful amusement, calculated to soften or humanize the character, were banished from the kingdom. A gloomy and sullen disposition, the natural consequence of fanaticism, established itself among the people. James was, therefore, desirous of infusing a small tincture of ceremony into the national worship, and of introducing such rites as might, in some degree, occupy the mind, and please the senses, without departing too far from that simplicity by which the reformation was distinguished. He accordingly caused several of the churches to be adorned; an organ was erected in the king's chapel; and some attempts made to introduce the fine arts among a people then rude and ferocious. But every innovation from their mode of worship, was looked upon with horror and detestation. Every step towards introducing ceremonies into the churches was considered as an approximation towards that spiritual whore so much the object of their execrations.

James had summoned a general assembly of the clergy to meet him at Aberdeen before the death of Elizabeth, but the demise of that princess rendering it necessary for him to repair to England, he prorogued it to the following year. Those who disavowed his ecclesiastical supremacy, regarded not his prohibition, but met at the time appointed. The king was exasperated at this contempt of his authority, and committed them all to prison. Such as thought proper to submit were pardoned; but the rest brought to their trial, and condemned for high-treason. None of them, however, were executed; but six of the most refractory were banished the kingdom. This severe proceeding had intimidated the clergy, so that James met with much less resistance in his attempt. But all his power and all his influence were exerted in vain: the Scottish ministers refused to introduce the ceremonies he had recommended, and the design of the king was considered by the vulgar, as an attempt to banish the Christian religion out of Scotland.

Nor was James more fortunate in gaining the affections of the puritanical sect in England. Desirous of softening that gloomy disposition which was every day gaining ground in the kingdom, he published a proclamation for allowing and encouraging, after divine service, all kinds of lawful games and exercises, that the minds of the people might be exhilarated, and detached from that melancholy horror which was at once injurious to the health of the body, and destructive of the enlivening intercourses of society.

A. D. 1618. The famous Sir Walter Raleigh, during his imprisonment of thirteen years in the Tower, had applied himself closely to study, and acquired so great a reputation for learning, that all his faults were forgotten. He was now as much lamented, as he had been before hated by the people. That great genius, that renowned warrior, educated amidst naval and military enterprizes, treated with so much rigour, was considered as a valuable citizen, who ought to be restored to the state. The favourable dispositions of the public increasing at once his

desire and hopes of liberty, he expected to obtain it by publishing, that in the reign of queen Elizabeth he had discovered a gold mine of immense value in Guiana. James, though he placed little confidence in this report, yet thinking Raleigh had already suffered sufficient punishment, released him from prison, and gave him the command of those adventurers, whom the desire of sharing in the pretended mine, had inspired with a desire of sharing his fortunes; but absolutely refused to grant him a pardon, though it seemed a natural consequence, when he was entrusted with power and command.

As soon as his fleet, which consisted of twelve ships, was ready, he sailed from Plymouth, and steered directly for Guiana in America. On his arrival he found the Spaniards had formed a settlement on the river Oronoko, built a small town called St. Thomas, and were working some gold mines of small value in the neighbourhood. Raleigh entered the mouth of the river with his whole fleet, but did not think it prudent to pursue his design against the rapid current of the river with his largest ships. He therefore detached five of his smallest vessels under the command of his son and captain Keymis, who was said to have discovered the mine in question, during his former voyage with Sir Walter to that country, with orders to sail up the Oronoko, as far as possible, in order to find the mountain in the bowels of which the mine was situated. But not being able to pursue their course, they landed near St. Thomas, where they were fired upon by the Spaniards. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, "that this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other;" and advancing upon the Spaniards, received a shot of which he immediately expired. Keymis and his companions were not dismayed; they carried on the attack with the utmost vigour, and soon made themselves masters of the place. They found not, however, the riches they expected: the Spaniards were poor, and the produce of the mines inconsiderable. Keymis was now requested to lead them to the mine he had before discovered, but absolutely refused; and the English, after burning the town, returned to the rest of the fleet at the mouth of the river. Raleigh, finding himself disappointed in the promises of Keymis, threatened him with the king's displeasure, which that officer prevented by retiring to his cabin, and putting an end to his own life.

It was now suspected by Raleigh's companions, that they had been deceived by their leader; that he had never any assurance of their being any such mine he pretended to be in search of; that he had always intended to plunder St. Thomas; and, after encouraging his soldiers with the spoil of that place, to have proceeded to invade the other Spanish settlements; hoping by such daring enterprizes to repair the ruins of his shattered fortune, and flatter himself with being able to purchase, by his wealth, the pardon he had before solicited in vain. They therefore absolutely refused to make any farther attempts on the Spanish settlements, and obliged him to return to Plymouth, where he was arrested by his majesty's order, and conveyed to the Tower.

During the absence of Raleigh, the Spanish ambassador had made loud complaints at the court of London, of the depredations committed by the English under that intrepid commander; and a resolution was taken to carry the former sentence passed against him into execution. The king accordingly listened to the advice of his council, and signed the warrant for his execution. Raleigh now called forth all the force of his mind, and met death with the greatest intrepidity. When he came upon the scaffold he touched the edge of the executioner's axe, and said, "This is a sharp but sure remedy for all ills." His speech to the people was calm and eloquent, in which he endeavoured to exculpate himself from the crimes laid to his charge, and load his ene-



mies with the public hatred. Having finished his harangue, he, with the utmost indifference, laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow.

His fate was regretted by the whole body of the nobility; and the English patriots beheld the fate of Raleigh with silent indignation. The public clamour against the pusillanimous administration of James was, by this event, greatly increased. It was thought an instance of cruelty and injustice to execute a sentence, which had been so long suspended, and tacitly pardoned, by conferring on him a new trust and commission; especially as he was then the only man in England who enjoyed a high reputation for valour and military experience.

James had formed the most ridiculous notion, that it was unworthy a prince of Wales to marry any but the daughter of a king. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in England, in order to open a negotiation with the English monarch, dropped some hints that the infanta Maria, would not be refused if demanded for the king's son; and in order to render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous monarch, he gave the greatest hopes that an immense dowry would be given with that princess. The hopes of accomplishing so advantageous a treaty induced the king to embrace the proposal with the greatest avidity: and, after many formalities and scruples had been discussed by the Spanish council, certain articles were transmitted by lord Digby, the English ambassador at Madrid, for his approbation. They were in substance as follows;

“That the pope's dispensation should be obtained by the sole act of the Spanish monarch.

“That the children of this marriage should not be constrained in matters of religion, nor their titles prejudiced in case they embraced the doctrines of Rome.

“That the infanta's family, being strangers, may be catholics, and shall have a decent place appointed for celebrating divine service according to the church of Rome; and the ecclesiastics and religious persons enjoy the liberty of wearing their religious habits.

“That the marriage should be celebrated in Spain by a procurator, according to the instructions of the council of Trent; and after the infanta's arrival in England, such solemnization should be used as may render the marriage valid according to the laws of that kingdom.

“That the princess should have a competent number of chaplains, and a confessor, being strangers, one of whom should have power to govern her family in religious matters.”

Though these articles excited the clamour of the nation, yet, if we except that part which permits the religious and ecclesiastics to wear their proper habits, they differ very little from those afterwards agreed upon by the same prince and a princess of France, and which were approved of by the English parliament. Gondomar had, however, no authority to conclude the marriage on these terms. The whole intention of the Spanish court seems to have been only to amuse the king in order to prevent his sending a powerful assistance to the protestants in Germany.

Notions of liberty never prevailed more strongly in Europe than at this period; even Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, were as jealous of their rights as the English themselves. The spirit of independence had taken root in Germany ever since the reign of Charles V. The example of the inhabitants of the United Provinces was always present with these people, who pretended to the same privileges, and thought themselves in a better condition to demand them, than even the Hollanders themselves. The emperor Matthias having procured his cousin Ferdinand of Austria, to be elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and obliged the other archdukes to yield him up Austria, the inhabitants of these three states joined in complaining, that sufficient regard had not been shewn to their privileges; religion also made a

part of the grievance of the Bohemians, who soon became furious.

In the midst of these confusions, Matthias paid the debt of nature, and Ferdinand of Austria was placed on the imperial throne. This new dignity, however, made no impression upon the protestants of Bohemia, whose power was now considerable. They insisted on having liberty to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the catholics; upon which the council of state issued a declaration against the protestants, peremptorily refusing to grant their request. Exasperated at this denial, they repaired to the palace, and threw three of the emperor's officers out of the window. This outrage exposed them to the fury of Ferdinand. They knew they had nothing to expect from his clemency, and therefore determined either to succeed in an attempt to recover their liberties, or perish in the glorious cause. They considered themselves as entitled to depose a king they had not elected, and actually made a tender of their crown to the Elector Palatine, son-in-law to the king of England. Frederick accepted the offer, and was actually elected king of Bohemia. James complained of this proceeding in the electors, as disloyal, imprudent, and dishonourable. He could by no means approve of the maxims of elective governments, and was persuaded that Ferdinand, by a kind of prescriptive right, had acquired a lawful title to Bohemia. He accused his son-in-law of forcing him either to desert his cause, or break off his negotiation with Spain. He also complained of his duplicity, in having desired his advice with regard to his accepting the crown of Bohemia, and actually received it before the messenger could arrive at London. The popularity of Frederick's cause was, notwithstanding these reproaches, so great in England, that James found himself under a kind of necessity of doing something in his favour. He could not, however, be prevailed upon to give his son-in-law the title of king of Bohemia; and issued orders, forbidding the clergy to pray for him in the churches under that appellation.

A.D. 1619. The new emperor, Ferdinand II. who possessed greater abilities than generally fell to the share of the Austrian princes, prepared himself, with great diligence, for the recovery of his authority. Besides the assistance of his subjects who adhered to the catholic religion, he attached to his interest a powerful combination of the neighbouring potentates; all the catholic princes of the empire declared in his favour; even the elector of Saxony, the most powerful among the protestants, and the king of Poland, espoused his cause. The Spanish monarch, who considered his own interest as inseparably connected with the younger branch of his family, sent him powerful succours from Italy, and from the Low Countries, and also furnished large sums of money for the support of Ferdinand and the catholic religion. Gondomar was also ordered to continue the delusive negotiation, in order to prevent James from assisting his son-in-law. That artful minister, by his insinuating manners, and a large sum of money judiciously distributed, soon gained the ascendancy over the king, the favourite, and the ministry; so that, in effect, he governed the whole kingdom. James, who, above all things, dreaded the breaking off a match on which his affections were so warmly fixed, and, at the same time, desirous of acquiring the title of The Pacific King, instead of taking any vigorous measures to support his son-in-law, had again recourse to his ruinous method of negotiation. He sent the lord Doncaster to mediate a peace in the empire; but Ferdinand would scarce favour him with an audience, and the embassy immediately became abortive.

A.D. 1620. The affairs of Germany now hastened to a crisis. Ferdinand having collected a powerful army, under the command of the duke of Bavaria and the count de Bucquoy, marched against Frederick in Bohemia. At the same time, Spinola assembled an army



army of thirty thousand veterans in the Low Countries; and when Edmonds, James's resident at Brussels, demanded of the archduke Albert the meaning of those large preparations, he was told, that Spinola had received his orders immediately from Madrid, and that the king of Spain alone knew the purpose for which the forces were intended. In the mean time, the Elector Palatine was put under the ban of the empire, and the execution of it committed to the elector of Saxony, who immediately entered and subdued Lusatia. The war now raged with great fury in the bowels of Germany; and James, unable any longer to resist the solicitations of his subjects, who offered to advance very large sums to support the right of the Elector Palatine to the crown of Bohemia, gave leave for Sir Horace Vere to command a small body of forces for the preservation of the Palatinate. This little army consisted of two thousand two hundred men, composed chiefly of volunteers, and headed by the intrepid earls of Oxford and Essex: the company of the latter consisted of three hundred gentlemen, fifty of whom he paid out of his own pocket; and a kind of promise was extorted from James, that he would suffer two more regiments to be sent after them. Those brave volunteers were landed in Holland, passed the Rhine below Wesel, and were escorted to Frankfort by a body of troops under prince Frederick Henry of Nassau. On the first of October, they joined the Palatine army, commanded by the Margrave of Anspach. They arrived, however, only time enough to be the melancholy witnesses of the destruction of that cause they came to support. The duke of Bavaria having joined the imperial general in Bohemia, advanced towards Prague, in the neighbourhood of which the Elector Palatine was posted. For some days, the two armies faced each other; but on the eighteenth of November, a battle was fought, which decided the fate of the Bohemian crown. The Elector Palatine was totally defeated, and fled, with his wife and family, to Holland. The inhabitants of Prague opened their gates to the Imperialists; and the unfortunate Frederick saw himself abandoned by all his friends and allies, except count Mansfeldt, who still preserved his fidelity. The complaints of the people against the timid and pusillanimous conduct of James were now both loud and alarming. It was said publicly, that he had not only deprived the elector of that assistance which the English were both willing and able to afford him, but also had deterred other princes from espousing his quarrel.

It cannot be supposed that James was unwilling to preserve the Palatinate; but he was so much infatuated by the persuasions of Gondomar, that he believed the most effectual expedient for that purpose was the marriage of his son with the Infanta of Spain; and that the treaty he was negotiating for that purpose, would infallibly miscarry if he took any vigorous measures in favour of the elector. Besides, his aversion to war was insuperable: he never dreamed that his peaceable disposition tended only to expose him to contempt: he considered not that the Spanish match itself was attended with such difficulties, that all his art of negotiation would never be able to remove, much less that this alliance could safely be depended upon as the means of procuring the great advantages he expected from it.

A. D. 1621. James seems, however, at last to have determined to pursue vigorous measures; and flattered himself with receiving large supplies from the parliament, which met on the twenty-first of January. He opened the session with a long speech from the throne, in which he explained the duties of parliaments, expatiated on his own necessities, and demanded supplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in the defence of which he declared he would hazard his crown, and the life of his own son, should his endeavours to procure a reasonable peace miscarry. The commons, extremely incensed against the ambitious proceedings of the house of Austria, immediately granted the king two subsidies, with which

James was satisfied for the present. This affair being discussed, the commons received petitions against the increase of popish recusants, monopolies, and projectors. The king had farmed to certain individuals the power of licensing taverns and public houses; and granted to Sir Giles Mompesson and Francis Michelan an exclusive patent for the sale of gold and silver lace. By virtue of this privilege, they had been guilty of such scandalous frauds and extortion, that upon complaint being made to the upper house, they were ordered to be committed to prison. Mompesson, however, found means to escape; but he was degraded from the honour of knighthood, and his estate confiscated. His companion in iniquity was sentenced to do public penance in the street, sitting on horseback with his face towards the tail, to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned for life.

Perceiving with what eagerness the two houses proceeded against these delinquents, James began to fear for his favourite, who had been the author of these monopolies. He therefore went to the house of peers; and in a speech filled with the most affectionate expressions, assured the parliament, that had he known of these grievances, he would have punished the authors with the utmost severity: at the same time, cautioning the house not to credit every report; lest the innocent should suffer instead of the guilty. The house understood his meaning, and endeavoured not to trace the evil to its source.

Soon after, lord chancellor Bacon, viscount St. Albans, was impeached by the commons: upon which the king again repaired to the house; and, in a speech, represented the necessity of punishing corrupt judges; and solicited farther subsidies, as the supplies granted by the commons were already expended in subsisting the Elector Palatine and his family, who had taken refuge in Holland. He observed, that large sums would be necessary for defraying the expence of sending extraordinary ambassadors to all the courts of Europe, as well as in maintaining an army to act with vigour, if the negotiations proved abortive: and concluded with protesting, that he would not dissolve the parliament till all the affairs then under consideration should be fully determined.

Bacon was a nobleman equally admired for the greatness of his genius, and beloved for his courteous and affable demeanor: but his want of economy, and his indulgence to his servants, had involved him in debts; and in order to supply his necessities, he had been tempted to take bribes from suitors in chancery. It is, however, affirmed, that notwithstanding this enormous abuse, he still maintained, in the seat of justice, an unshaken integrity; and had given such just and equitable decrees, that none of them were ever afterwards questioned or reversed. Conscious of his guilt, he imprecated the mercy of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general confession, to avoid the shame of a public inquiry. But the lords were inexorable, and insisted on a full confession of all his corrupt practices. He acknowledged twenty-eight articles, and was condemned to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned in the Tower during his majesty's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of enjoying any office or employment, and of sitting any more in parliament. This severe sentence he survived five years; and being soon after released from his confinement, he retired into the country, and displayed such abilities in literature, as have thrown a veil over his guilt, or rather his weakness: his genius only is admired by posterity. He has left a striking lesson to those of the human species who are born for the instruction of mankind, how much preferable the exercise of their talents is to the attractions of ambition.

In the mean time, the bold spirit of the commons was growing imperceptibly. Nothing escaped their attention and vigilance. It was in this parliament the two parties, afterwards known by the names of

Whigs



Whigs and Tories, were first formed; and of whom it may be said, that if they have often threatened the government with total dissolution, they have, notwithstanding, been the real cause of its constant life and vigour. Under the princes of the house of Tudor, the great council of the nation were, in reality, nothing more than slaves to the court. Tho' they retained the privilege of making laws and granting the people's money, they suffered themselves to be led into the most passive obedience. Without emulation, without principles, without zeal for the security of the subject, without spirit in public business, they seemed ignorant of the English constitution, as founded on Magna Charta, or at least abandoned it to the absolute power of the sovereign. But now the spirit of liberty, or rather of independence, revived, and every transaction of government became a subject of discussion. The commons enquired into the smallest grievances, and examined the rights of the crown even in the minutest articles. They drew up a spirited remonstrance, which they proposed to present to his majesty, wherein they observed, "That the power of the house of Austria threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progress of the catholic religion in England, occasioned the most alarming apprehensions, lest it should once more gain the ascendant in the kingdom; that the king's lenity towards the professors of that religion, had increased their arrogance and presumption; that the uncontested conquests made by the Austrian family, had raised the expectations of the English papists; while the expectation of the Spanish match inspired them with the most sanguine hopes of procuring, if not a final establishment, at least an entire toleration of their religion." They then proceeded humbly to offer to his majesty the following remedies against these growing evils: "That he should immediately undertake the defence of the Palatinate by force of arms; that he should declare war against Spain, whose arms and riches formed the chief bulwark of the catholic religion in Europe; that he would engage in no negotiations for the marriage of his son, but with a protestant princess; that the children of popish recusants should be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of protestant teachers and schoolmasters; and that the fines and confiscations to which the catholics were subject by the law, should be exacted with the utmost rigour."

The king was at Newmarket when he heard of this unprecedented remonstrance, and immediately wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply rebuked the house for debating openly on matters far above their reach and capacity, and strictly forbade them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government or deep matters of state; and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with a daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any of his friends and confederates. In order the more to intimidate them, he mentioned the imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys; and though he declared that his confinement was not owing to any offence committed in the house, yet he plainly told them, "that he thought himself justly entitled to punish every misdemeanor in parliament, as well during its sitting as after its dissolution; and that he intended, for the future, to chastise every man whose insolent behaviour should give occasion for offence."

This letter was so far from producing the effects intended by his majesty, that it threw the house into a flame. They knew their own strength too well to be intimidated at James's menaces. Instead of retracting what they had done, they entered with greater freedom than ever on the national grievances, and the dangerous state of the reformed religion both at home and abroad. They formed a new remonstrance, drawn up indeed in very respectful terms, but not less bold and spirited than the former. After reminding him with the cheerfulness with which they undertook to assist him in the defence of the Palatinate, they observed, "That their zeal for the protestant reli-

gion and the interest of his majesty's family, had induced them to represent the dangers with which both were threatened, and to point out remedies for those evils: that by his letter to the speaker, he seemed determined to deprive them of the parliamentary liberty to speak freely in the house, and also of the jurisdiction which the house exercised over its own members; they therefore begged he would not violate a privilege which was their undoubted right, and which they inherited from their ancestors; a right which he himself had confirmed in his speeches to the parliament, and without which it would be impossible to discuss and determine the affairs that might fall under their cognizance."

This resolute answer in the commons raised every spark of regal pride in the composition of James. His answer was short, peremptory, and suitable to that spirit of kingly power which filled his breast. After explaining his intentions with regard to the prerogative in very clear and explicit terms, he concluded his reply with regard to the rights and privileges of parliament in the following manner: "And although we cannot allow the stile, calling it your undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wished you had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us (for most of them grew by precedents, which rather shew toleration than inheritance); yet we are pleased to give our royal assurance, that, as long as you continue yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges as any of our ancestors were, nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative; so as your house shall only have need to beware to trench upon the prerogative of the crown, which would enforce us, or any just king, to retrench them of their privileges, that would pare his prerogative and the flowers of his crown. But of this we hope there will never be cause given."

This answer, which is dated at Newmarket the eleventh of December, breathes all the spirit of despotism. The house of commons were justly alarmed. They saw their title to every privilege, if not plainly denied, yet considered at least as very precarious. He plainly told them it might be forfeited by abuse, and they had already abused it. They therefore resolved to grant no supply till they received satisfaction from James for the breach of their privileges, and drew up the following protestation, which is so very remarkable, that it will be necessary to give it at full length. "The commons now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of parliament, among others here mentioned, do make the following protestation: That the liberties, franchises, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the urgent and arduous affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England; and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in parliament, and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house of parliament hath, and of right, ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters, in such order as in their judgment shall seem fittest; and that every member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by censure of the house itself) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliamentary business. And that if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for any thing



" thing done or said in parliament, the same is to be shewn to the king by the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information."

Informed of these increasing heats and jealousies that prevailed in the lower house, James hurried to town from Newmarket, determined to exert the regal authority with which he was intrusted, and convince the commons that they had proceeded too far in asserting their liberties. On his arrival, he sent immediately for the journal book of the commons, and before the council, tore out, with his own hand, the above protestation, which he considered as an insult on his prerogative. At the same time he declared it absolutely null and void, because it was voted tumultuously at a late hour, and in a very thin house; and because it was expressed in such general and ambiguous terms, as might be considered as a sufficient foundation for the most enormous crimes, and extended to the most unwarrantable usurpations on the prerogative of the crown. Soon after he dissolved the parliament by proclamation, in which he made an apology to the public for his whole conduct. Some of the leaders among the commons he committed to prison, and sent others to execute a commission in Ireland. At last he prohibited all discourse on public affairs, as if he had power to prevent the people from speaking on those subjects, in which they were most interested; an authority enjoyed not by the most despotic monarch.

A prohibition of this kind tended only to heighten the animosities of the parties. Every nation piques itself on discussing the principles of government. One party exalted the royal prerogative, the other parliamentary liberty. The source of authority, its extent and its limits were examined; discussions so much the more dangerous, as the first laws being always imperfect, and remoter ages covered with obscurity, there is inexhaustible matter for opposition and dispute. By means of argument, the republic spirit increased, and formed a system of which it was easy to see the dreadful consequences. If James had not had recourse to maxims capable of striking the English with awe, that system of independence would then have taken place, which, after disturbing his whole reign, brought his successor to the scaffold.

A. D. 1622. Though James had already seen the consequence of fruitless negotiations in Germany, he still pursued the same plan which had already rendered him sufficiently contemptible. He dispatched Digby to the emperor, desiring a cessation of hostilities. The minister was referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Austrian armies. The duke told him that there needed no treaty for that purpose, since hostilities were already ceased by his having taken possession of the Palatinate, which he intended to keep till a final accommodation should take place between the contending parties. Notwithstanding this gross insult, and though every circumstance concurred to convince James that the emperor industriously eluded all his applications, that weak monarch had the meanness to follow Ferdinand thro' all his evasions, and renew the conferences at Brussels.

Frederick, finding the pacific endeavours of his father-in-law were ineffectual, embraced some favourable circumstances arising from the expiration of the truce between Spain and the States-general, and the jealousies of the Germans excited by the increasing power of the house of Austria, to make a final effort for the recovery of his dominions. Three considerable armies were raised, and commanded by three able generals, Christian, duke of Brunswick, the prince of Baden, and count Mansfeldt. But the same ill success still pursued the unfortunate Frederick. Count Tilly, at the head of the Imperial army, defeated the duke of Brunswick, and soon after the prince of Baden. Mansfeldt, though his army was greatly inferior in numbers, still continued the war; but not being supported with money either by the

Palatinate or the king of England, he could act only on the defensive. These misfortunes, joined to the persuasions of James, who was desirous that his son-in-law should lay down his arms, entirely disheartened that prince, who retired to Sedan, where he remained an unwelcome guest with his uncle the duke of Brunswick. Count Mansfeldt was dismissed from his employment; and that famous general retired with his army into the Low Countries, where he was received into the pay of the states-general. In the mean time the weakness of James rendered him contemptible in every court of Europe; it was even extended so far as to paint him sometimes with a scabbard without a sword, and sometimes with a sword which a number of persons were trying in vain to draw out of the scabbard.

Though the king of Bohemia was always persuaded that a vigorous opposition always bids fairest for obtaining equitable terms, yet the repeated requests of his father-in-law, had forced him to abandon his maxim, and now, when it was too late, he repented of his folly. Count Tilly, after the retreat of Mansfeldt, lost not a moment to harass the Palatinate. He besieged and took Heidelberg, the richest city in it, and sent its fine libraries of books to Rome. The castle was bravely defended by Herbert, an English colonel, who, after performing prodigies of valour, was killed with a musquet ball. Tilly next made himself master of Manheim, notwithstanding the noble defence made by the garrison commanded by Sir Horace Vere.

James now gave up all thoughts of recovering the Palatinate from the emperor. But he still flattered himself that if he could accomplish his son's marriage with the infanta of Spain, he should be able to obtain, by the assistance of that court, the territories of his son-in-law, and re-instate him in his former dignity. Ferdinand, however, determined to prevent him from executing his project. He assembled a diet at Ratibon, in which he declared, "that the elector palatine, having been guilty of high-treason, his estates, goods and dignities were forfeited; but being unwilling to diminish the number of electors, he ordered that Maximilian of Bavaria, should be invested with the electorate palatine."

The eyes of the English were now turned fully towards Spain, where Digby, earl of Bristol, had the sole management of the negotiation for the marriage. Bristol was a nobleman of great abilities, and had formerly disapproved of entering into any engagements with Spain; but appeared now so convinced of the sincerity of that court, that he wrote a letter to James, felicitating him on the entire accomplishment of his views and projects: a daughter of Spain, whom he represented as extremely amiable, would soon, he said, be conducted into England, and bring with her an immense fortune of two millions, a sum four times greater than ever given with any other princess. The truth is, that the court of Spain had hitherto carried on the negotiation merely to amuse the English monarch; but perceiving that James was determined, on any terms, to complete the alliance, it was thought that so favourable an opportunity of restoring the catholic faith in England should not be neglected, as it seemed more than probable, it might easily be effected by means of the infanta, and her numerous train of domestics and dependents, who were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. Pursuant to this resolution, the behaviour of the Spanish court was now entirely changed, and appeared as eager to conclude the negotiation, as before to find excuses for deferring it. The only difficulty, consisted in extorting from the English monarch such concessions as might contribute to complete the favourite design, and which the impatience of James gave the greatest reason to expect; that the only obstacles that now remained to the completion of the marriage were those relating to religion.

The earl of Bristol, ever since his arrival in Spain, had been employed in settling those preliminaries.



At last the court of Spain made their final demands with regard to that particular, and the earl of Bristol sent them immediately to his master. James made some difficulty of agreeing to these articles; but his desire of completing the marriage at last got the better of his prudence: he signed the articles, and sent them back to Spain. Among all the concessions favourable to the catholics, none gave greater disgust to the English than that in which the king engaged that the children of the prince and the Infanta should be educated by their mother till they were ten years of age; a condition which could only be stipulated with a view of implanting in their tender minds the strongest prejudices in favour of the Romish religion; and though so early an age might seem little susceptible of any lasting impressions, yet the same motive which prompted the Spanish monarch to insert it, should have induced the king of England to reject it. Besides the public treaty, there were several private articles, by which both the king and prince of Wales engaged to suspend the penal laws against the catholics, to obtain a repeal of them from the parliament, and to tolerate the exercise of the popish religion in private houses.

A.D. 1623. Every previous step being thus adjusted, nothing was wanting to conclude the marriage but the pope's dispensation, which was considered merely as a formality. Elated by this success, James triumphed in his pacific councils, and consoled himself for the contempt he had incurred in all the courts of Europe, in having tamely suffered his son-in-law to be stripped of his estates and dignity. But while he was boasting of his superior wisdom and sagacity, his flattering prospects were ruined by the rashness of a man whom he had raised from a private station to be the curse of himself, his family, and his people.

Buckingham, who was now as much in favour with the prince as with the king, and seemed to direct all the affairs of the kingdom, was envious of the great credit obtained by Bristol in the Spanish negotiation. The ambitious favourite therefore determined to supplant him, or, at least, to share in the honour of concluding a treaty so agreeable to the king. He persuaded the prince to undertake a journey to the court of Madrid in person, in order to bring home his mistress the Infanta. He represented to him, that the romantic nature of the adventure could not fail of attracting the admiration and affection of that monarch and his subjects, and of introducing him to the princess under the character of a fond lover, rather than of a stately husband; that the negotiation with regard to the Palatinate, which had hitherto languished in the hands of ministers, would quickly be terminated by so illustrious an agent, seconded by the mediation and intreaties of the grateful Infanta: that the Spanish generosity, excited by so uncommon an instance of trust and confidence, would undoubtedly make concessions far beyond what could be expected from political views and considerations.

Inflamed with these generous and romantic ideas, so peculiarly adapted to the minds of youth, Charles embraced the proposal with rapture, and it was agreed to make application to the king for leave to carry the design into execution immediately. They chose the moment when James was in the most kind and jovial humour; and by importunities, rather than the force of their reasons, they extorted from him a hasty and unguarded consent.

But the prince and Buckingham had hardly left the king, before he repented of his weakness: every difficulty occurred with a peculiar force, and the danger to which the prince's person must be exposed, affected him in a very sensible manner. He reflected, that however pardonable this romantic expedition might be considered in youth, it must reflect disgrace on mature age: that if the professions of the Spanish monarch were sincere, a few months only must finish the negotiation, and bring the Infanta to England, without exposing his only son, the heir of his crown, to the prop of his age, to so dangerous an undertaking;

and if he was not sincere, the loss would be absolutely irretrievable.

Full of these reflections, the king determined to recal his promise, and prevent, by a timely opposition, an undertaking which, if unfortunate, must render him at once both infamous to his people, and ridiculous to all posterity. Accordingly when the prince and Buckingham returned for their dispatches, James informed them of the reasons which had prevailed upon him to change his resolution, and begged they would bury all thoughts of so ridiculous an adventure in the pit of forgetfulness. The prince was greatly affected at this disappointment, but answered only with tears. Buckingham assumed the air of authority, and told the king, that this retraction of his promise so soon after it was given, must render all his declarations for ever after suspected; that the word of a king ought to be sacred, and never broken but by the most powerful reasons, or absolute necessity.

James, who was unable to make any effectual opposition to the designs of the prince and favourite, renewed his consent, proper directions were given for the journey, and the prince, with Buckingham, and their two attendants, Sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, with Sir Richard Graham, master of the horse to Buckingham, passed, disguised and undiscovered, through France. They even ventured to appear in a court ball at Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, then in the bloom of youth and beauty.

They reached Madrid on the eleventh day after their departure, where every body was surprized at a step so very unusual among the princes of that age. Penetrated with gratitude for the unbounded confidence reposed in him by the prince, Philip paid him a visit immediately after he was informed of his arrival; made him the warmest protestations of friendship; shewed him every respect in the power of majesty to bestow; and presented him with a golden key which opened all his apartments, that the prince might have free access to him at all hours. He gave him the upper hand on all occasions, except in the apartments assigned for his residence, where he said the prince was at home. The same pomp and ceremonies were used when Charles first visited the palace, as were common at the coronation of the kings of Spain; and the council received public orders to obey him as the king himself. Every kind of rejoicing was used throughout the kingdom; and all the prisons were thrown open, that even those who before languished in confinement might share in the general joy. Nor was any advantage taken of the prince's preference to impose any harder condition of the treaty. In the mean time, pope Gregory XV. who had granted the dispensation, died, and Urban VIII. was placed in the pontifical chair. This event induced the nuncio not to deliver the dispensation till it could receive the sanction of Urban; who hoping that some expedient might be discovered, during the prince's residence in Spain, to effect his conversion to the catholic faith, delayed the dispensation.

This dilatory method of proceeding occasioned great uneasiness both to the king of England and the prince. Philip perceived it, and neglected nothing in his power to dissipate every apprehension, and prevail upon the prince to wait till the dispensation could be procured from the court of Rome; but, at the same time, he made not the least difficulty of granting him permission to return. He even caused a pillar to be erected on the spot where they parted, as a monument of their mutual friendship. And the prince, having sworn to the observance of all the articles in the marriage treaty, set out, attended by a numerous train of the Spanish nobility, for St. Andero, where he embarked on board an English vessel, sent by the king for that purpose.

Never prince more engaged the affections of the Spaniards than Charles. His character, composed of decency, reserve, modesty, and sobriety, rendered him  
very



very agreeable to that people. They were in love with his unparalleled confidence; and the romantic gallantry he had practised towards their princess. At the same time, his advantageous figure, and the blooming graces of youth that adorned his countenance, endeared him to the whole court of Madrid, and made deep impressions on the heart of the Infanta. Had the character of Buckingham been equal to that of the prince, every thing had succeeded according to their wishes; but that nobleman was as much despised and hated as the prince was esteemed and beloved. His dissolute pleasures, his follies of passion, his arrogant, impetuous temper, rendered him the object of the Spaniards aversion, and he was, in general, treated with contempt.

Conscious of the affronts he had given to the court of Spain, and fearful of the influence of the Infanta when she arrived in England, he determined to employ all his credit to prevent the marriage from being concluded. But it seemed a difficult task to prevail upon the prince to treat a court, where he had received the most distinguished favours, with ingratitude; and, if possible, still more difficult to induce James to break off a treaty, the accomplishment of which had so long been the object of his wishes, and which he had now so nearly brought to a successful and happy issue. At this distance of time it is impossible to know the reasons he made use of to accomplish his design: it only appears that he maintained an entire ascendant over both the king and his son. James, indeed, made some opposition; and had the earl of Bristol arrived in that critical moment, perhaps the impetuous and turbulent minister had sunk under the burden of his own crimes; but the king wanted spirit and resolution to resist the importunities of Buckingham; he sacrificed both honour and integrity to the folly of his minion.

Peremptory orders were sent to the earl of Bristol for breaking off all negotiations, just at the time when that minister had, in all appearance, accommodated every difference between the contracting parties, and the Spaniards were on the point of delivering up the Infanta. Philip was not surprized at this change of sentiments in the British court: he was no stranger to the disgust of Buckingham; and believing him a man capable of sacrificing to his own ungovernable passions the dearest interests of his king and country, he suspected that the unbounded ambition of that favourite would be employed to foment a quarrel between the two nations.

A. D. 1624. The dispensation reached Spain soon after the departure of Charles and Buckingham, and the Infanta had immediately assumed the title of princess of Wales. Philip was therefore very unwilling to break off the treaty, especially as he foresaw that a rupture between the two crowns would be the inevitable consequence; and determined that nothing on his part should be wanting to complete the marriage, and maintain the harmony that now subsisted between Spain and England. He, on the eighth of January, sent the earl of Bristol a written promise, by which he engaged to procure the restoration of the Palatinate, either by treaty or force of arms. But when he found that this concession was disregarded, he ordered the Infanta to lay aside the title of princess of Wales, and to drop the study of the English language. At the same time, he issued orders for making preparations for war in every part of his dominions, persuaded that the court of England would not stop at the violation of the marriage treaty.

The resolution of James to break off all connections with Spain was no sooner known to the people, than they celebrated the rupture with bonfires, and other public demonstrations of joy. Buckingham, by giving a partial, and, in many instances, a false account of the negotiation, easily inflamed those spirits which were already prejudiced against Spain. Elogiums were poured upon him, as one of the best of subjects; he was called the deliverer of his country. James, who wanted firmness of mind to resist

the impetuosity of the nation, was swept away with the torrent, and obliged, contrary to his natural principles, to follow those violent resolutions that led inevitably to war. He assembled a parliament in order to obtain supplies. In his speech to the two houses, James dropped some hints of the causes of complaint he had against Spain; and graciously condescended to ask their advice, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of so important an affair as the marriage of his son. The commons promised to assist him in revenging the affront put upon him by Spain: for Buckingham, by laying before a committee of both houses a long and partial account, which he pretended was a true and complete narrative of all the steps taken in the Spanish negotiation, had intirely gained the confidence of that assembly. It contained, indeed, so many contradictory circumstances, that they were sufficient to open the eyes of every reasonable man, notwithstanding the artful veil which was thrown over the whole proceedings. But the narrative concurred so well with the passions and prejudices of the parliament, that no scruple was made of immediately adopting it as a truth that could not be disputed. Charmed with having at last the opportunity, so long and so ardently desired, of going to war with papists, they thought not of future consequences, but immediately advised the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage, as that for the restitution of the Palatinate.

The two houses having thus given their voice for a war, joined in a petition to the king, that he would cause the laws against Romish priests and jesuits to be strictly executed; that he would issue orders for seizing the arms of popish recusants, and obliging them to retire from the capital; that he would revoke all licences granted to such recusants, and put a stop to the great concourse of people who resorted to hear mass in the chapels of ambassadors; that he would deprive all papists of the posts they enjoyed under the government, and not relax the laws made against popish recusants on any account whatever. James returned a very gracious and condescending answer; but declared himself an enemy to all persecution on account of religion; from a thorough conviction that it always injures the cause it is intended to promote; according to the received maxim, "That the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church." At the same time, he condemned an intire indulgence to the catholics; and strongly hinted, that a middle course ought to be chosen, as at once the most humane and the most political.

James having determined to pursue hostile measures, repaired to the parliament-house, where he declared, in a speech to that assembly, his resolution of humbling the pride of Spain, provided they would engage to support him. He began his harangue with lamenting his misfortune, in being obliged, in his old age, to exchange the blessings of peace for the inevitable calamities of hostile measures. He represented to them the prodigious expence requisite for maintaining military armaments; and demanded a vote of six subsidies and twelve fifteenths, as a proper stock before war was declared against Spain. He mentioned the large debts he had contracted, principally to support the Elector Palatine and his family; but declared, he insisted not on any supply for himself; the honour and security of the kingdom was all he was desirous of supporting. He even so far forgot his prerogative, which he had hitherto so strenuously supported, that he made a dangerous and unexpected concession, that the sums granted should be vested in a committee of parliament, and be issued by them without being intrusted to his management. Nothing could be more agreeable to the commons; they readily accepted the offer, but voted much less than was demanded; three subsidies and three fifteenths was by the commons thought a sufficient sum for the present occasions of the state; nor did they take the least notice of that part of his speech which regarded



regarded his own necessities, though he had made a concession greater than they could have even presumed to ask.

But though they were so very parsimonious in their supplies, they took advantage of the present agreement between the king and the parliament, to make fresh attacks upon the prerogative. James had abolished all the monopolies so loudly and so justly complained of; but this did not satisfy the commons; they passed an act, by which it was declared, that all monopolies were contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. By the same statute it was enacted, that every man enjoyed an entire freedom with regard to his own actions, provided he did nothing detrimental to any person; and that no other authority but that of the laws should stop this unlimited right; a principle which served as a basis for the civil liberties of England.

During these transactions, the elector palatine wrote a letter to James, wherein he enumerated the reasons which offered themselves both for continuing the negotiations, and attempting to recover the Palatinate by force of arms. The latter now predominated at the British court, since a resolution had been taken to break off all negotiations with Spain. The indefatigable duke of Brunswick had raised another army for the service of the king of Bohemia, with an intention to force a passage into the Low Countries, and join the prince of Orange. The Dutch, in general, were well inclined to the same cause, and the princes of Germany every day discovered fresh symptoms of discontent at the proceedings of the house of Austria. But above all, the person of the queen of Bohemia, the wisest and most virtuous lady of her age, became now an object of public concern. Her merits, her misfortunes, her young family, and the unworthy treatment she had received, like so many charms, animated every protestant, who was not wholly a stranger to the dictates of humanity. James himself was sometimes warmed into compassion, and sometimes into resentment. He had spared her and her family a little of the scanty remainder his profusion had spared, and they lived on good terms with the prince of Orange, who was at that time sincerely disposed to have served them, could James have been prevailed upon to trust the Dutch, or they to put any confidence in him.

But amidst these good dispositions, difficulties intervened, which blasted all their effects. The insolence of the Dutch traders, and their cruelty towards the English in the East-Indies, were so great, that James at last yielded to the repeated instances of his subjects, and gave the earl of Oxford the command of a small squadron of ships, in order to intercept the Dutch East-India fleet in their return to Europe. By a treaty lately concluded, the Dutch and the English were to divide between them the trade of the islands they had taken from the Portuguese and Spaniards; the English to enjoy one third, and the Dutch two thirds of this valuable trade. Accordingly, English factories had been settled in the Molucca islands, and at Banda. A few English merchants, not more than eighteen or twenty, had, for above two years, lived at Amboyna, where there was a Dutch fort and two companies of soldiers, besides a civil establishment. For some time, a correspondence subsisted between the two people; but the Dutch, envying the prosperous state of the English factory, determined to ruin them. A conspiracy was accordingly formed against their lives, of so detestable a nature, as is hardly credible to those who do not sufficiently reflect on the rancour of a people towards their rivals in trade; especially when the scene is not only sufficiently distant from all seats of justice, but where they themselves preside, uncontrouled, in the exercise of their tyranny, and blinded by the motives of interest. It was pretended that the English and the Japanese, the whole not exceeding forty persons, had formed a design for destroying the Dutch settlement. Upon this Gabriel Towerson, the chief

agent, and the rest of the English then upon the island, were taken into custody, and strictly examined by the Dutch council. No witnesses of credit appeared against them; and the unhappy prisoners, conscious of their innocence, denied the fact with the strongest asseverations. But it had been before determined to put them to death, and only some pretence was wanting for carrying the bloody design into execution. The rack was therefore to supply the place of evidence, and the tortures were so dreadful, that even conscious innocence was unable to support them. Some sought relief by confession; but on obtaining the mercy of being put to death, they solemnly retracted their confessions with their latest breath; but others, with matchless fortitude, expired under their tortures. By this horrid proceeding the Dutch continued masters of the spice trade, and have ever since kept it in their own hands. No reparation was, however, obtained for this insolent affront, till many years after, when Cromwell held the reins of government. That usurper obliged them to pay three hundred thousand pounds on that account. It, however, prevented a junction between the armies designed to reduce the Palatinate.

When the earl of Bristol received orders to leave the court of Madrid, he applied for an audience, in order to fulfil the ceremonial of his departure. Philip expressed the highest regret that Bristol's services should meet with so unworthy a reward; and that his enemies should have so far prevailed, as to infuse prejudices into his master and his country against a minister who had so faithfully performed his duty to both. He endeavoured to prevail upon him to engage in his service, promising to bestow upon him every advantage of rank and fortune he himself could desire. But Bristol, though he expressed the utmost gratitude for this generous offer, refused every thing, and determined to return immediately to his own country, not doubting but the torch of truth would soon expose the falshoods of his enemies in their genuine colours. Philip could not even prevail upon him to accept of ten thousand ducats, though his circumstances rendered such a present necessary. The monarch used every intreaty in his power to prevail, and assured him that neither James, nor any one else, should ever know he had received it. "There is one (answered the virtuous minister) who will be privy to the whole transaction; it is the earl of Bristol, and he will certainly reveal it to the king of England."

It was the interest of Buckingham to keep Bristol at a distance from the king and the court, lest the voice of truth, enforced with those powers of oratory which the earl possessed in a very eminent degree, should disclose scenes which he wished to bury in oblivion. He accordingly no sooner heard of the earl's arrival in England, than he made use of all that power he had acquired over the mind of his weak sovereign, for procuring an order for committing Bristol to the Tower, till he had answered certain questions that should be put to him by the council. He was, however, soon after released, but ordered to retire to his own house. The earl wrote to James, loudly demanding an opportunity of vindicating himself, and of laying his whole conduct before his master and the public: he asserted his own innocence, and threw the blame of every miscarriage on Buckingham. He had always flattered himself that the hatred of the minion could not prevail over the justice of his master, as if a weak prince was not generally a dupe to the passions of others. Buckingham was desirous that he should own the pretended faults exhibited against him; but he justly thought a reconciliation offered on such terms a real disgrace. James himself declared, that to require such a thing of an innocent man was the most horrible tyranny. How justly ought he to have reproached himself for suffering so unjust a sentence to take place!

The parliament being prorogued on the twenty-ninth of May, it was necessary to make some preparations for opposing the warlike armament fitting out by



by the court of Spain, and also to assist the count Palatine. Eight citizens of London were appointed as treasurers for the money raised by parliament, and these were assisted by ten other persons from his majesty's council of war. Without a warrant from these, no money could be issued, nor even by their order, on any other account than to defray the expenses of the war; as they were accountable to the commons in parliament. It was computed that the sums granted last session would be sufficient to send twenty-five thousand men into the Palatinate, under the command of an English general. Six thousand only were, however, raised, and sent into Holland to join the army of the States, commanded by the prince of Orange; while another army, under count Mansfeldt, was to penetrate into the Palatinate.

James, still possessed with the idle opinion, that it would disgrace his son, if he took any other than a king's daughter to his bed, sent lord Holland to the court of France with an overture of marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta Maria, daughter to Lewis XIII. The proposal being accepted, the conferences were opened at Compeigne, and the marriage articles were signed at Paris on the tenth of November. They were nearly the same in substance with those which had been concluded with Spain; for as Lewis only required the same conditions which had before been granted to his Catholic majesty, James made no scruple to comply. One of the conditions was, that the children should be brought up by the mother; or, what is the same thing, in the catholic religion, till they were thirteen years of age; an article to which the misfortunes of that family are commonly attributed, though it was never put in execution any more than the other articles, which appear to have been dictated by the court of Rome.

While this affair was depending, count Mansfeldt came over to England, where he was received with extraordinary marks of respect, and lodged in apartments, fitted up for his reception, in the palace. After some conferences, it was agreed, that Mansfeldt, at the head of twelve thousand men, should carry on the war in the Lower Palatinate. The French ministry, during the negotiation for the marriage, made large promises, but always couched in general terms, not only of granting the English a passage through France, but also of reinforcing their army with considerable bodies of troops during their march to the Palatinate; but on the arrival of the English, under the command of Mansfeldt, before Calais, they found that no orders had been sent for their admission. This occasioned many dispatches; but the French ministry insisted that they had entered into no positive agreement; and that the granting the count a free passage through France was a matter of too much importance to be hastily admitted. This delay was fatal to the expedition. A pestilential disease broke out among the troops, and swept away great numbers of them daily; and those that remained were so weakened by sickness, and discouraged by misfortunes, that it was thought imprudent to lead them into the Palatinate. Such was the shameful issue of this expedition, and which reflects the highest disgrace on the English ministry.

Though James had laid a solid foundation for putting an end to the troubles in Ireland, he had not been able intirely to complete his plan. The Spaniards still maintained a constant intelligence with the disaffected papists, and kept the English government in continual alarms. The earl of Tyrone having been received into favour by James, and obtained the royal protection, on condition of not relapsing into his former rebellious practices, lived, for some time, in great submission to the government; but imputing all the marks of favour he had received to nothing more than the effects of fear, he had the boldness, soon after, to petition the king for a toleration of the catholic religion. This request being refused, he joined the earl of Tyrconnel, and other

chiefs of the Irish papists; and a desperate confederacy was formed for assassinating the lord deputy and the council, and massacring all the English in the kingdom of Ireland. This conspiracy was happily discovered by a letter dropped in the council-chamber; and Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and other principal conspirators, informed of the accident, fled to France, and afterwards to Brussels, where the archduke gave them a noble reception, and settled on them large pensions by express orders from the court of Spain. Soon after, Tyrone undertook to excite another rebellion, and to pass over, with his friends, into Ireland; but the design being discovered before it was ripe for execution, the chiefs who had engaged in the conspiracy were taken and executed.

Great disputes also arose in the Irish council, which continued for several years, and tended greatly to disturb the peace of that kingdom. The papists, supported by Rome and Spain, continued to act with great insolence, and, in some churches, to exercise their own religion. This occasioned the government to issue a severe proclamation against the catholics, ordering all the regular priests to leave Ireland, under the heaviest penalties.

A. D. 1625. • The reign of James now advanced hastily towards a period. The habit of his body, like the state of his kingdom, was alarming. He had long addicted himself to those pleasures which he could not taste; that he might banish from his mind the reflections which he could not bear. He had accustomed himself to the use of sweet wines, and to ride hard, both before and after drinking. This irregular method of living had occasioned several severe fits of illness, which the physicians had rather palliated than removed; for James was too impatient in sickness to submit to any troublesome regimen, in order to obtain a cure. Infirmities therefore increased upon him with age; nor was the approach of the king of terrors to be prevented any longer. The state of his mind contributed to increase the illness of his body. He was highly provoked at the behaviour of Buckingham, he imputed to his headstrong passions all the misfortunes that now surrounded him. He was desirous of humbling that haughty minister; but he wanted power to execute his design. Finding that all attempts, in the present situation of affairs, would be in vain, he composed himself with a sullen kind of resignation, meditating how to take the first opportunity of a friendly hand for his deliverance. Such was the king's situation when the marquis of Hamilton, who hated Buckingham, and who was as likely as any man to serve James in his distress, died suddenly, not without strong suspicions of poison. James considered the death of that nobleman as a sure prelude to his own. "If the branches are cut down, (said he) the stock cannot long stand." From that moment he became pensive and melancholy. He was seized, in the beginning of March, with a tertian ague; and when encouraged by his courtiers with the old proverb, that this distemper, during that season, was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant of a young king. The countess of Buckingham, and some other ladies, who had no great opinion of regular physicians, but thought that life might be rendered immortal by the secrets of empyrics, attended James, whose impatience for health drove him into the same fatal error. Buckingham had, some time before, been cured of a tertian ague by an emetic, a plaister and a posset-drink, which James now insisted should be administered to himself. Buckingham used every argument in his power to dissuade him from taking any thing that was not prescribed by his physicians. But all his reasonings were in vain: James sent for the medicines, and they were given him; according to his request. Every symptom of his disease was immediately augmented, and it was soon evident that he could not long survive. James was himself very sensible of his approaching end, and met the king of terrors with amazing fortitude. His preparations for death were



extremely fervent, and he was chiefly assisted in his devotions by lord-keeper Williams. When the prince of Wales was admitted to his presence, to receive his last advice, he exhorted him to maintain a tender affection for his wife, but at the same time to preserve a constancy in religion, to protect the church of England, and to extend his care to the unhappy family of the Palatine. In his last moments he declared he died in the religion of the church of England, and expired on the twenty-seventh of March, in the twenty-third year of his reign, and the fifty-ninth of his age. He had held the sceptre of Scotland almost from his birth.

The character of James having been drawn by writers of different parties, has been exposed to the opposite extremes of calumny and flattery, of satire and panegyric. Nature had delineated on his mind the outlines of many excellent qualities, and several virtues; but leaving her work unfinished, it was shaded by the pencil of vice. His generosity was blended with profusion, his learning with pedantry, his pacific disposition with pusillanimity, and his friendship with boyish fondness and folly. No prince ever ruled his paternal dominions with greater equanimity than James did Scotland; but this was before he tasted the cup of fancied power, which intoxicated his brain. He was desirous of following the examples of the princes of the Tudor line, who had made great breaches in the English constitution. But he did not reflect on the vast difference between their situation and his own. The ignorance, and consequently the timidity of the English, was now vanished; they were resolved to defend with courage what they had acquired by industry. The whole system of property among them was now altered; their minds were enlightened by reading and reflection; their principles of government were founded on the basis of liberty and moderation; their thoughts were now employed on improving foreign commerce and domestic freedom: they no longer admitted oppressive precedents in former reigns to be sufficient authorities for the present times. The doctrine of resistance was preached from the pulpit, and understood in parliament, but with such restrictions as left sufficient room for a king of England to be at once both great and happy.

The pedantic learning of James made him a casuist, but not a politician. He had not the smallest idea of that manly science which ennobles society, which regulates the passions of men in a free state, and which animates, directs and completes the purposes of public spirit. He was void of all conception of the difference between liberty and licentiousness; and endeavoured to erect for himself, in the minds of the people, as strong an opinion of his infallibility, both in religion and politics, as ever the church of Rome had thought to establish among her more deluded votaries. Nothing gave James greater distress, than to hear that his subjects dared dispute or reason upon matters which might lead them to a sense of their true interest as a people; and nothing gave him greater pleasure than to hear and decide in the useless speculative disputes of school-divinity. By pursuing such preposterous measures, he made the great duties of a king subservient to the idle distinctions of a pedant; and by endeavouring to make a figure as a scholar, he sunk into contempt as a man.

James studied to preserve peace rather than tranquillity, the shadow rather than the substance; because the genuine basis of tranquillity is freedom. Though he had held the sceptre almost sixty years, without any sensible reverse of fortune, yet the life of James was very uneven. No prince ever learned more, or profited less by experience. He displayed very considerable abilities while he only filled the Scottish throne; and by making a happy choice of Cecil for his minister, on the death of queen Elizabeth, gave a proof that he knew how to distinguish merit. But Cecil was mortal; and his successors,

without his abilities, endeavoured to pursue his schemes. This mistake was fatal to James: for though no minister ever entertained more arbitrary notions than Cecil, yet he knew so well how to manage the English, that it was less dangerous for him than for any other man to pursue them. James was soon convinced of this by experience. The Howards, who continued in the ministry, had not sufficient abilities to guide the machine of government; the Scottish favourites were disagreeable to the nation; and those whom James trusted wanted either honesty or abilities to serve him.

His prodigality, or rather extravagant profusion, rendered him always necessitous. The commons took advantage of it; and finding their assistance was absolutely necessary, they made themselves his masters. One of his favourites seeing a load of silver carrying to the treasury, said to a person who stood near him, "How happy would that money make me!" The king desired to know what he had been saying, and immediately gave him the whole sum, amounting to three thousand pounds. "You think yourself happy, said he; but I am more so in obliging an honest man whom I love."

James was far from being destitute of ambition; but his pusillanimity, both personal and political, prevented him from carrying it to any dangerous height. The latter was, perhaps, much stronger than the former, though some historians have made fear the predominant ingredient in his nature. During his youth, he gave several instances that he wanted neither spirit nor resolution in his person: but his political cowardice had every characteristic of baseness, for he trembled most when he boasted loudest. But when reflection succeeded to boast, his good natural sense soon convinced him that his schemes were impracticable, though his pride always led him to drop them in such a manner, that it exposed his crown and government to as much danger as if he had pursued them. Hence it happened, that among all the concessions he made to his parliament, not one was received with thankfulness; they were always considered as the result of present convenience, or the effects of fear.

In 1617, the royal revenues amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and the extraordinary supplies which he drew from parliament during his whole reign, only to three millions. The value of the subsidy was now so considerably diminished, and the tax become so intirely personal, that people only paid it in the counties where they resided, though they possessed lands in others. The parliament was at last obliged to abolish the ancient method, and establish a regular land-tax.

What chiefly distinguishes the reign of James, is the commencement of the English colonies in America, which are now increased to such an amazing height of power and grandeur. Queen Elizabeth had done little more than given a name to the continent of Virginia; and after planting one feeble colony, which soon decayed, that country was entirely abandoned. In the year 1606, Newport carried over a colony, and began a settlement, which the company established for that purpose in London and Bristol took care to furnish with every thing necessary for its success. About three years after, Nargal discovered a nearer and more direct passage to Virginia than had hitherto been known. He left the track of the ancient navigators, who directed their course to the southward of the tropic, sailed westward by means of the trade winds, and then returned to the northward till he reached the English settlements. Nargal stood directly for Virginia, and by that means reached that part of North-America in almost half the time that was necessary by the ancient method.

James had seven children by his consort, Anne of Denmark; but two of them only survived him, namely, Charles, who succeeded him on the throne; and Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine.

CHARLES I.





CHARLES I.



Wale. del.

Gipson sculp.

(Engraved for Sydney's - History of England.)



## C H A R L E S I.

A. D. **T**HE death of the late monarch made very little change in the cabinet. Buckingham, who had obtained the same ascendancy over Charles as he had formerly over James, had filled the court and council with his creatures, and all the great officers of state were continued. Some alterations were, however, thought necessary; but this was not the time for carrying the design into execution. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, keeper of the great seal, was no friend to Buckingham, and the minister determined to deprive him of his office. Laud, bishop of St. David's, was a sworn enemy to Williams, and intrusted with all the secrets of the cabinet: it was by his direction that the plan of future administration was laid. This was, indeed, no easy task; for though the great nobility had been passive during the government of James, because they saw among the commons a spirit of liberty which they did not approve, yet they were extremely indifferent with regard to affairs of state. They could not bear the haughtiness and insolence of the upstart favourite. Though they were friends to the church, they disliked the churchmen. They considered France and Spain as, in a manner, playing for the English crown; nor were they cordial for forming an alliance with either. Though they entertained a proper sense of their own dignity and importance in the constitution of their country, yet they thought that both were weakened by the vast increase of new nobility created by the Stuart family, under pretence of balancing the growing power of the commons. Hence they attended the court chiefly through duty: they were often admitted to the council, but hardly ever to the cabinet. Even the great officers of state often opposed the will of the favourite, and were therefore not often trusted. The earl of Arundel still continued to absent himself from the court; he was unwilling to countenance, by his presence, measures he could not approve. The earls of Northumberland and Pembroke followed his example, though the latter was chamberlain of the household. Lord Lee, treasurer, and lord Mandeville, president of the council, under pretence of attending the duties of their own offices, concerned themselves very little with the affairs of the cabinet. Weston, chancellor of the exchequer, was, indeed, wholly devoted to the measures of Buckingham; and had he been on the popular side of the question, might have made a considerable figure in the state; but he was known to be at once a sycophant and a papist. The earl of Worcester, lord privy-seal, was a generous, good-natured man, and loved both the king and his family, but he was not turned for business. Hence the king found it so difficult to form an administration conformable to the temper and views of his two favourites, that notwithstanding their hatred of Williams, they were obliged, for some time, to leave the great seal in his custody.

But business now engaged the whole attention of Buckingham. The marriage of the king, and an attempt to recover the Palatinate, were objects that admitted of no delay; and there was a necessity for the parliament to meet in the summer. The favourite rightly conceived, that the friendship of the young queen, and of her brother's court, would be of the utmost importance to him, and he resolved to omit nothing in his power to gain their confidence. The death of James had prevented him from carrying over Charles's proxy, but he now prepared to execute that commission; and a squadron of ships was fitted out for bringing over the queen, who had been

espoused, with great magnificence, in the king's name, by the earls of Carlisle and Holland.

The recovery of the Palatinate was an affair of much greater difficulty, though the popularity of the queen of Bohemia's cause was so great, that every obstacle was surmounted: the English were fond of engaging in the cause of their favourite princess. Twelve thousand men were immediately raised by the lieutenants of the several counties. During the march of these troops to Portsmouth, a proclamation was issued for putting martial law into execution against all who should be guilty of such riotous proceedings as had happened among the soldiers commanded by count Mansfeldt. The destination of these troops was as yet a secret: it was only known in general, that they were to be employed in the service of the Palatinate; and that they might be disciplined with greater facility, two thousand of them were sent into Holland, and their place supplied with an equal number of veterans from that republic.

Before Buckingham set out to execute his splendid commission in France, he attempted to engage the Dutch to enter heartily into the alliance against the house of Austria. He knew that his master was highly incensed against the Hollanders, on account of the late massacre at Amboyna, and that the East-India Company was at that time pressing the government for letters of reprisal against them. But this was not conformable to the views of Buckingham; he was desirous of engaging as many powers as possible in a confederacy against the house of Austria. He had, therefore, already opened a negotiation with the courts of Denmark and Sweden, both well affected to the interest of the king of Bohemia. These powers had promised to supply Charles with as many troops as would be sufficient to form an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, eight thousand of whom were to be cavalry.

In the mean time, cardinal Richelieu began to be jealous of Buckingham's greatness: he considered that favourite as the only rival he had in Europe. It was neither for his own interest, nor that of his master, to see an English minister form and direct a confederacy, which, after humbling the house of Austria, might prescribe terms to that of Bourbon. James had always affected to prevent religion from having any thing to do in the quarrel; but Charles soon perceived that this was impossible; and the great art of Richelieu consisted in dividing the question, by making use of the power of England in humbling the house of Austria, so far only as it was convenient to France; and of the house of Austria in advancing the cause of popery, the common interest of all the catholic powers. He entered into this design with infinite address. He placed his own creatures about the person of the English queen, and filled the court of Charles with spies. All these had private instructions to attempt the ruin of Buckingham, by forming a party against him both in the cabinet and the parliament. The earl of Holland, who, by his person and address, was formed for a court, was firmly attached to Buckingham, and had found means to penetrate the secret of Richelieu's intentions. He immediately revealed it to the English minister, whose spirit being as lofty as that of the cardinal, made no secret of his enmity to Richelieu.

Buckingham reached Paris on the twenty-fourth of May; and by his magnificence, spirit, wit, and conversation, attracted the admiration of the French court;



court; and it is certain that their beautiful young queen perceived charms in Buckingham which she could not discern in her dull, inanimated husband. Buckingham saw this, and found hardly any other difficulty to his pleasures than decency, and the want of time to make regular approaches. Stung with jealousy, proceeding either from love or policy, the haughty cardinal not only sought an opportunity to surprize and dispatch him in his unlawful amour, but also to make Lewis sensible of his intended dishonour. But pleasure with Buckingham seldom excluded business, and he vigorously pressed the conclusion of the league against the house of Austria. Richelieu, however, took care to lengthen out the negotiation, by a profusion of pleasures and honours which were paid the English minister during the seven days he resided at Paris. But Buckingham was not easily imposed upon. He was exasperated at the remembrance of his alacrity to oblige a people who now so ungenerously requited him, and perceived that he was narrowly watched in his amour with the queen-consort. Unused to be controuled in any of his actions, and impetuous in all his designs, he bore those mortifications with the utmost impatience. It is even said, that he was imprudent enough to throw out some menaces against the French; and that, upon a very frivolous pretence, he returned from Boulogne to Amiens, where he had an interview with the queen of France.

The princess Henrietta-Maria, now queen of England, was received with great splendor and affection by Charles, who met her at Dover, and conducted her to Canterbury, where the marriage was consummated. And notwithstanding the plague raged dreadfully in London, the parliament met at Westminster on the eighteenth of June, where Charles opened the session with a speech from the throne. It was simple and cordial. He slightly mentioned the occasion he had for a supply, but employed no intrigue to influence the members. He would not even allow the officers of the crown, who had seats in the house, to mention any particular sum which might be expected by him. Secure of the affection of the commons, he was resolved that their bounty should be intirely their own deed, unasked, unfollicited; the genuine fruit of sincere confidence and regard.

The business of the supply was accordingly taken into consideration: but though they knew that all the money granted by the last parliament had been expended on naval and military armaments, and that very large anticipations had also been made on the revenues of the crown: though they were not ignorant that Charles was loaded with a large debt contracted by his father; that the public revenues were hardly sufficient for supporting the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government; and that the present war, against the whole power of the house of Austria, had been undertaken by their importunate applications and intreaties; yet they thought proper to grant their young monarch no more than an hundred and twelve thousand pounds.

This extraordinary resolution of the parliament was probably occasioned by the libertine principles and conduct of the duke of Buckingham, who was now become odious for his vices. The marriage of the king with a catholic princess had also too much displeased the puritans, to render them indulgent to the court. Independently of these motives, the principal members of the lower house extended their views to future times. Persuaded that the power of the crown had been increased at the expence of the liberties of the people, their object was to confine it within narrow limits. The necessities of the prince were favourable to their designs, and of these they were willing to avail themselves. The right of the commons to grant or refuse the necessary supplies, they considered as an infallible means of gaining the most important concessions. These measures disconcerted the hopes of the king. He had formed the

warmest expectations of receiving the most convincing proofs of the love of his subjects; but found that the supplies they granted him were rather a mockery of his wants, than a serious design of supporting him in a war which might justly be styled their own.

Astonished at this inadequate supply, and intirely ignorant of the cause, Charles adjourned the parliament to Oxford, on account of the plague, which now made the most dreadful ravages in the capital. But the change of place had no influence on the commons. Determined to carry their favourite point with regard to the prerogative, they absolutely refused to make any addition to the supply they had voted: even the trifling pittance of forty thousand pounds was refused; though the parliament well knew that a fleet and an army were lying at Portsmouth, in great want of pay and provisions; and that Buckingham, the admiral, and the treasurer of the navy, had advanced, on their own credit, near an hundred thousand pounds for the sea-service. In vain were all the arguments of the courtiers to prevail over the obstinacy of the commons. Governed by a set of men of the most uncommon capacities, and the largest views; formed into a regular party, and united by fixed aims and projects, it was impossible to change them from their purpose. They persevered in their former resolution, though the honour of their country among the potentates of Europe demanded very large supplies. Among these leaders we may mention the names of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, all men of aspiring genius and independent fortune.

The king's notions of the prerogative were, however, very different. Full of the lofty notions of monarchical power, Charles, however moderate in his temper, considered the refusal of the commons as of a criminal and traitorous nature; and when he reflected that they were asked purely to support a war, entered into at their particular request, their behaviour appeared cruel and deceitful. He actually imputed it to a very different principle; for he could not imagine the commons could expect he could carry on the war without supplies. A discovery was, however, now made, which not only furnished the commons with a pretence for their refusal, but also inflamed them against the court in general, and the duke of Buckingham in particular.

James had, some time since, promised to furnish Lewis, who was destitute of a naval force, with one ship of war, and seven armed vessels hired from the merchants, which the French monarch pretended were to be employed against the Genoese, the firm allies of Spain. Charles was now called upon to fulfil the engagement, but the French made no secret that the ships were to be employed against the Hugonots in the siege of Rochelle. Vice-admiral Pennington was on the coast of France with a squadron of men of war, and received an order to employ his ships in whatever service the French ambassador should direct, after filling them with soldiers and marines, under the command of the duke of Montmorency. This was no sooner known, or rather suspected, than the ships crews mutinied, and all, except the Vanguard, which Pennington himself commanded, stood to sea. The admiral, however, went on shore, and offered to go upon any service the French king should order him, but refused to receive on board any soldiers. This refusal exasperated the ambassador, and he gave him to understand, that he was a prisoner if he did not comply; and at the same time informed him, that not more than fifty or sixty Englishmen would be employed in the expedition. It was in vain for Pennington to remonstrate against the cruelty and injustice of this proceeding, and to represent the uneasiness of his sailors, who would not fail to refuse obedience to any such commands.



mands. The ambassador, however, was resolute; and Pennington thought it prudent to dissemble his real sentiments, that he might recover his ship. The stratagem succeeded; but he was no sooner on board, than he absolutely refused to leave his ship. This produced a long negotiation between the ambassador and the admiral. Protests were taken against the latter; and, in the hearing of his own men, he was threatened with the punishment of death, as a traitor to his country. But all the menaces of the Frenchmen were in vain; Pennington refused his compliance, and returned with his ships to England. He immediately laid the whole transaction before the council; and received express orders to deliver up his own, and all the merchant ships, to the French king. This was accordingly done; but not an Englishman, one gunner only excepted, was found mean enough to serve on board the fleet, under a French commission, and against their protestant brethren.

These transactions were no sooner known in parliament, than the commons shewed the same attachment with the sailors for the protestant religion. They even carried their zeal to a height that rendered their deliberations at once ridiculous and unjust. Montague, one of the king's chaplains, published a book, which, contrary to the rigid tenets of the puritans, saved virtuous catholics, as well as other christians, from eternal torments. It now became evident that those great men, who reasoned so forcibly on the danger of the constitution of their country from the increasing power of the crown, could not reason at all on the subject of religion. Montague was ordered to be prosecuted, a committee was appointed to consider of the proceedings against him, and the ecclesiastic, for having done an important service to the church of England, by exploding the adopted errors of her antagonists, was ordered into custody of the serjeant, and to give bail of two thousand pounds for his appearing at the next session. It is no wonder that Charles was offended at these proceedings, and that he often put them in mind that they had business of far greater concern to engage their attention. But finding all attempts were in vain, the king dissolved a parliament from which he had nothing to expect.

Buckingham had now an arduous and dangerous part to act. He was hated by Spain, he was feared by France; he was distrusted in Holland; he was unpopular in England. The affections of the king, and his own ascendancy in the cabinet, were all he had now to trust to, and he therefore determined to increase his power, by putting more of his friends into places of consequence. All the dissimulation of Williams could not remove Buckingham's hatred. He was deprived of the seals, and retired to his bishopric with great dejection. Charles had afterwards time sufficient to regret the loss of his able servant, when the heats that afterwards flamed out so fatally, and seemed to threaten the destruction of the kingdom.

But though Buckingham was an enemy to the person of Williams, he was in his heart a friend to his principles, and was daily more and more convinced how impracticable it was for the government to oppose the people's torrent of zeal against popery. The earl of Holland continued to be his faithful correspondent at the French court; and gave him intelligence how deeply Blanville, the French ambassador, was engaged in plotting his destruction. The duke determined to return to France in quality of ambassador; but the queen having been so incautious in her expressions of her passion for that nobleman, that Lewis absolutely refused to admit him into his territories. This highly exasperated Buckingham, especially as the court of France refused to sign a secret treaty against the house of Austria, unless Charles would employ his forces against the French protestants.

Destitute of assistance from parliament, Charles was obliged to have recourse to unconstitutional methods for raising money. He issued privy-seals in

order to obtain the necessary sum; but the advantages he gained by this temporary supply were more than balanced by the disgust it occasioned. By means, however, of this supply he was enabled to fit out a fleet of eighty sail, on board of which were ten thousand soldiers. Buckingham was very unfortunate in his choice of the officers. Sir Horace Vere had been created a baron of England, and was endowed with every talent requisite for the command of this armament; but he was no friend to the minister. Sir Edward Cecil, who had commanded under count Mansfeldt, was therefore chosen for that office, and immediately created viscount Wimbledon. Buckingham could not have made a more unfortunate choice. Wimbledon, though a brave field officer, knew nothing of sea affairs. The public complained loudly that Sir Robert Mansel was neglected; but but they should have remembered that he was engaged in the party formed against the minister. Nor was Buckingham more fortunate in his choice of the other officers. The earl of Essex was appointed to command under Wimbledon, though there actually subsisted so great an antipathy between them, that they would have more readily fought with each other than against the enemy.

The fleet sailed on the first of October, and a council of war was held off Cape St. Vincent, in order to form a plan for their future operations. The earl of Essex naturally gave his voice for attacking Cadiz, the scene of his father's glory, and his proposal being accepted, the whole fleet stood towards that port. But by this time all Spain was alarmed; and so dreadful to the Spaniards was the remembrance of the English valour under queen Elizabeth, that their king was ready in person to march down at the head of a royal army to the defence of his coast. When the English reached Cadiz, they found every thing in readiness to give them a warm reception, and the attack of fort Puntal was given to the earl of Essex. He advanced with twenty English and five Dutch ships with such impetuosity, that the Spanish shipping, which consisted of seventeen stout ships and eight or ten galleys, fearing the fatal consequence of that fort's being taken, retired to Port Real. The fort, however, made a noble defence; and it was found impracticable to take it on the side where the attack was made. Upon this Sir John Burroughs, an old English officer, landed with his regiment, and driving some companies of Spanish infantry, who had opposed his landing back to the fort, the Spanish governor thought proper to surrender. The taking of this fort was, however, of no other consequence than as it opened a passage to Cadiz itself, and commanded a large extent of villages and country round; but the raw English soldiers could not resist the temptation of the new Spanish wines; they drank to excess, and could not be brought to act with that spirit and resolution necessary for rendering the expedition successful. At the same time dissensions prevailed among the officers; and diseases among the soldiers; so that any farther stay appearing fruitless, the troops were reembarked, and the fleet put to sea with a resolution of waiting for the Spanish galleons. But the plague breaking out among the seamen and soldiers, Cecil was obliged to return to England with infected crews, sickly companies, a broken reputation, disheartened officers; and national dishonour.

A.D. 1626. Charles was crowned on the second of February with great magnificence, and four days after the new parliament met at Westminster, the king being determined to try once more that regular and constitutional expedient for obtaining a supply. The session was opened by the new lord-keeper, Sir Thomas Finch, by a concise speech, wherein he acquainted both houses, that as his majesty intended the session should be very short; he hoped they would make all imaginable dispatch in granting the supplies. But the commons, without paying any regard to the lord-keeper's speech, began an enquiry into the na-



tional grievances, at the very point where they had left off the last session, as if the same men had been every where elected, and no time had intervened between their last meeting.

Had Charles been left to himself he would probably have succeeded much better than he did with this parliament. For though he had lost nothing of his arbitrary notions, yet the necessity of his affairs, and his close engagements on the continent, where both his honour and reputation were at stake, would certainly have induced him to have made such sacrifices, as would have brought over to his interest that very small number of members, which gave the opposition the majority. But Charles was now governed in ecclesiastical affairs by Laud, a furious churchman, who, rather than give up one point of useless ceremony, or immaterial doctrine, was determined to hazard the rights of monarchy, and the tranquillity of his country. The commons indeed voted a supply of three subsidies and three fifteenths, and afterwards added another subsidy; but reserved the passing that vote into a law till the end of the session: so that if the king refused to grant them a sufficient time to finish their inquiry into the national grievances, or refused to comply with their demands, he must expect no supply from the parliament.

It soon appeared that the whole storm was intended against Buckingham, who was considered as the source of all the national grievances. Charles foresaw the consequence, and endeavoured to soften the inquiries of the commons, by ordering Heath, the attorney-general, to send letters to the judges, enjoining them to proceed with more vigour than ever against the popish recusants. But all orders of that kind were mistrusted by the commons; and an embargo being at that time laid on all the English shipping in France, the commons ordered an inquiry to be made into the reason for such strange proceedings. In answer to this inquiry, it was said, that the French had imposed it upon the English, in order to indemnify themselves for the illegal detention of a ship belonging to Havre-de-Grace, called the *St. Peter*, even after an order had been issued by the king for her release. But, upon examination, it appeared that there was sufficient reason for this detention, and the inquiry was laid aside.

The earl of Bristol, who had now taken his seat in parliament, impeached Buckingham, his inveterate enemy; and the commons sent up, about the same time, another impeachment. But however odious the irregularities of the favourite had rendered him, they were not such as would condemn him as a traitor. The commons, however, pursued their design with unwearied attention; but the members of the council of war declining to give any answers to the questions put to them by the commons, it was thought proper to put a stop, for some time, to the inquiry.

In the mean time, Charles, pressed by his allies for fulfilling his engagements, was very urgent with the parliament to finish the supplies. The house of peers candidly declared, that it was necessary to put the nation in a posture of defence both by sea and land; and that count Mansfeldt's army, and the king's allies, ought to be supported. These resolutions were communicated by the upper to the lower house; but the commons paid very little attention to them: the supporting their charge against Buckingham engrossed all their attentions. In the course of this debate, Mr. Coke, son to Sir Edward Coke, said, "It was better to die by an enemy than to suffer at home;" and Dr. Turner, a physician, proposed the following questions against Buckingham.

"1. Whether the duke, being admiral of England, be not the cause of the king's loss of his royalty in the narrow seas?

"2. Whether the unreasonable, exorbitant, and immense gifts of money and lands bestowed on the duke and his relations, be not the cause of impairing the king's revenue, and impoverishing the crown?

"3. Whether the multiplicity of offices bestowed

on the duke, and his dependents, be not the cause of the ill government of the kingdom?

"4. Whether recusants in general be not supported and encouraged by the duke's mother and father-in-law, being papists?

"5. Whether the sale of honours, offices, places of judicature, ecclesiastical livings, and promotions, be not carried on by the duke?

"6. Whether the duke's staying at home, though admiral of the fleet and general of the land army, was not the cause of the miscarriage of the expedition to Cadiz; and whether he gave proper directions for executing the design?"

In the midst of this debate, the speaker received the following letter from the king:

"Trusty and well-beloved, &c.

"Having assembled the parliament early in the beginning of the year, for the more timely help and advice of our people in our great and important affairs; and having of late, not only by message, but also of ourself, put our house of commons in mind of our pressing occasions, and of the present state of Christendom, wherein they have equal interest with us, as well in respect to their own former engagements, as of the common cause; we shall not need to tell them with what care and patience we have, in the midst of our necessities, attended their resolutions; but because their unseasonable slowness may produce at home as ill effects as a denial, and hazard the whole estate of things abroad, we have thought fit by you, the speaker, to let them know, that without more loss of time, we look for a full and perfect answer to what they will give for our supply, according to our expectation and their promises; wherein, as we press for nothing beyond the present state and condition of our subjects, so will we accept no less than is proportional to the greatness and goodness of the cause; neither do we press them to a present resolution in this, with a purpose to precipitate their counsels, much less to enter upon their privileges, but to shew that it is unfit to depend any longer upon uncertainties, whereby the whole weight of the affairs of Christendom may break in suddenly upon us, to our dishonour and the shame of this nation. And for the business at home, we command you to promise them in our name, that after they have satisfied us in this reasonable demand, we shall not only continue them together at this time so long as the season will permit, but call them shortly again to perfect those necessary businesses which will be now left undone; and now we shall willingly apply fit and seasonable remedies to such just grievances which they shall present unto us in a dutiful and mannerly manner, without throwing an ill odour upon our present government, or upon the government of our late blessed father; and if there be yet who desire to find fault, we shall think him the wisest reprehender of our errors past, who, without reflecting backward, can give us counsel how to settle the present state of things, and to provide for the future safety and honour of the kingdom."

To enforce the intention of this letter, Sir Edward Weston, chancellor of the exchequer, delivered to the house the following message.

"1. That his majesty's fleet being returned, and the victuals expended, the men must, of necessity, be discharged, and their wages paid; otherwise a mutiny will be the consequence, which may, at this time, prove dangerous.

"2. That his majesty hath fitted out about forty ships, for a second attempt against the enemy: these want only victuals and a few men, but without a present supply of money, cannot sail, nor be kept together.

"3. That the army assembled on the coasts must soon be disbanded, if they be not supplied with victuals and cloaths.

"4. That if the companies lately sent to Ireland be not provided for, instead of defending that country, they will become the authors of rebellion.

"5. That



"5. That the season for providing healthful victuals will be past, if this month be neglected.

"His majesty therefore commanded me to tell you, that he desired to know, without farther delay, what supply you will give him for these his present occasions, that he may frame his course and council accordingly."

This message contained such strong reasons, that, notwithstanding all the arts of the opposition, and the unbounded ascendancy the leaders of it had acquired over the minds of the people, they thought proper to join very readily in the following answer to Weiton's message:

"Most gracious sovereign,

"Your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons, now assembled in parliament, in all humility, present unto your royal wisdom this their loyal answer to the message which your majesty was pleased, by the chancellor of your exchequer, to send unto them, desiring to know, without any farther deferring of time, what supply they would give to your majesty for your present and extraordinary occasions, that you might form your courses and counsels accordingly. First of all, they most humbly beseech your majesty to know, and rest assured, that no prince was ever dearer to his people than your majesty; no people more zealous to maintain and advance the honour and greatness of their king than they, which, as upon all occasions they will be ready to express, so especially in support of that cause wherein your majesty and your allies are justly engaged. And because they cannot doubt but your majesty, in your great wisdom, even out of justice, and according to the example of your famous predecessors, will be pleased graciously to accept the faithful and necessary information and advice of your parliament, which can have no end but the service of your majesty, and the safety of your realm, in discovering the causes, and proposing the remedies of those great evils which have occasioned your majesty's wants, and your people's grief.

"They therefore, in confidence and full assurance of redress therein, do, with one consent, propose (though, in former time, such course hath been unused) that they really intend to assist and supply your majesty in such a way, and in so ample a manner, as may make you safe at home, and feared abroad; for the dispatch whereof, they will use such diligence as your majesty's pressing occasions shall require."

But notwithstanding this answer, instead of immediately applying themselves to finish the bill relative to the subsidies, they still pursued their favourite project against Buckingham; and having voted, upon the queries of Dr. Turner, "that common fame was a sufficient ground of accusation by the commons," proceeded to frame regular articles against the minister. They accused him "of having united many offices in his person; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the seas, so that many merchant-ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ships to the French king, in order to serve against the Hugonots; of being employed in the sales of honours and offices; of accepting extensive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred; of administering physic to the late king, without acquainting his physicians; of extorting a sum of ten thousand pounds from the East-India Company; and of confiscating some goods belonging to some French merchants, under pretence of their being the property of the Spaniards." Among all these accusations, the two last only could be regarded as of any importance; the rest seem to be frivolous, or false, or both. But the duke's answer to these particulars was so clear and satisfactory, that it is impossible to refuse our assent to it.

Perceiving that the commons were determined to pursue their own measures, notwithstanding the pressing necessities of the state, Charles ordered the

lord-keeper to forbid the house meddling any farther with his minister and servant, Buckingham; and ordered them to finish, in a few days, the bill they had begun for the subsidies; and to make some addition to them, otherwise they must expect to sit no longer.

This was the language of an eastern, rather than an English monarch: it tended to destroy the constitution, and to reduce Britons to that abject state of slavery known only in the most despotic kingdoms. It destroyed all confidence between the king and his parliament. At the same time, he sent to demand satisfaction of Mr. Coke for the words he had spoken, and of Dr. Turner for the queries he had presented to the commons. The house was astonished at such proceedings; some were intimidated with fear; some were filled with indignation; some with true patriotic zeal for a coalition between the king and his people; and others, instigated by a secret ambition, rejoiced at this despotic language of the king, as it tended to throw every thing into confusion. These different passions produced different effects; and so many left the committee, that the committee was obliged to resume the chair, and it was ordered that no member should leave the house without leave.

The alarming circumstances of the king's message were taken into consideration. They saw Charles lay down a principle, which, unless it could be destroyed, rendered it impossible for parliaments ever to reach the guilty head of a minister who enjoyed the favour of his master. They presented a spirited remonstrance to the king, in which they boldly justified their proceedings against Buckingham, as being founded upon precedents, and consistent with every principle of natural liberty and safety: and concluded with putting the king in mind how readily they had agreed to grant him a supply, and requested his majesty not to be prejudiced against their proceedings. But neither these messages nor remonstrances had any power to withdraw the attention of the commons from their favourite project, that of supporting their articles of impeachment against Buckingham; though they must have known, that few of the articles exhibited against him contained real crimes, and that these were impossible to be proved. It is, indeed, surprizing, that men of such remarkable abilities as the leaders of the house of commons were, inveterate in their hatred, and keen in their pursuit of a favourite minister, young and giddy at his entrance into power, bold and insolent in its exercise, unfortunate and disappointed in his measures, should find so little real matter against him, during the space of almost fourteen years. The truth is, that Buckingham had always been faithful to his masters; and had been sometimes, to gratify their arbitrary inclinations, forced upon measures his judgment disapproved; and he had, for some years, been struggling in vain against the tide of popular fury. The breath of the king, instead of dissipating, swelled the storm. It was now agreed to demand of the lords that Buckingham should be committed to safe custody. When this message was delivered to the upper house, the duke addressed the lords in the following manner:

"My lords,

"If I hold my peace, it will argue guilt; if I speak, it will argue boldness, when accused of so many crimes. Your lordships see what complaints are made against me by the house of commons. How well I stood in their opinion not long since, your lordships well know: what I have done since to lose their good opinion, I protest I am intirely ignorant. I cannot so greatly distrust my own innocency, and my heart, which abhors guilt, as to decline any course, or court of justice; and had they not brought my cause before your lordships, it would have been my own work: they have done me a favour, by delivering me out of their hands into those of your lordships.

"I will not endeavour to throw any reflection on those who have taken pains to represent me in so

"vile



"vile a light; it will be sufficient for me to protest my innocence, which I hope to prove, as the cause is now before just judges: I desire that my trial may be hastened, that I may suffer no longer than is absolutely necessary: and as my accusers have not been content with my process only, but to prescribe to your lordships the manner of your judgment, and to punish me before I am heard, I shall not give way to any of their unjust demands."

About this time, the earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, died; and Buckingham, though then under impeachment, was chosen in his place. The commons resented, and loudly complained of this affront; but the king was so far from regarding the censure of the commons, that he wrote a letter to the university, extolling the duke, and giving them thanks for his election.

Two members of the house, Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment against Buckingham, were sent to the Tower. This highly exasperated the commons, who immediately declared, that they would proceed no farther upon business till they had received satisfaction with regard to their privileges. Charles alledged, as a reason for this violent measure, certain seditious expressions, which, he said, had dropped from those members in their accusation of the duke. Upon inquiry, it appeared that no such expressions had been used; upon which the members were released; and the king reaped no farther benefit from this attempt than to exasperate the house still farther; and to shew, that notwithstanding his character for solid reflection, he was sometimes capable of precipitate indiscretion.

The example of the house of commons was now imitated by the peers. They claimed liberty for the earl of Arundel, who had been lately sent to the Tower. The king made several attempts to elude the demand of the lords, but was at last obliged to comply, and the earl was accordingly released from his confinement.

Charles having complied with the demand of the commons, with regard to the discharge of their members, and even declared that he had been imposed upon, there were no plausible reasons for withholding the supplies. A great majority of the house would readily have passed the bill, but were opposed by others who had formed dangerous views: a firm coalition between the king and parliament was repugnant to their intentions. These turbulent members began by intimating, that they had some doubts whether the money would be properly applied, and whether there was any real intention of sending out the fleet that year. These insinuations were at once both groundless and malicious, yet many events concurred to render them possible. The king had as yet given them no satisfaction, nor even an answer to their remonstrance. The house of peers had refused to proceed against Buckingham, or even to admit that he might be criminal, by sending him to the Tower. The French court had made peace with the Hugonots, by the mediation of the English ambassadors: they had paid off, and sent home, the English ships employed in their service; they had taken off the embargo laid on the English merchantmen; and, after renewing the treaty of 1610, seemed entirely disposed to act with vigour against the house of Austria. For this purpose, Lewis had offered to make a diversion, with twenty-five thousand men, in Germany; and to continue the war, if necessary, for four years to come, provided England would enter into the same engagements; but refused to be concerned any farther against the house of Austria, than the reinstating the palatine, and other deprived German princes, in their dominions. From these circumstances the discontented members took the opportunity of urging, that there would be no occasion for the operations of the fleet, and that the house ought to be very careful how they granted money for that purpose. These artful speeches made

a visible impression to the disadvantage of the court, and the commons seemed persuaded that the supply was not necessary. Charles endeavoured to quicken their proceedings by messages; and even proceeded so far as to threaten the commons, that if they did not furnish him with the supplies, he should be obliged to have recourse to "new councils." This language could not be mistaken; but lest any of the members should consider it as ambiguous, Sir Dudley Carleton, vice-chamberlain, took some pains to explain it fully. "I pray you consider (said he) what these new councils are. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all christian kingdoms you know that parliaments were formerly in use, by which those kingdoms were governed in a most flourishing manner; until the monarchs began to know their own strength, and seeing the turbulent spirit of their parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to stand on their prerogatives, and at last overthrew the parliaments throughout Christendom, except here only with us.---Let us be careful, then, to preserve the king's good opinion of parliaments, which bringeth such happiness to this nation, and makes us envied of all others, while there is this sweetness between his majesty and the commons; lest we lose the repute of a free people by our turbulence in parliament." These imprudent suggestions rather gave the commons warning of the designs formed against them, than struck them with terror. They considered a precarious liberty, or that preserved by unlimited compliance, as no liberty at all. They were determined to preserve the substance, or lose the shadow. Instead, therefore, of passing the bill for the supplies, they renewed their inquiries into grievances; they ordered the house to be called over, and all absent members to be punished.

The never-failing cry of popish recusants was revived; and the nation said to be in danger, from their unwearied endeavours to re-establish the catholic religion in England. But their attack on the revenues of the crown was the most dangerous. They entered on a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament. This article, together with the new impositions laid on merchandize by James, constituted near one half of the royal revenues. This attack, therefore, had it succeeded, must have proved decisive; and as they were not able to fix any legal crime upon Buckingham, they intended to present a petition to his majesty for removing him from his person and councils. To preserve, however, the appearance of moderation, the subsidy bill was again read, but kept in such suspense as sufficiently indicated, that if all the grievances presented by the commons were not removed, the bill would never pass into a law.

Alarmed at these proceedings, Charles determined to dissolve the parliament. The lords endeavoured to dissuade him from this resolution, but in vain; the king was determined; and when they petitioned him, that he would allow the parliament to sit some time longer, he answered, in a very hasty manner, "Not a moment longer." The commons had just finished their remonstrance when the king carried his threats into execution, by dissolving the parliament, before they had completed a single act.

The remonstrance of the commons began with a kind of recapitulation of the reasons why the present and former parliament had been in a manner abortive, and the whole blame thrown upon Buckingham. Among other things they charged him with appointing Sir Edward Coke, and several other leading members against him, sheriffs of counties, in order to disqualify them from serving their country in parliament; and for sending Mr. Glanvill abroad, as secretary of the fleet, for the same purpose. They afterwards declared it was their firm resolution to have signally supported his majesty in the prosecution of the war, had not all their intentions been blasted by the enormities of Buckingham, whose crimes they sum up in the



the following manner. "We found, say they, that the most pressing and comprehensive mischief and grievance suffered by the late king, was fundamentally settled in the vast past power and enormous actions of the said duke, being such, by reason of his plurality of offices; some procured by ambition, and some by money; expressly against the laws of your majesty's realm; his breach of trust in not guarding the seas; his high injustice in the admiralty; his extortion; his delivering over the ships of this kingdom into the hands of a foreign prince; his procuring the compulsory buying of honour for his own gain; his unexampled exhausting of the treasures and revenues of the kingdom; his transcendent presumption of that unhappy application of physic to your royal father of blessed memory, some few days before his death; of these and some other of his offences carefully examined by us, we made a parliamentary charge against him to the lords; by your majesty assembled in parliament, there expecting some remedy by a speedy proceeding against him; but may it please your most excellent majesty, not only during the time of our examination of the matters and offences of the said charge, we were often interrupted and diverted by messages, procured, through misinformation, from your majesty, which with most humble duty and reverence we did ever receive, whence it first fell out that so, not only much time was spent among us, before the said charge was perfected; but also within two days after the same charge was transmitted by us to the lords, two of our members, Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot, upon untrue and malicious informations, privately and against the privilege of parliaments, given to your majesty of certain words, were by your majesty's command committed to close imprisonment in the Tower of London, their lodgings presently searched, and their papers taken away; by reason whereof not only our known privileges of parliament were infringed, but we ourselves, who in full hopes of speedy course of justice against the said duke, were preparing with all dutiful affection to proceed to dispatch the supply and other services of your majesty, were wholly, as the course and privilege of parliament bind us, employed for several days in taking into consideration the proper methods to be pursued for the ratifying and preserving the privileges so infringed."

They next complain of the insolence of lord Conway, secretary of state, who had ordered the messengers, who, by their warrants, were to have apprehended the members at their lodgings, to seize them in the very house of commons. This outrage they also charge upon the duke, as they do all the interruptions they received, when they were well disposed to grant the supply. They next attack that nobleman for procuring himself to be elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge, because, say they, the same university, having two burgesses in parliament, did, by the same burgesses, a few weeks before, consent with us in the charge against him, for his ambition in procuring such a plurality of offices; such was his ambition to sue for it; such was his power to make them give it him, contrary to what they had agreed in parliament with all the commons of England." They next charge him "with having screened Montague, and despair of being able to do any thing for the public service, while Buckingham remained in possession of his power, continued to abuse the confidence of his majesty, and enjoyed the arbitrary disposal of rewards and punishments to all ranks of people. They promise to reply to this answer to the articles they had exhibited against him. They tremble to think of the consequences that must attend his majesty's following new councils, as he had intimated, if, by new councils, he meant to govern and raise money without consent of parliament. They added, that they had reason to fear, that this was really his meaning, or perhaps that of his minister, "the rather, say they, because the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, which determined on the death

of your most royal father, our late sovereign, and were never payable to any of your majesty's ancestors, but only by a special act of parliament, and ought not to be levied without such an act; yet, ever since the beginning of your majesty's happy reign over us, the said subsidies have been levied by some of your majesty's ministers, as if they were still due; altho' one parliament hath since that time been held and dissolved, by procurement of the said duke, wherein no act passed for the same subsidies. Which example is so much against the constant use of former times, and the known right and liberty of your subjects, that it is an apparent effect of some new counsels, given against the ancient settled course of government of this your majesty's kingdom, and chiefly against the right of your commons, as if there might be any subsidy, tax, or aid levied upon them, without their consent in parliament, or contrary to the settled laws of the kingdom. But if any such do so ill use an office, as by the misrepresentation of the state and right of your majesty's loyal subjects, advise any such new counsels, as the levying any aid, tax, or subsidy, among your people, contrary to the settled laws of your kingdom, we cannot, most gracious sovereign, but esteem those who shall advise, not only as vipers, but pests to their king and commonwealth, and also capital enemies as well to your crown and dignity, as to the commonwealth. And we shall, for our parts, shew, in parliament, as occasion may require, and be ready to declare their offences of this kind such, as may be rewarded with the highest punishment your laws inflict on any offenders."

The conclusion of this remonstrance has something in it very great, and very pathetic. After laying before the king the dangers and miseries which must attend his continuing to place his confidence in this single minister, they proceed in the following manner: "Give us then leave, most dear sovereign, in the name of all the commons of this your kingdom, prostrate at the feet of your sacred majesty, most humbly to beseech you, even for the honour of Almighty God, whose religion is directly undermined by the practice of that party whom this duke supports; for your honour, which will be much advanced in the relieving your people in this their great and general grievance; for the honour, safety, and welfare of your kingdom, which by this means is threatened with almost unavoidable dangers; and for the love which your majesty, as a good and loving father, bears unto your good people, to whom we profess, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, you are as highly esteemed and beloved, as ever any of your predecessors were, that you would be graciously pleased to remove this person from having access to your sacred presence, and that you would not balance this one man with all these things, and with the affairs of the Christian world, which do all suffer, so far as they have relation to this kingdom, chiefly by his means. For we protest to your majesty, and to the whole world, that until this person be removed from intermeddling in the great affairs of state, we are out of hope of any good success; and do fear, that whatever money we can or shall give, will, through his mismanagement, be turned rather to the hurt and prejudice of this your kingdom than otherwise; as by lamentable experience we have found in those large supplies we have formerly and lately given."

"But no sooner shall we receive redress and relief in this, which, of all others, is the most insupportable grievance, but we shall forthwith proceed to accomplish your majesty's own desire, for supply; and likewise, with all cheerfulness, apply ourselves to the perfecting of divers other great things, such as we think no one parliament in one age can parallel, tending to the stability, wealth, strength and honour of this your kingdom, and the support of your friends and allies abroad: and we doubt not but through God's blessing, as you are the best, so shall you be the best



beloved and the greatest monarch that ever sat on the royal throne of this famous kingdom."

Such was the famous remonstrance of this parliament. The commons intended to have presented it to the king, but being prevented from carrying their design into execution, they caused it to be dispersed among the people in justification of their conduct. Charles was no stranger to its contents, but determined not to make the sacrifice requested of him. He thought that the great guilt of Buckingham consisted in being his friend and favourite. All the other complaints against him he considered as mere pretences. A few months before he was the idol of the people; and no new crime had since been pretended to be discovered. After the most diligent enquiry, prompted by the greatest malice, the smallest appearance of guilt could not be fixed upon him. What idea, he asked, must all mankind entertain of his honour, should he sacrifice his innocent friend to pecuniary considerations? What farther authority would he entertain in this nation, were he capable, in the very beginning of his reign, to give, in so signal an instance, such matter of triumph to his enemies, and discouragement to his friends? Indeed the whole charge against Buckingham was so general, that it might have been thrown out against a virtuous as well as a wicked minister. It was equally absurd in them to suppose, that the act of the two members for the university of Cambridge, was the act of the university itself; nor did the representatives of that body, by agreeing or not agreeing to the charge against the duke, make it more or less binding upon the university to approve or disapprove of the same charge. The raising of tonnage and poundage, without consent of parliament, was indeed a strong and an alarming circumstance, and laid, as it were, the axe to the root of liberty. An English house of commons could not, therefore, be too loud upon this head; they acted as true patriots, when, while such an arbitrary measure was pursuing, they made the post of honour the place of danger, and poured out the vials of public indignation against any minister, guilty or not guilty, who should dare to serve a prince that avowed such dangerous principles.

The government also dispersed a declaration, shewing the reasons which induced the king to dissolve the two last parliaments; but it is one of the weakest pieces ever published by any ministry. It contains nothing in answer to those strong facts and principles which had been urged by the commons in their remonstrances; it consisted of particulars which no body pretended to deny, namely, That the king by the advice of his parliament, had been engaged in a war with the house of Austria; that this war had been attended with great expence; that he had called the two last parliaments for furnishing him with supplies for carrying on the war; that he had pressed them again and again for that purpose; and that being always disappointed in his expectations, he had dissolved them. These were facts never disputed; nor did the most violent opposers of the court ever deny, that the occasions for strengthening the hands of his majesty were great and urgent. But the true questions were, whether the foreign war was of so much importance, as to interpose between them and every thing that ought to be dear to a free people? Whether they ought to support a prince, who threw his favourite into one scale as a counterpoise against his parliament in the other? Whether this favourite, sole and supreme as he was, might not, when possessed of money granted by the parliament, make use of it to rivet those chains he was then forging, and to establish the principles his master had avowed? Charles in all his papers and declarations, gave no constitutional satisfaction as to any one of those doubts, and his silence admitted of the worst construction.

The new councils which Charles had threatened were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Had he immediately made peace with Spain, he might perhaps have found the necessary resources to have

supported the expences of government in times of peace. Nothing could be more easy in the execution than this measure, nor more agreeable both to his own and the national interest. But besides the treaties and engagements which he had entered into with Holland and Denmark, the king's thoughts were at this time entirely averse to pacific counsels. He was determined to carry on the war, and to feed it by opening the sluices of prerogative. He was always persuaded that he had much less to fear from the papists than the puritans; and to take away the great objection which the latter urged for exclaiming against the violent part of the church of England, he issued a proclamation against preaching or disputing either for or against the religious tenets of Arminius. It was long before Buckingham could gain this point; and perhaps no prince ever committed more folly than James and Charles did, in so long supporting the principles of the Anti-Arminians, contrary to their own private opinions, and to the sense of almost every man to whom they trusted for the advancement of their measures.

The attention of the council was now entirely engaged in forming measures for raising the supplies necessary for carrying on the war, and it was resolved that the king might continue to levy all those duties upon goods and merchandize, called by the several names of customs, subsidies, and imposts, in the same manner as they had been levied during the late reign. The other proceedings of the government were of the same kind. It was well known that nothing could be more disagreeable to the people of England, than the least attempt to favour popery; yet the king granted a commission to the archbishop of York, Sir John Saville, and others, "to treat and make compositions with the said recusants for all forfeitures in not going to church, under such conditions and immunities as they shall see meet and convenient, according to such instructions as his majesty hath, or shall give for that purpose: his majesty rather desiring their conversion than destruction."

Charles was persuaded that he could not effect a more popular action, than to increase the strength of the royal navy; and in the commission for compounding with the recusants, he had assigned the necessity of guarding the northern ports, as the reason for his appropriating the composition money to himself. Advantage was also taken of some precedents, by no means applicable to the present times, for charging the sea-ports with certain sums of money for fitting out ships. This demand fell heavy upon the city of London, which was ordered to fit out twenty ships. But the king soon perceived that this measure would be attended with some difficulty. Not only the capital, but the deputy-lieutenants and justices of Dorsetshire, remonstrated strongly against this imposition, which they conceived to be without precedent. This sufficiently shewed that they were little conversant in English history; as many precedents occur, though they were in themselves either tyrannical, obsolete, or warranted by immediate necessity. They were, however, to be found; and the council considering them as sufficient for their purpose, rejected all petitions, and particularly that of the city of London, to have this imposition abated.

To increase the appearances of necessity, Charles augmented the wages of his sailors from fourteen to twenty shillings a month; and published several proclamations, giving them other encouragements. At the same time, rigorous directions were issued for putting all the sea-coasts; and the principal fortresses of the kingdom, in a posture of defence, as if an actual invasion or rebellion had already taken place. Nothing was seen throughout the kingdom but musters and arrays of forces; and the military law, with all its terrors, was suspended over the heads of the astonished people.

It was not, indeed, long before Charles had occasion for all these precautions, though the event was not,



not, perhaps, foreseen. He had paid the king of Denmark large subsidies; and that prince, by his encouragement, having, for some time, acted as the patron of the Germanic liberty, had marched his army towards the Weser, where he took Minden and Hamelin; but upon the approach of count Tilly, at the head of an army of veteran imperialists, he retired towards Ferdin, to wait the arrival of Mansfeldt with twelve thousand English and Dutch forces. While he remained in that situation, he had several skirmishes with the imperialists, who were ordered to keep him fully employed, till the emperor could place the crown of Hungary on the head of his eldest son. This coronation exasperated the famous Bethlem Gabor, a prince of Transylvania, who aspired to the throne of Hungary, and proposed to enter into the league formed against the house of Austria. His offer was accepted; and it was agreed that he should invade Hungary, and be joined by the troops under count Mansfeldt, as soon as he arrived in Silesia. But before this could be effected, the emperor had assembled one army on the Weser, another under the famous Wallenstein on the frontiers of Silesia, and a third under count Tilly in Lower Saxony. This obliged the king of Denmark to divide his army, which, by the junction of Mansfeldt and the German princes, was now increased to sixty thousand men, into three bodies. The first, commanded by duke Christian of Brunswick, was to act upon the Weser; the second by Mansfeldt, was to oppose Wallenstein, and, if possible, force a passage into Silesia; and the third, commanded by the king of Denmark in person, was to act in the intermediate space between the other two. The active count Mansfeldt, in his route to Silesia, made himself master of the whole province of Magdebourg, before Wallenstein could come up to oppose him; but being stopped by general Altringer at Dessau upon the Elbe, Wallenstein had time to march to the relief of the place; and falling upon his army, obliged Mansfeldt to retire, with the loss of the greater part of his infantry, baggage and artillery, into the marquisate of Brandenburg. Mansfeldt did not, however, abandon his principal design, that of penetrating into Silesia, and gaining some marches upon Wallenstein. He was so industrious, that he soon recruited his army, which now consisted of twenty-five thousand men, and advanced, at their head, to join Bethlem Gabor. But that prince, upon the first news of Mansfeldt's defeat, made peace with the emperor. This behaviour so greatly disgusted Mansfeldt, that he resigned the command of his troops to duke Ernest of Saxe Weimar, and retired to Buda, whence he set out for Venice, but died on his journey in an obscure village of Dalmatia. About the same time, the brave duke Christian of Brunswick, who commanded another division of the confederate army, paid the debt of nature; and soon after, the duke of Saxe Weimar, Mansfeldt's successor. The loss of those three great generals was irreparable to the confederates, whose hopes now intirely centered in the king of Denmark. Tilly, who had all this time watched the motions of that prince, had now retaken Minden and some other places; but was very near being surprized in his camp by the king of Denmark, at a time when he thought that prince was at thirty leagues distance. But Tilly, after making a masterly retreat, was reinforced by so great a body of veterans, that the king of Denmark, who had no great opinion of his own new-raised troops, would, in his turn, have gladly declined a battle; but this was impossible. The contest was very bloody, but ended in favour of the imperial general; and the king was obliged to retire, with the loss of his baggage and artillery, towards Holstein. Three thousand men of the confederate army were slain on the field of battle, and three thousand taken prisoners.

Charles no sooner heard of the defeat of the king of Denmark, than he redoubled his endeavours to obtain supplies. He had sent a squadron of ships to

lie at the mouth of the Elbe; to prevent the Spaniards from furnishing themselves with naval stores from that country. But this not only exasperated the Hamburgers, whose commerce was thereby greatly lessened; but the attempt itself was ineffectual, because the enemy was supplied from Lubec, and the passage of the Sound was left open. The squadron was therefore recalled at the intercession of the Hamburg merchants. The public did not fail to make their own reflections upon these inconsistent dispositions of the court; for either the destination of the squadron had been improper; or the recalling of it impolitic.

But the truth is, the object of Buckingham's resentment was changed. Besides his passion for the young queen of France, and his resentment at the refusal of Lewis to receive him as ambassador, he had the greatest reasons to watch the conduct of cardinal Richelieu. The protestants of France had accepted the peace, under the guaranty of the king of England. By concluding this treaty, Charles committed a great political error. He gave peace to France, hoping that France would then join him against the Spaniards; but he was deceived. Instead of fulfilling their promises, they made use of this tranquillity, as an argument for extorting advantageous terms from Spain. Richelieu, the better to conceal his real intentions from the allies during this negotiation, had procured the prince of Piedmont to be appointed lieutenant-general of the French armies in foreign parts: preparations were made in every province of France; and it was expected that the storm, which had been so long gathering, would soon burst upon the house of Austria. But no such thing was intended: for, in a few days, it was publicly known, that a peace had been concluded between France and Spain. This perfidious conduct raised Richelieu many enemies, particularly the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Orleans, brother to the king. The former was now left exposed to the vengeance of the Spaniards; and the latter, for reasons foreign to this history, was more exasperated against the minister than ever. But Richelieu's fortune rose superior to all difficulties. Fearful of a correspondence between England and the duke de Vendôme, governor of Britany, which lay so convenient for a descent from England, he prevailed upon Lewis to undertake a journey into that province, where he caused the duke of Vendôme to be arrested. But the most active agent against Richelieu was the abbot of Scaglia, ambassador in England from the duke of Savoy, a restless, intriguing minister, who hated Richelieu, and was now become very intimate with Buckingham. This produced a secret correspondence between England, the court of Savoy, and the duke of Rohan, head of the French Hugonots, who were now convinced that all the great preparations in France were intended against Rochelle, the principal place in their possession.

It was not difficult for the abbot of Scaglia, by the assistance of Buckingham, and the duke of Soubise, who managed the affairs of the French Hugonots in England, to inspire Charles with a contemptible opinion of the duplicity of the French court; and to persuade him, that having now lost all hopes of prevailing upon Lewis to join in the alliance against the house of Austria, he ought to revive the ancient policy of England, in preventing the total ruin of the Hugonots. The abbot gave him the strongest assurances of his master's friendship and assistance; and it was accordingly determined to support the protestants of France.

But supplies were wanting to pay both the fleet and the army; the necessities of Charles increased as his extensive engagements were augmented. It was therefore determined to have recourse to a general loan, in which every man was to be assessed according to the rolls of the last subsidy. But this expedient answered not the intentions of the minister: the people refused to subscribe to the loan, and the



whole country became a scene of confusion. Among other articles of secret instruction, the commissioners appointed to levy these loans were enjoined, "If any man shall refuse to lend, and shall make delays or excuses, and persist in his obstinacy, that they examine him upon oath, whether he has been dealt with to deny or refuse to lend, or make any excuse for not lending? Who has dealt with him, and what speeches or persuasions were used for that purpose? And that they also charge every such person in his majesty's name, upon his allegiance, not to disclose to any one what his answer was." It is astonishing that the king could be prevailed upon to suffer so impracticable an attempt to be made by his officers. A very little reflection would have been abundantly sufficient to have convinced him, that the secrecy he enjoined was impossible; and that so violent an inquisitorial power could not fail of exciting the indignation of his subjects.

The consequence was what might naturally be expected. The principal leaders in the late parliament, and others who had adopted their sentiments, refused to submit to an imposition not agreed to by the legislature. Most of them were thrown into prison; the goals were filled with illustrious offenders. All who petitioned the clemency of the king were released; but five gentlemen, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmund Hamden, not only refused to solicit the clemency of his majesty, but boldly demanded their release, not as a favour from the court, but as a right derived from the laws of their country. The question was at last solemnly argued in the court of King's-bench, when it appeared, beyond contradiction, that the personal liberty of the subject had been secured against the arbitrary power of the crown by six several acts of parliament, besides an article of the great charter itself, the most sacred foundation of the laws and constitution of England. The judges, however, thought proper to remand the gentlemen to their prisons, though they refused to enter a general judgment, that no bail could be granted upon a commitment of the king or council. But liberty loses not her nature by confinement: her voice was heard from all quarters of the kingdom, and became much louder than those of venal pursuivants, who spread the king's proclamations to excite terrors.

Nor was imprisonment the only engine employed by the government to force the people to submit to the arbitrary orders of the court: recourse was also had to religious prejudices: the duty of unlimited obedience was preached from the pulpit. Manwaring, one of his majesty's chaplains, distinguished himself on this occasion. Among other curious passages in his elaborate discourses, the following are remarkable: "That the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, concerning the subjects rights and liberties; but that his royal will and command in imposing loans and taxes, without the common consent of parliament, is sufficient to oblige the conscience of the subject, under pain of eternal damnation. That those who refused to pay this loan, offended against the law of God, and the king's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion. That the authority of parliament is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies, and that the slow proceedings of such numerous assemblies are not fitted for the supply of the state's urgent necessities, but would rather occasion many impediments to the just designs of princes." Sibthorpe was another divine that exerted all his abilities in recommending the same slavish tenets. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, refused to license these sermons. This was considered as so heinous an offence, that the prelate was suspended from the exercise of his office, and confined to one of his country-seats. This sequestration and confinement of the first peer and prelate of

England, were alarming monuments of Buckingham's power over the mind of his master. The archbishop had always acted with the greatest moderation, and was considered by the public as a sincere friend to the liberties of his country; but he could never be brought to offer incense to the favourite minister, and this marked him out as an object of disgrace.

Even an indifference in the service of despotic purposes was now considered as criminal by the government. Sir Randal Carew was removed from his post of lord chief justice of the King's-bench for his coldness in promoting the loan; and Williams, the late lord-keeper, whose great abilities had rendered him a favourite of the people, was not suffered to enjoy the retirement he had chosen. He was considered as an encourager of the puritans; for every person who favoured the cause of liberty, whatever his religious tenets might be, was branded with that epithet, and was considered by the minister as an enemy to the government.

While the people were thus harassed with persecutions with regard to the loan, vigorous preparations were making for covering the seas with armaments. The duke of Soubise, who was then in England, received a commission from Charles for employing the ships fitted out by the Hugonots in his service, and for cruising on the Spaniards. This occasioned great confusion in the business of the English admiralty, where it was difficult to distinguish between the prizes made by the English and those taken by the French protestants.

A.D. 1627. The French court was in a very bad condition to support a war against England; but all the catholics in the kingdom were united, and desirous of exerting all their power against the enemies of their religion. On the other hand, the unpopularity of Buckingham, the high exertion of the prerogative, and the imprisonment of some of the worthiest men in England, rendered the sincerest intentions of Charles distrustful; nothing could be expected from the efforts of a nation divided within itself. A fleet of one hundred sail, having on board an army of seven thousand men, were fitted out for the invasion of France; and both intrusted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, though he was wholly unacquainted both with the land and sea-service.

The fleet appeared before Rochelle; but the inhabitants of that city were then divided into two factions, one for the court of France, and the other for the English. The former endeavoured to persuade the people, that if the English were admitted into the town, they would, by their great superiority at sea, seize the government, and keep possession of the place in defiance of the whole power of France. The latter, which was headed by the mother and sister of the dukes of Rohan and Soubise, opposed these assertions; declaring that the English were their friends, and were come to support their religious privileges. The French party, however, prevailed, and it was determined not to admit the English. Buckingham, who was surprized that the gates were not opened, sent Soubise and Sir William Beecher ashore, but it was not without difficulty they were permitted to enter the gates. The council was immediately assembled, and Soubise did every thing in his power to persuade them of the friendly intentions of the English monarch, and that he had fitted out this large and expensive armament purely for their service. The council, however, thought proper to decline the proffered assistance, under pretence that they could not determine on an affair of such importance without consulting the whole body of the Hugonots. Exasperated at this refusal, Buckingham determined to make a descent on the island of Rhé. It had before been agreed between Soubise and Buckingham, that the English should land on Oleron, a fertile and then defenceless island, where refreshments



refreshments of every kind might be easily procured, and the troops in no danger of any attack from the enemy. But the English general thought proper to alter this plan of operations, and stood immediately for the island of Rhé, then well garrisoned and fortified. Had the military abilities of Buckingham been equal to his personal courage, he might have acquired immortal honour both to himself and his country. Thoyras, the French general, who commanded in the island, no sooner perceived the English were preparing to land, than he drew out his forces to oppose them; but imagining the first debarkation was only a feint to draw his attention to that quarter, while the main body of the English army was landed at another, he thought it imprudent to attack them, till they were followed by greater numbers. Thoyras now perceived his mistake, and marched immediately to give them battle; but the English volunteers jumping ashore, and performing wonders in their own persons, so animated the soldiers, that they pressed forward with the utmost intrepidity, and put the enemy to flight, though far superior in numbers.

Sobise, who was an excellent soldier, advised Buckingham to pursue his victory, and immediately attack the castle of St. Martin's. Had this prudent advice been followed, there is the greatest reason to think that the attempt would have succeeded; but Buckingham pretended that it would be imprudent to march his troops against that fortress, till intelligence could be procured of the strength of the enemy. By this dilatory method of proceeding five days were lost to the English, and that loss was irretrievable. He also neglected to take fort Prie, which was then but meanly garrisoned, and being situated on the shore, would have afforded an excellent retreat, in case of accident, to the English.

At last, on the twenty-seventh of July, he opened his trenches before St. Martins, and was so confident of success, that he assured the king by express, he would be master of the castle in eight days time. This occasioned a ridiculous proclamation to be published in England, for encouraging people to transport themselves and their families to the island of Rhé. But Buckingham was not born to shine in a camp. Though determined to starve the garrison into a surrender, he took so little care to guard the seas, that the French found means to throw ammunition and provisions into the place.

Buckingham now perceived that the taking the castle would not be so easy a task as he imagined, and endeavoured to make himself master of fort Prie; but the garrison had been reinforced, and the attempt miscarried. The French had now in the island an army, under the command of marshal Schomberg, superior in numbers to that of the English; and Buckingham determined to make an attack upon the place, in order to put an end to the siege by one desperate attempt. He had been informed by some French deserters, that there were no more than eight hundred soldiers in the castle, and that the courtin towards the sea was but poorly fortified. It was therefore resolved to storm the courtin without attempting to make any breach in the wall. The army was accordingly divided into two bodies, one of which was to attack the castle on the land side, and the other on the sea. The latter was the principal attack, and it was proposed to mount the courtin with their scaling-ladders. But the measures were so improperly taken, that there were no hopes of success. The French immediately perceived their intention, and suffered them to advance to the foot of the courtin, where the English soon perceived their ladders were too short for scaling the wall. They behaved, however, in both attacks with amazing intrepidity, but were at last obliged to retreat with the loss of five hundred men killed, and fifty taken prisoners.

The French were, however, convinced by this specimen of British valour, that it would be dangerous to attack them in an open field; Schomberg did not chuse to press closely so brave an enemy. After this

miscarriage it was sufficiently evident that any farther attack upon the castle would be the height of imprudence; and Buckingham accordingly began his march in excellent order towards his ships, intending to pass through a hollow way, the only passage by which he could retreat. The French army under marshal Schomberg followed him at a distance. Buckingham perceived it, and offered the marshal battle, which he declined, and the English continued their march towards the hollow-way, their rear, by some strange neglect, consisting only of the insignificant guard of eighty horse. When the English had advanced a considerable distance in the hollow-way, they were attacked by the French cavalry, who forced the English rear-guard to break the ranks of their own men, and there being no room for the foremost battalions to form, a general rout ensued. But they had no sooner passed the hollow-way, than they faced about and once more offered the marshal battle, notwithstanding the great loss they had sustained. Schomberg was too prudent to venture a general engagement; he retired with his army, and Buckingham embarked his forces, after losing near two thirds of his army.

Thus ended an expedition which totally discredited Buckingham, both as an admiral and a soldier; he acquired no praise but that vulgar one of courage and personal bravery. If he was unpopular before, he was now detested by the people; the enemy triumphed in the narrow seas, and insulted the English in their own harbours. The inhabitants of Rochelle, who had declared for the English, were now in the most dreadful situation. They were threatened with an immediate siege from their enraged master, and had expended great part of their provisions in subsisting Buckingham's forces on the island of Rhé. The deputies from that city were loud in their complaints; but so greatly was Charles infatuated with Buckingham, that all their instances joined with the general voice of his people, could not prevail upon him to censure his conduct.

It was, however, sufficiently apparent, that something must be done to silence the clamours of the people. They believed their liberties had been ravished from them, and illegal taxes extorted. They saw their commerce daily declining, and the military honours transmitted to them by their ancestors, shamefully stained by two ill-concerted and unsuccessful expeditions. They dreaded the calamities of a war carried on against two of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe, and feared for their domestic safety from the general clamour excited in every part of the nation. These evils were solely ascribed to the obstinacy of the king in adhering to the counsels of Buckingham, whose abilities were far from deserving such implicit confidence. The only expedient that offered to relieve the government from this embarrassing situation, was that of calling a parliament. It was expected that the miscarriage of the attempt upon Rhé would be severely censured, and the duke's conduct made the subject of the closest scrutiny. Sir Robert Cotton therefore advised his majesty, that Buckingham should make a motion in the council for assembling the parliament; hoping that by his appearing to favour a measure so highly agreeable to the people, his former faults would be forgotten, and that instead of a tyrant and oppressor, he would be considered as the deliverer of his country.

A. D. 1628. The parliament assembled on the seventeenth of March, and was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the king very pathetically enumerated the necessities of the government; and required the assistance of his parliament; but concluded with fairly telling the commons, "that if they did not do their duty in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands, in order to save that, which the follies of a few particular men may otherwise endanger. Take not this as a threatening, added he, for I scorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition



from him, who, by nature and duty, has most care of your preservation and prosperity."

When Charles had finished his speech, the lord-keeper, by the king's command, laid before the house the state of affairs in Europe, and the motives which induced the king to attempt the reduction of the dangerous power of the house of Austria, and to interpose between the French king and his protestant subjects. He observed that the powers which used to balance the alarming greatness of the house of Austria, were now otherwise employed; the Turk in an Asiatic war, and the Swede in a war with Poland, fermented by Spain; that the king of Denmark was already stripped of great part of his dominions, and the house of Austria on the point of being masters of all the sea-coasts between Dantzick and Embden: that they were arming all the ships they can procure in the Baltic seas, and endeavouring to engage the Hans Towns in their quarrel, in order to deprive the English of the Eastland trade, and make themselves masters of the sea, without striking a blow: that the fleets of France and Spain, were preparing in conjunction to ruin our fishery, and to render it dangerous for our merchant ships to pass from one part of the kingdom to another: that a large armament was fitting out at Lisbon, in order, as there is the greatest reason to fear, to make a descent either in England or Ireland. He then strongly recommended unity, as the only means of disappointing the intentions of the enemy, and pressed them in the most earnest manner to assist the government, as the most constitutional method of imposing the necessary taxes. "This way of parliamentary supplies, added he, as his majesty told you, he hath chosen, not as the only way, but as the fittest; not because he is destitute of others, but because it is most agreeable to the goodness of his own most gracious disposition, and to the desire and weal of his people. If this be deferred, necessity and the sword of the enemy make way to others. Remember his majesty's admonition, I say remember it."

Though the members of this parliament were men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and possessed of such large estates, that it was computed their riches surpassed three times that of the house of peers; though they were all inflamed with the love of liberty, and many of them had suffered by the violent measures of the government; yet they entered upon business with great temper and decorum. They feared that the king, disgusted with popular assemblies, wanted only a fair pretence, offered by any incident or undutiful behaviour of the members, to govern alone with a despotic power; and should that ever happen, no remedy could be hoped for, but from insurrection and civil war, of which the issue would be extremely uncertain, and must, at all events, prove infinitely distressing to the whole nation. Decency of conduct was therefore absolutely necessary to carry on the great work of reformation in the government, and to pass some laws which might secure the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the people.

But though the popular leaders had prescribed a decent conduct to themselves, they did not propose to suffer calmly the grievances under which the nation had lately groaned. They knew that the constitution of their country was at stake, and that every effort must be exerted in its defence. The cry of liberty was therefore echoed in the house of commons as it had anciently been in the Roman senate. "We are called here by his majesty, said Sir Francis Seymour, to give him faithful counsel, such as may conduce to his honour and dignity, and we ought to do it without flattery. We are sent here by the people to deliver them from their grievances, and we ought to do it without fear. Not to be disposed to part with life and fortune when the interest of our king and country required the sacrifice, were not to be good subjects; but, on the other hand, to suffer our property to be taken from us, incon-

sistently with liberty, our inclination, and the laws of our country, this were to be slaves. While we oppose such encroachments we tread only in the steps of our great ancestors, who always preferred the public to their private interest, nay even to their very lives. It will be the highest injury to ourselves, to our posterity, to our consciences, if we forego this claim and pretension."

"I can live, said Sir Robert Phillips, though another, who has no right, be joined with me; nay, I can live, though burthened with impositions, beyond what at present I labour under: but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ravished from me; to have my person pent up in a goal, without relief from law, and to be so adjudged, O! improvident ancestors! O! unwise forefathers! to be so careful in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and, at the same time, to neglect our personal liberty, and suffer us to lie in prison during pleasure, without redress or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? Why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?"

"The same evil, added Sir Thomas Wentworth, affects the king and the people, and the same remedy must heal it. We are to defend,—what?—any new object?—no—our ancient, our legitimate, or vital liberties; we must confirm the laws established by our ancestors; we must put such a seal to them, as no licentious spirit shall dare to break." The whole house agreed in these noble and generous sentiments; even the court party themselves did not pretend to offer any thing but the plea of necessity in defence of the late measures pursued by the ministry, and to which the king had been reduced by the obstinacy of the two last parliaments. No opposition was therefore made to a vote against arbitrary imprisonments and forced loans. This being passed, the house unanimously voted the king five subsidies. This supply, though not equal to his wants, satisfied his majesty, and even the tears of affection started from his eyes, when he was informed of this concession in the commons.

But though the supply was voted, the bill necessary to give it the force of a law was not yet passed, and the commons, in order to have time sufficient to consider the grievances of the nation, appointed a committee to prepare the model of so important a statute, before any draught of it was laid before the house. Some of the commons were, indeed, for passing the subsidy bill with as much expedition as the nature of the subject would admit, before the grievances of the kingdom were taken into consideration; but this was opposed by others with all the enthusiastic warmth of true patriotic zeal. Mr. Creswell, a young gentleman of the law, delivered his sentiments in a very masterly manner. "Give me leave, said he, to resemble justice to Nebuchadnezzar's tree; for she is so great that she shades at once the palace of the prince, the house of the noble and the cottage of the beggar. If therefore either the blasts of indignation, or necessity, the irresistible violator of laws, hath so bruised any part of the branches of this tree, that either our persons, goods, or possessions have not the same shelter as before, let us not, for that reason, neglect the root of this lovely plant; but rather use every possible endeavour to apply to it fresh and fertile mould, and to water it even with our tears, that these bruised branches may be recovered, and the whole tree once more prosper and flourish."

"I well know that kings, though they are only men before the Almighty, are gods among the people: and therefore to my gracious and dread sovereign, whose virtues are ingenerate both in his judgment and nature, let my arm be cut off, nay, let not my soul survive the day that I shall dare to lift



" lift up my hand to touch those forbidden productions, those flowers of his princely crown and diadem. But yet, in our Eden, in this garden of the commonwealth, as there are flowers of the sun, which are too glorious to be touched by any but the hands of royal majesty; so are there also some daisies and wholesome herbs, which every common hand that lives and labours in this garden, may pick and gather up, may take comfort and repose in them. Among all these, this eye of day, this lovely liberty, is, perhaps, the principal. This should be cultivated with the utmost care, nor should any consideration, not even the frowns of power, prevail upon us to abandon its culture."

The speeches of the patriots prevailed; and a committee was appointed to draw up the form of some statute, which having obtained the force of a law, might form a sufficient barrier to their rights and liberties, so lately violated. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers in private houses, and the imposition of martial law, were the grievances complained of, and against these an eternal remedy was to be provided. At last the famous petition of right was drawn up, and presented to the lords for their concurrence; that having thus obtained the sanction of both houses, it might have the force of an act of parliament, as soon as it received the royal assent. Charles used every art to divert this fatal blow to an unlimited prerogative. He repeated his messages to the commons; he endeavoured to gain over some by promises of favour, and to terrify others with threats. All the eloquence of the crown lawyers was exhausted to destroy the principles upon which the petition was founded; and, as the last resource, the king wrote a letter to the lords, informing them, that he could not give up the point of committing offenders to prison in matters of state, without expressing the causes, as that method must often be attended with the most dangerous consequences, such delinquents being generally beyond the reach of the ordinary courts of judicature. He promised, however, to be very tender of his people's privileges, and to commit none for the future for refusing to lend money, and that the causes of all commitments should be expressed as soon as it could be done with safety. This letter, together with the influence of the court party in the house of peers, had great effect on their proceedings; and six weeks were spent in hearing the pleadings of the king's council against, and the arguments of the commons for, the petition of right. During the whole time of the dependence of this petition, the court party did every thing in their power to disconcert the commons in their proceedings; and, in a conference between the two houses, the archbishop of Canterbury, who was sincerely desirous of effecting an union between the king and the commons, proposed, for the sake of peace, to throw the substance of the petition into the form of propositions, to be presented by both houses to the king for his consent. These propositions were the following:

" 1. That his majesty would be pleased graciously to declare, that the good old law called Magna Charta, and the six statutes conceived to be declarations, or explanations of that law, continue still in force to all intents and purposes.

" 2. That his majesty would be pleased graciously to declare, that according to Magna Charta, and the statutes aforesaid, as also according to the most ancient customs and laws of this land, every free subject of this realm hath a fundamental property in his goods, and a fundamental property in his person.

" 3. That his majesty would be pleased graciously to declare, that it is his royal pleasure to ratify and confirm unto all, and every his faithful and loyal subjects, all their ancient, several, just liberties, privileges and rights, in as ample and beneficial a manner to all intents and purposes, as their ances-

tors did enjoy the same, under the government of the best of his most noble progenitors.

" 4. That his majesty would be pleased most graciously to declare, for the good contentment of his loyal subjects, and for the securing them from future fears, that in all causes within the cognizance of the common law, and concerning the liberties of his subjects, his majesty would proceed according to the laws established in the kingdom, and in no other manner.

" 5. And as touching his majesty's royal prerogative, intrinsic to his sovereignty, and intrusted him from God *ad commune totius populi salutem, et non ad destructionem*, his majesty would resolve not to use or divert the same to the prejudice of any of his loyal people, in the property of their goods, or liberty of their persons. And in case, for the security of his majesty's person, the common safety of his people, or the peaceable government of his kingdom, his majesty shall find just cause to imprison or restrain any man's person, his majesty would graciously declare, that within a convenient time, he shall, and will, express the cause of his commitment, or restraint, either general or special, and upon a cause so expressed, will leave him immediately to be tried, according to the common justice of the kingdom."

These propositions were by no means agreeable to the commons; but being very desirous of maintaining a good correspondence with the lords, without whose concurrence all their labours in forming the petition of right must be abortive, they made use of every reason in their power to convince the peers that these propositions were not sufficient to secure the liberty of the subject; a positive law only, in which the rights of the people were fully defined and strongly asserted, could answer the intended purpose. Their reasons at last prevailed. The lords consented to the petition of right, but proposed to subjoin to it the following clause: "We humbly present this petition to your majesty, not only with a care of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave intire that sovereign power, with which your majesty is entrusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of your people."

It required not the penetration of the leaders of the commons to perceive, that this clause, if suffered to be added to the petition of right, would be sufficient to elude its whole force; and it was therefore unanimously rejected. "If (said Sir Thomas Wentworth) we admit this addition, we shall leave the subject in a worse state than we found him, and receive little thanks for our labour when we return home. Let us leave all power to his majesty to punish malefactors; but these laws are not acquainted with sovereign power; we desire no new thing, nor do we offer to trench on his majesty's prerogative; we may not recede from this petition, either in part or in whole." Another conference was therefore held with the lords, where these reasons were thought satisfactory: the petition of right passed both houses of parliament, and is as follows:

" To the king's most excellent majesty,  
I. Humbly shew to our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, That whereas it is declared and enacted, by a statute made in the reign of king Edward I. commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That, from thenceforth, no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason, and the franchise of the land; and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided,

" that



" that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence; or by such like charge: by which the statutes before-mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament.

II. " Yet, nevertheless, of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty; and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered to them not warrantable by the laws and statutes of this realm; and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance before your privy council, and in other places; and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy-council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

III. " And whereas also, by the statute called The Great Charter of the Liberties of England, it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. " And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, That no man, of what state or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

V. " Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause shewed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before justice, by your majesty's writs of habeas corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy-council; and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to law.

VI. " And whereas, of late, great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed in divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. " And whereas also, by authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That no man should be fore-judged of life or limb against the form of the great charter and law of the land: and by the said great charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of parliament: and whereas no offender, of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless, of late, divers commissions, under

" your majesty's great seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

VIII. " By pretext whereof some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death; when and where, if, by the laws and statutes of the realm, they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

IX. " And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborn to proceed against such offenders, according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissioners as aforesaid: which commissions, and all other of like nature, were wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of your realm.

X. " They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent, by act of parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come: and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled: and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth, to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, left, by colour of them, any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. " All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, That the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your majesty would also be pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, That in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom."

The royal assent now only was wanting to give this famous petition the force of a law. The king accordingly came to the house of peers, sent for the commons; and being seated in the chair of state, the petition was read to him; but, to the astonishment of all men, instead of the clear, concise, and usual form by which every bill is confirmed or rejected, Charles made the following answer to the petition: " The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that



"that the statutes be put into due execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself as much obliged, as of his prerogative."

Nothing proves the imprudence of Charles's council more than this strange answer given to the petition of right. He certainly ought either to have passed it in the usual form, or rejected it with firmness. This evasive answer tended only to raise the jealousy and inflame the anger of the commons; for it could not be imagined they would rest satisfied with so vague and undetermined a reply. They accordingly returned in a very ill humour to their house; and gave vent to their indignation by censuring the sermons of Dr. Manwaring, whom they impeached before the peers.

But this censure was far from dissipating the chagrin of the commons, a gloomy silence for some time prevailed, and several of the leading members burst into tears. Their consternation was increased when Sir John Elliot, delivering himself in his usual manner against the minister, was stopped by the speaker, who declared that he was ordered to suffer no such speeches to proceed. Upon this the house came to the following resolution; "That every member of the house is free from any undutiful speech, from the beginning of the parliament unto this day; and ordered that no member presumed to leave the house on pain of being sent to the Tower." This resolution being passed, the speaker, at his own earnest request, was permitted to leave the house, and the debate was immediately renewed in the committee with greater vigour than ever. At last Sir Edward Coke, after an elaborate detail of the power and privileges of the commons, proceeded in the following manner: "What shall we do? Let us palliate no longer; if we do, God will not prosper us. I think the duke of Buckingham is the cause of all our miseries, and till the king be informed thereof, we shall never go out with honour or sit with honour here: that man is the grievance of grievances; let us set down the causes of our disasters, and all will reflect upon him."

This speech was received with the highest applause, every part of the house rang with approving acclamations. Mr. Selden advised that a declaration should be drawn up under four heads. 1. To express the dutiful behaviour of the house towards his majesty. 2. To represent their liberties that are violated. 3. To present what was the real intention of the house. 4. That the duke of Buckingham, fearing lest he might be questioned, interposed and occasioned this distraction. "All this time, continued he, we have cast a mantle over what was done in the last parliament; but being now forced again to look upon that man, let us proceed with what was then well begun, and let the charge be renewed that was made against him last parliament, to which he returned an answer, but the particulars were too insufficient that one might demand judgment upon that answer only."

During these debates the speaker was with the king, informing him of the sense and disposition of the house. Charles was in the utmost perplexity how to behave in this alarming crisis; but understanding by another messenger, that the commons were on the point of naming Buckingham as the author of all their grievances, he sent back the speaker, who obtained a respite of their proceedings till the next day. Charles spent the intermediate space in meditating on what answer he should return to the joint address of both houses for a more satisfactory answer to their petition of right. When the commons met the next day, they proceeded on their intended declaration. Among other heads they mentioned a design which the king had formed of bringing over into England a body of German troops; and Burlamachi, a foreign merchant, being ordered to attend, acknowledged his receiving thirty thousand

pounds by privy seals, for purchasing horses, a thousand of which were actually bought; and were to have been brought over into England; but that he had since heard they were countermanded. No measure surely could be projected more odious to the whole nation. It must, however, be confessed, that the king was so far right, that he had at last fallen upon the only effectual method for supporting his prerogative. But at the same time he should have been sensible, that till he was provided with a sufficient military force, all his attempts, in opposition to the rising spirit of the nation, must, in the end, prove abortive.

It was now sufficiently evident that the whole storm which had been so long gathering, would soon burst upon the head of Buckingham, unless some method could be discovered to prevent it; and no method seemed so proper as that of giving the commons satisfaction with regard to their petition of right. The king, therefore, came to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, "Let it be law as is desired," gave full satisfaction and authority to the petition. The acclamations with which the house resounded, and the universal joy diffused over the whole nation, shewed how much this petition had been the object of the views and expectations of all men.

Had the king given the same answer when he came first to the house of peers, there is the highest probability that it would not have been in the power of the ill-designing members, for such there certainly were at that time among the commons, to have prevented an entire union between him and his people. But the repeated declarations he had made to support every branch of the prerogative, and the avowed tendency of his principles, through the whole progress of the debate, towards despotism, gave many of the members, who wished well to the peace and tranquillity of their country, strong prepossessions against his designs, which through the intermediate discoveries that were made and aggravated to his disadvantage, were improved by his enemies into certainties; and the house of commons thought, that they had now no safety without a change of men as well as of measures. It was therefore pretended, that the petition of right was only declaratory of what the people's rights really were, but was no defence against abuse of the public treasure, against the like miscarriages of national expeditions, and against similar errors in the executive power. This was directly contrary to the opinion of his majesty. He imagined that by passing the petition of right, he had given a full compensation for all that his subjects had suffered through the abuse of prerogative, and that they ought to look upon it as a sufficient security for the future; that he had passed it on condition that all enquiries should cease, both against men and measures, and that the necessary supplies should be cheerfully granted. But though the commons determined to carry on their scrutiny, the bill for five subsidies which had been formerly voted, immediately passed the house; because the granting of that supply was, in a manner, tacitly contracted for, upon the royal assent being given to the petition; and had faith been here violated, no farther confidence could have subsisted between king and parliament.

Buckingham in the mean time was labouring to retrieve his popularity, but in vain; the nation in general had conceived such strong prejudices against him, that all his endeavours could not remove them. About one hundred and fifty members of the commons were for moderate measures, and had voted against the remonstrance; but his enemies prevailed, and every method was employed to force the king to part with his minister. Some time since a commission had been granted to the most considerable officers of the crown, empowering them to concert among themselves the best methods of levying money by impositions or otherwise. The commons endeavoured to make Buckingham the author of this commission,



which they termed a commission of excise, though that term is not so much as mentioned in it. But Charles, to remove even the shadow of a dispute, upon the first suggestion that this commission was contrary to the petition of right, ordered it to be cancelled.

This condescension was, however, far from satisfying the commons. Grievances were every hour multiplied; several resolutions were passed against the authors of them, and the vindictive spirit against the minister was carried on to a much higher pitch than ever. It was now openly said in the house, that the king, by the petition of right, could no longer levy tonnage and poundage. All the members therefore who were desirous of consolidating an union between the king and his parliament, were for granting the king tonnage and poundage by a bill in parliament; because they knew that without this aid, the five subsidies would not be sufficient to defray the expenses of government. But it was necessary that these rates should be settled, and the proportion in which they were to be levied, clearly determined. These, by the arts of the designing members, proved so perplexed a work, that the king, despairing of any farther assistance from this parliament, sent a message to the house, declaring his design of putting an end to the session in a few days. This gave his enemies a pretence for dropping the bill, and to draw up a remonstrance, in which they enumerated the right enjoyed by the people during several reigns of not paying tonnage and poundage, till laid upon them by their own consent in parliament; and then declared to the king, "that receiving tonnage and poundage, and other impositions, not granted by parliament, is a breach of the fundamental liberties of this kingdom, and contrary to his majesty's royal answer to the petition of right."

Exasperated at the behaviour of the commons, Charles no sooner heard of this remonstrance being formed, than he determined to put an end to the session before it could be presented. He accordingly, while the remonstrance was reading in the lower house of commons, came suddenly to the upper, and sending for the commons, prorogued the parliament with the following speech from the throne.

"It may seem strange that I came so suddenly to end this session, before I give my assent to the bills; I will tell you the cause, though I must avow, that I owe the account of my actions to God alone. It is known to every one, that a while ago the house of commons gave me a remonstrance, how acceptable every man may judge, and for the merit of it, I will not call that in question; for I am sure no wise man can justify it.

"Now since I am fully informed that a second remonstrance is preparing for me, to take away the profit of my tonnage and poundage, one of the chief maintenances of my crown, by alledging, I have given away my right thereto, by my answer to your petition.

"This is so prejudicial to me, that I am forced to end this session some few hours, before I meant, being not willing to receive any more remonstrances to which I must give an harsh answer. And since I see, that even the house of commons begin already to make false constructions of what I granted in your petition, lest it be worse interpreted in the country, I will now make a declaration concerning the true intent thereof.

"The profession of both houses, in the time of forming this petition, was no way to trench upon my prerogative, saying they had neither intention nor power to hurt it. Therefore it must needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient liberties of my subjects. Yet to shew the clearness of my intentions, that I neither repent, nor mean to recede from any thing I have promised you, I do here declare myself, that those things which have been done, whereby many have had some cause to expect the liberties of the subject to be trenced upon, which indeed was the

"first and true ground of the petition, shall not hereafter be drawn into example, for your prejudice; and from time to time, on the word of a king, ye shall not have the like cause to complain. But as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me, I am sure, to grant."

"To conclude, I command you all that are here to take notice of what I have spoken at this time, to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your petition; but especially you, my lords, the judges, for to you only, under me, belongs the interpretation of laws; for none of the houses of parliament, either joint or separate, (what new doctrine soever may be raised) have any power either to make or declare a law, without my consent."

It will perhaps be needless to make any reflections on the insatiation which seems to have possessed both the king and the commons at the close of this session. Charles, notwithstanding his passing the petition of right, and receiving the greatest subsidy ever granted to a king of England; notwithstanding the manifest indications that his people were resolved to make him greater and happier than any of his predecessors, could not divest himself from that fatal notion that the taking tonnage and poundage without the consent of parliament, was a prerogative of the crown. The declaration he made in the above speech, that he never meant to give up tonnage and poundage, and that the commons never meant to ask it, was a wretched piece of sophistry. The intention of the commons is sufficiently implied in the petition of right, where it is said, "That they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, without consent of parliament." On the other hand, the leading members of the commons cannot be wholly cleared of a duplicity of conduct in this affair. It is certain that they foreado the difficulty that afterwards happened, and for that reason carefully avoided, in all their debates, the least mention of tonnage and poundage, lest it might obstruct the passing of the petition. This conduct, however, is to be imputed to a few only; for it is sufficiently evident from the great progress made in the bill for granting to the king by law, what he was determined to levy without it, that the house in general meant well. After all some difficulties still remain: nor is it easy to determine, whether Charles had suffered the parliament to continue, some of the members, who were no friends to monarchy, would not have found means to have thrown out the tonnage and poundage bill, or at least to have rendered it ineffectual. But however that be, the precipitate measures pursued by Charles greatly increased that influence, which, by a little moderation and forbearance on his part, must have been destroyed, by the real designs of its authors being discovered.

The nation had now but a melancholy prospect, with regard to the war carried on against France and Spain. Rochelle had for some time been invested, and it was apparent by Richelieu's taking the conduct of the siege upon himself, that he intended to exterminate the Hugonots, whose whole dependence was now upon the English. Charles was sincerely desirous of relieving them, and had given them from time to time assurances of his intention. The earl of Denbigh was accordingly sent in the beginning of May with a fleet to their assistance. This armament consisted of ten ships of the line, and about sixty smaller vessels, most of them transports, carrying about two thousand, two hundred soldiers. As soon as the fleet reached Rochelle, Denbigh found means to inform the inhabitants of that city, that he was come to their relief, and desired they would place lights on as many of the steeples as the months for which they had still provision; but no such signals appearing, it was concluded that they were already in the greatest want of necessaries. The English admiral found the entrance into the harbour guarded by a great







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



FELTON *Assassinating the* DUKE of BUCKINGHAM.



a great number of French ships; and promised the Rochellers, that he would, upon the return of the tide, attack the fleet of the enemy. During the night, a battery of nine pieces of cannon was erected at the mouth of the harbour, and played furiously on the English; and before noon the next day, the French ships were filled with troops; an army of land forces was drawn up upon the shore to oppose their landing, and all the necessary dispositions were made for a vigorous defence, in case any attack should be made by the English. These difficulties did not, however, intimidate the English admiral; he prepared to relieve the place, and to sink the French ships that guarded the passage into the harbour; but the wind changing, he was obliged to lay aside his design. Three days after, he attacked the French ships on one side, while the Rochellers cannonaded their land forces on the other, and brought up four of their largest vessels, which had been purposely built to draw as little water as possible, in order to pass the bar; but found the attempt impracticable, not only for want of water, but also from the dispositions the French had made to defend the passage. A few of the smaller ships, however, passed the bar, but were so warmly opposed by the French artillery, that they were obliged to return. Upon this miscarriage, a council of war was held; where some of the English captains were of opinion, that the relief of the place was impracticable, and that the Rochellers had deceived them with regard to the facility of entering the harbour. This opinion was, however, by no means unanimous; for the English vice-admiral, and one captain Carr, exclaimed against the pusillanimity of the rest; and the few small ships in the fleet, belonging to the French protestants, offered, by the assistance of four merchantmen well armed, with three fire-ships, and a proportional number of land forces, to throw a quantity of provisions into the town. The earl of Denbigh, however, refused the offer, notwithstanding the Rochellers agreed to pay for all the English ships that might miscarry in this attempt. But neither this offer, nor the tears and prayers of the deputies of Rochelle, could prevail upon Denbigh. He returned to England, where he was loaded with calumny and disgrace.

The enemies of Buckingham had industriously circulated the remonstrances of the commons against him in every part of the nation. He perceived his dreadful situation; and found the wings of royal authority, broad as they were, too narrow to shelter him from the dreadful storm raised against him by the parliament. He plainly saw that no efforts of his own, no concessions of his master, could recover his credit, and that nothing less than his blood could satisfy his enemies. He therefore threw aside all other considerations, and resolved, if possible, to signalize himself, and recover the favour of the people, however he might stand with the parliament; and well knew, that nothing could so readily effect this as his relieving Rochelle. He accordingly caused ten ships of a particular form, and peculiarly adapted to pass the bar, to be built with the utmost expedition, and made the necessary dispatches for sailing, to relieve that place, now reduced to the last extremity. But a fixed gloom was settled on his countenance; he appeared abroad with omens of misfortune in his aspect; his unsteady motions, his dark expressions, his earnestly recommending his wife and children to Charles, his frequent solitary entertainments with his mother, his reflections on the tender ties of nature, and the soft endearments of life, which he was just going to leave behind him, sufficiently declared that he feared his approaching fate. But nothing unbecoming a man escaped from his lips: and the fleet being ready to sail, he repaired to Portsmouth, determined to relieve Rochelle, or perish in the attempt.

One Felton, a man of a good family, but of a gloomy, enthusiastic disposition, had served in the

station of lieutenant under the duke, in his late expedition to Rhé. His captain being killed in the retreat, Felton applied to Buckingham for the company; but being refused, he threw up his commission, and retired, discontented, from the army. The remonstrance of the commons roused at once both his resentment and enthusiastic fury; he was now convinced, that it would be a meritorious service in the sight of heaven to murder Buckingham, whom the parliament had accused as the author of all the misfortunes of his country. Filled with these ideas, he repaired to Portsmouth, fully determined to put his bloody design into immediate execution.

Early in the morning of the twenty-third of August, Buckingham received some advices, informing him, that a small convoy of provisions had got safe into Rochelle. This intelligence he communicated to the duke of Soubise, and other French gentlemen in his train, who insisted, with great vehemence, that the whole was false, and calculated only to retard the sailing of the fleet. During these assertions, the duke drew towards the door; and turning himself in the passage, to speak to Sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, he was stabbed by an unknown hand, over Sir Thomas's shoulder. The knife, with which the wound was given, reached his heart; and, without uttering any other words, than "The villain has killed me," he drew out the knife, and immediately expired in a deluge of his own blood.

As no person had seen the hand that gave the blow, it was conjectured, that the murder had been perpetrated by the French gentlemen, whose angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words had not been understood by the people. Some were for putting them to death immediately, but were prevented by the more considerate part, who thought it highly reasonable they should undergo a lawful trial. In the midst of this confusion, a hat was found near the door, in the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing three or four lines of the remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom. All were now convinced that this hat belonged to the assassin; but there was sufficient reason to think he had escaped far enough; during the tumult, not to be found without a hat. They were, however, mistaken; Felton never attempted to fly from justice, and he was soon perceived walking very sedately before the door without his hat. He was immediately seized, confessed the murder, and seemed to triumph in the action. The enraged soldiers drew their swords, and were for sacrificing him immediately on the spot. Their fury had no effect upon Felton; he readily exposed his breast to their swords, and seemed willing to fall a present victim to their anger. Their fury was, however, prevented; and the assassin was secured. Some gentlemen, desirous of finding whether Felton had any accomplices, hinted that Buckingham, though dangerously wounded, was not dead, and that there were great hopes of his recovery. Felton smiled at this, and replied, in words very expressive of his enthusiasm, "I know that he is dead; (said he) for I had the force of forty men when I struck the blow." Being questioned with regard to the persons by whose instigations he had performed the horrid deed, he told them, that their inquiries were useless; that no person upon earth had credit sufficient with him to have disposed him to undertake such an action; that no man living was privy to his purpose; that the resolution proceeded wholly from the impulse of his own conscience; and that if his hat was found, his motives would sufficiently appear: for, persuaded that he should perish in the attempt, he had taken care to explain them; that no innocent person might suffer on his account.

Charles was at church when the news was brought him of his favourite's death; but he was so earnest in his devotions, that no discomposure appeared in his action, nor alteration in his countenance. The service was,



was, however, no sooner over, than he retired to his chamber, and gave vent to his sorrows in a flood of tears. And during his whole life, expressed his regard for Buckingham by a series of munificent acts towards his widow, his children, and his friends. Some of the council, and bishop Laud in particular, threatened Felton with the rack, if he did not discover his accomplices. But this had no effect upon the assassin: he calmly replied, "that if he was put to the torture, he did not know whom he might name in the extremity of anguish, perhaps the bishop himself." The judges, however, being consulted, declared, that though that practice had been formerly common, no man, by the laws of England, could be put to the torture. Reflection and confinement had more effect on the enthusiastic spirit of Felton than all their threatenings. He seemed, in some measure, to recover from his delusion, expressed remorse for what he had done, and suffered death with composure and resignation.

Thus fell, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, the celebrated George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, whose rise was sudden, his promotions rapid, and his end untimely. As a minister, he deserved the public hatred, as much as he was unworthy of the favour of the two monarchs whom he had exposed to so many misfortunes. As a man, he merited the highest reproaches of the good and the virtuous. It is impossible to excuse either James or his son for their attachment to a man who had neither merit nor virtue. To how many calamities are states exposed, when the royal favour invests with power an unprincipled wretch, who lies under no restraint with regard to its exercise!

The concern shewed by Charles for the death of his favourite did not, however, extinguish his desire of relieving Rochelle. He gave the command of the armament to the earl of Lindsey, and repaired in person to Portsmouth, in order to hasten the sailing of the fleet. His presence had such effect, that more was done in ten or twelve days, than in almost as many weeks before. It was, however, the eighth of September, before the fleet sailed from Portsmouth, when the vast genius of Richelieu had finished a work thought impossible to be executed in so short a space of time: this was a mole of more than a mile in length, carried across the mouth of the harbour, in that boisterous ocean, and by means of which all relief by sea was cut off. On the eighteenth of September, the fleet reached the road of Rochelle; but a calm coming on, it was the twentieth before the ships approached the mole, when a furious cannonade began, and continued for two hours, without any great loss on either side. Next day the cannonading continued, but with less vigour; though it was known, by a gentleman who had found means to escape from Rochelle, that the inhabitants, unless relieved in two days, must surrender. But even this intelligence produced no effect on the English captains, who appear to have been destitute of experience, and some of them of courage. The duke of Soubise offered to attempt the mole with the French ships, provided the English would promise to follow him; but this proposal was rejected, in a council of war, by a majority of the English captains. The count Laval next proposed, with the help of artificial mines, contrived in three ships, to attempt to blow up the mole; but this was also rejected, and the time was spent in fruitless cannonading. At last it was determined, in a council of war, to make one general and decisive attack upon the mole; but before the design could be carried into execution, the besieged were obliged to capitulate. Of fifteen thousand persons who had been shut up in the town, four thousand only survived the fatigues and famine they had undergone. A more shocking scene of calamity was never beheld than Rochelle presented at the time of its surrender. The living were not sufficient to bury the dead, so that vermin and birds of prey devoured the uninterred bodies in the streets. Many

carried their own coffins into the church-yards, to lie down in them, never more to rise; and the few inhabitants who survived appeared rather as spectres and skeletons than men.

The reduction of Rochelle was the first necessary step towards the prosperity of France. Foreign enemies, as well as domestic factions, being deprived of that resource, the kingdom began to shine out in its full splendor, and gradually to gain an ascendancy over the rival power of Spain. The French king, however, used his conquest with great moderation; the Hugonots still enjoyed a toleration, though every order of the state, and every sect, were obliged to pay submission to the lawful authority of the sovereign.

The failure of the enterprize to Rochelle tended greatly to diminish the king's authority in the parliament during the approaching session. Nor did his measures at home tend to raise the character of his government. He again revived the iniquitous opinions of the judges, and some oppressive practices in former times, to justify the imposition of twenty shillings a ton upon wines, and five shillings and sixpence a hundred upon currants; he even declared in full council, that the tax should be levied with rigour, and such merchants as refused to pay it exemplarily punished. He was not insensible of the ferment which these proceedings must occasion in the kingdom, but took no pains to prevent it. His coffers were now full, and he could talk with his parliament upon more equal terms than before. It was therefore resolved to justify the proceedings of the government upon this principle, that though his majesty's predecessors had raised tonnage and poundage by act of parliament, yet they had, in fact, levied it in the late reigns when no such act subsisted: that if the parliament would agree to pass such an act, and make it commence from the beginning of the king's reign, his majesty's proceeding would be justified under that act, and he would desist from his claim of raising the tax by his prerogative; but if no such bill passed, his majesty would be justified, because he did no more than had been done by his predecessors.

The king was confirmed in these resolutions by the late success that had attended his endeavours to bring over the famous Sir Thomas Wentworth to his interest. This gentleman had been a principal leader in the opposition, and was considered by all parties as one of the most able members of the British senate. On his embracing the measures of the court, he was created viscount Wentworth, and earl of Strafford, and placed at the head of the ministry. Ashamed at what the party he had abandoned termed apostacy, Strafford, for some time, concealed his change of sentiments; but at last boldly justified it, by saying, that he had gone as far in the opposition as was consistent with his conscience, or the constitution of his country; and that he had not left his party till he perceived they had views of a very different nature from the redress of grievances, or an alteration of measures. These excuses were treated as chimerical by the heads of the party he had forsaken; and Mr. Pym in particular desired Wentworth not to take any pains in justifying his conduct, but added, "Though you have left us, we will not leave you, while your head is on your shoulders."

AD. 1629 The parliament met on the tenth of January, and immediately proceeded to take into consideration every thing that had been transacted against the liberty of the subject, and in direct opposition to the petition of right. Several complaints were immediately made to the house by merchants, whose goods had been seized in consequence of their having refused to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage. While the members were employed in debating on this subject with their usual violence, the king sent a message to the commons, desiring they would proceed no farther in that business, till he could speak to both houses in person at Whitehall. The lords



lords and commons accordingly attended him the next day, when he endeavoured to justify his conduct on the principles already mentioned to have been laid down in his council. He blamed the commons for their general resolution of enquiring into all the infractions of the petition of right, and recommended to their dispatch; the bill for tonnage and poundage, which, he said, would have been passed last session, had there been time sufficient for that purpose, and it was upon that presumption he had ordered his officers to act in the manner they had done.

But instead of following his majesty's directions, the violent members, who were no strangers to the effect of speeches in popular assemblies, turned the attention of the house to matters of religion; poured out the most inveterate invectives against Arminianism, which they termed the spawn of popery; but in reality they meant nothing more by the term, than bishop Laud and his party, who in that particular point of doctrine were more justifiable than in any other. An Arminian was said to be as bad as a papist, and some declared that they feared his success more, than a second invasion by a Spanish armada. When the house was sufficiently heated by declamatory speeches, Mr. Pym moved to give religion the precedency of all other matters. The motion was agreed to, and a committee appointed accordingly. This was a great point gained, especially as under the head of religion they voted "an enquiry into all ecclesiastical preferments; into the cessation of the execution of the laws against papists; into the employments and encouragements they had obtained; into the growth of superstitious ceremonies, of which Cousins, a prebendary of Durham, was mentioned as the principal author; and into the growth of heresies, false doctrines, and other opinions." The consideration of so many subjects could not fail of employing the house for a great length of time.

Charles saw the intention of the commons, but thought it imprudent to break with them immediately merely because they refused to proceed to the bill of tonnage and poundage; he thought, and indeed very reasonably, that he could better justify any violent measures he might afterwards be obliged to take, if he allowed them to carry to the utmost extremity their attacks upon his government and prerogative. He therefore contented himself for the present with soliciting the house by messages and speeches. But the commons, instead of listening to his solicitations, proceeded to carry their censorial scrutiny into his management of religion, the only grievance to which they had not as yet applied a sufficient remedy by the petition of right.

But though they pretended the utmost regard for religion, their principal design was to wrest from the king the duties of tonnage and poundage, in order to render him absolutely dependent on the parliament for support. The right of tonnage and poundage on the importation and exportation of merchandize, though originally the mere gift of the people, had been so strongly confirmed to the crown since the reign of Henry IV. that the kings of England had always claimed it from the moment of their accession. This right, which had been granted for life to former princes, was allowed to Charles only for one year. Finding that the intention of the commons was to strip him of it entirely, he sent them a message, importing, "That he had never pretended to look upon it as a branch of the prerogative; that necessity alone had compelled him to levy it till that time, and, in order to terminate all disputes upon that subject, requested that the commons would pass the bill, that he might receive it as a gift from his people."

This message, like all the rest, was disregarded by the commons, they continued to give the preference to religion, and made some attempts to annul the consecration of Montague, lately promoted to the see of Colchester, for certain complaints that had been offered against him by one Jones, an obscure person:

but failing in this unaccountable attempt, they attacked the pardons that had been granted to Montague, Mainwaring, Sibthorpe, and other divines of Laud's party, who had been censured by the commons. It was upon this occasion that Oliver Cromwell, who had then a seat in the house, first distinguished his zeal, by shewing how instrumental Neile, bishop of Winchester, had been in procuring these pardons. Sir Robert Philips called upon the attorney-general to give an account by what authority he drew these pardons, and a committee was appointed accordingly. Upon enquiry it appeared, that the warrants had been brought to the attorney-general by the earl of Dorset and the lord Carleton, and that the bishop of Winchester had corrected them with his own hand, and inserted the names of Cousins, Mainwaring and Sibthorpe. It also appeared upon farther enquiry, that an information had been given upon oath against Cousins, for denying the king's supremacy in matters of religion, and that the attorney-general had, from a hint given him by the bishop of Winchester, disregarded the information, because it came from one King, whom the bishop said was a very empty fellow and deserved no credit. Elliot upon this discovery was very severe upon the attorney-general, whom he threatened with an impeachment for high-treason for a neglect of duty.

While the house was engaged in these religious disputes, Mr. Rolls, one of the members, complained to the house, that he had the day before been served with a subpoena to attend the court of star-chamber, but that at night he received a letter from the attorney-general intimating, that it had been done by mistake of the messenger, and that the information should be withdrawn. The house, however, voted the serving of Rolls with a subpoena to be a breach of privilege. They also proceeded to enquire into the grievances of other merchants, and to censure the officers who had seized their goods for refusing to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage. These proceedings alarmed the king, and a council was summoned to consider the most proper method to be pursued on this occasion. And as the house of commons had founded their resolution upon an opinion, that the custom-house officers had seized the goods upon their own account, Charles thought proper to send a message to the house, importing, "That what was formerly done by his farmers and officers of the customs, was done by his own direction and command, being himself, for the most part, present in council: and if he had at any time been absent from the board, yet he was minutely acquainted with all their transactions, gave full directions in every particular, and therefore in this could not sever the act of his officers from his own, nor could his officers suffer for it without the highest dishonour to his majesty." The house was so highly exasperated at this message, that after many bitter speeches, the question was proposed to be put, that the seizing Mr. Rolls goods was a breach of privilege; but the speaker informed the house that he was commanded by his majesty not to put the question. This threw the house into the utmost consternation, and they adjourned themselves for one day. When they met, the speaker told them, that he had the king's command for a farther adjournment, and to put no question. Having made this declaration he rose and left the chair; but was pushed back again into it, and detained there by force by Mr. Hollis and Mr. Valentine, while Sir John Elliot read the following remonstrance:

1. "Whoever shall make any innovations in religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism, or other opinions contrary to the truth and the orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to his kingdom and commonwealth.

2. "Whoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor

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or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

3. "If any merchant or other person whatsoever, shall voluntarily yield, or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage; not being granted by parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England; and an enemy to the same."

This remonstrance was passed by acclamation rather than by vote; while many of the members, thinking the leaders had gone too far in their opposition, expressed their dislike of the whole proceeding, and the greatest indecencies, even to blows, were committed. The king sent the gentleman-usher of the house of lords, but the doors were locked and he could obtain no admittance till the remonstrance was finished. As soon as the door was opened, he, by the king's order, took the mace from the table, which put an end to their proceedings; and a few days after the parliament was dissolved.

Such were the proceedings of this famous parliament, whose heats concerning religion, and their bitterness against all who were suspected of what they termed Arminianism, were as unjustifiable and as undutiful, as the noble stand they made for the personal liberties and properties of the subject were memorable and glorious.

This violent rupture between the king and his parliament alarmed the nation; but Charles took no care to make use of lenient measures, which might, perhaps, have effected a reconciliation. On the contrary, he inflamed the discontents of the people, by a severity which he wanted power, perhaps inclination, to carry to extremity. He committed Denzil Holles, esq; Sir John Elliot, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, John Selden, esq; William Coriton, Walter Long, William Shoude, and Benjamin Valentine, to prison, on account of the late tumultuous proceedings in the house, which were termed seditious. Elliot, Holles, and Valentine were brought to their trial in the court of king's bench: but refusing to answer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to find sureties for their good behaviour, and to be fined, the two former a thousand pounds a piece, and the latter five hundred. Sir John Elliot died in custody, and was universally considered as a martyr for the liberties of England.

Charles, that he might no longer be harassed with the turbulence of the commons, made peace with France, abandoning the Hugonots to the mercy of Lewis XIII. and soon after concluded a treaty with the Spaniards, from whom he obtained nothing more than a general promise of their using their good offices in restoring the elector palatine. Being thus at peace with the neighbouring powers, eased of a burthen too heavy for him, instructed by experience, naturally moderate, virtuous from principle, no longer a slave to the pernicious counsels of Buckingham, and blest with an able minister in Wentworth, earl of Strafford, it was natural to think that the troubles of his reign were over, and that a series of tranquillity would succeed the storms of popular contention. But this was not the case. New difficulties, new causes of distrust, arose among the people, and the olive wand of peace diffused not domestic felicity over the kingdom. So difficult is it to govern happily, when faction has weakened the resources of government.

A. D. 1630. Charles, like his father, was a theologian, and equally zealous to maintain his system of religion, as to support the prerogative of his crown. Unfortunately for him, and unfortunately for the peace of the kingdom, the king honoured with his confidence Laud, bishop of London, a prelate whose disinterested principles and strict morals were doubtless praise-worthy; but whose superstitious prejudices, obstinate zeal, enterprising spirit, and inflexible firmness, in opposition to the spirit of the

nation, threatened the greatest misfortunes to the state. Laud was very desirous of advancing the power of the priesthood, and of multiplying church ceremonies; several of which he introduced, and most of them very similar to those of the Romish church. The puritans beheld, with horror, what they termed abominable superstitions. The communion-table railed in, the ministers dressed in hoops to administer the sacrament, the communicants obliged to receive it kneeling, the crucifix and other images placed in the churches, were, in their eyes, so many scandalous attributes of anti-christ. The court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and in order to forward Laud's good intentions, an offer was twice made him in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting. The general cry, however, was, that the bishop of London was endeavouring to restore popery. One of the daughters of the earl of Devonshire having turned catholic, was asked by Laud the reason of her conversion: "It is principally," replied she, because I hate to travel in a crowd: for perceiving that you and numbers more are making preparations for Rome, I thought it more convenient to set out before you, that I might not be jostled in the multitude."

But if the bishop and his partizans carried the spiritual jurisdiction too high on one hand, and thereby incurred the hatred of the people, they did not fail, on the other, to preach up the most implicit obedience to the royal authority, the sure means of obtaining the favour of his majesty. Laud was accordingly advanced to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, which empowered him to exercise a kind of despotism with vigour in the church. Distressed for money, notwithstanding the strictest economy, Charles began to make a freer use of his authority. Illegal as the collection of tonnage and poundage was, the council pressed it with the utmost violence. This induced the great merchants to enquire more than ever into its legality, and were soon convinced that the principle on which it was founded struck at the root of liberty. This alarmed the whole fraternity of merchants, and their fears were greatly increased by the publication of the following resolutions of the council.

"That warrants should be directed to the officers of the customs in the port of London, and elsewhere, to seize and detain the goods of any person, who should attempt to land them without warrant till the duties were paid."

"And that such merchants goods as remained on ship-board, should be removed into store-houses on the custom-house quay; and for want of room into the Tower, there to remain till his majesty's duties, and the freight due to ship-masters were satisfied."

"And whereas attempts were made by replevin, directed to the sheriff of London, to obtain those goods out of the king's store-houses, the messengers of the council were ordered to detain them in their custody, and to apprehend all persons who should presume to make resistance."

At the same time strict orders were sent to the officers and chief magistrates of the chief ports of the kingdom, to assist the officers of the customs, in case any opposition should be made by refractory persons. Sir Francis Cottingham was authorized to call before him such merchants as had been trusted by the collectors for sums now due by customs, and who had protracted the payment; and to require them to pay the several sums they owed his majesty without delay.

Warrants were also issued from the council empowering their messengers to enter any ship, vessel, house, warehouse, or cellar, to break any bulk whatever, and seize the goods, in default of paying the accustomed duties; and to apprehend all persons who shall publish scandalous speeches against his majesty and his government, or cause any disturbance.

Nor were these the only methods taken by the king for raising money on his subjects without the consent of parliament. He published a proclamation, "declaring



“ declaring his majesty’s royal pleasure to confirm to his subjects their defective titles, estates, and possessions, by his commission lately granted and renewed for that purpose.” But notwithstanding the specious title of this proclamation, the people in general considered it only as an expedient to raise money without the consent of parliament; and this increased the alarming discontent already disseminated in every part of the nation. But this was trifling when compared with the spirit raised by another proclamation, published on the thirteenth of July, “ for the ease of the subjects in making their compositions for not receiving the order of knighthood according to law.” The reader may recollect, that in the former part of this history, many instances have been given of subjects vested with a certain degree of property being obliged to take upon them the order of knighthood. This property was very fluctuating in different reigns; and there was an obsolete, though unrepealed statute, called, “ Statutum de militibus,” passed in the reign of Edward II. which obliged all subjects possessed of fifteen pounds a year in land, to take upon them the order of knighthood, provided they were fit for that duty. The order was generally conferred at the coronation; and Charles, on account of the plague’s raging in London at the time when he received the crown, had dispensed with the attendance of such subjects as were qualified to be knights. But being now distressed for money, this dispensation was considered only as a matter of convenience. It was pretended, that the right of imposing the honour, which was attended with a large expence of fees, remained still with the crown; and that the king was at liberty to oblige all persons, properly qualified, either to be knighted, or pay composition money to certain commissioners appointed to receive it: the qualification was fixed at forty pounds a year. It is not easy to conceive a project more absurd, more unreasonable, and more unjust, than this. As the whole system of feudal services in person, during war, was now abolished, there was not the least pretence for reviving this tax, but a statute which had been made when these services were in full force. Add to this, that if fifteen pounds a year was, in the time of Edward II. a proper qualification, two hundred pounds a year at least ought to have been the qualification under Charles I. The king, while any hopes remained of obtaining supplies from his parliament, had desisted from collecting so invidious a tax; but it was now revived with so much vigour, that many were put to great expences in the exchequer and star-chamber for refusing to pay the composition money, which was required to be one third and a half of what the persons so compounding were found rated in the subsidy.

These proceedings intimidated so many persons, that the king received above one hundred thousand pounds composition money. Besides these, Charles granted oppressive patents, and monopolies, among which those on soap and starch are particularly complained of as very burdensome to the lower class of people. It is surprizing with what patience these impositions were borne by the people; they occasioned no disturbances in any part of the kingdom. It must, however, be observed, to the honour of the judges, that they opposed many of these oppressions; and to the honour of the king, that he dropped them on their representations. Perhaps more of them had been annihilated, had not Charles been persuaded by his flatterers, that they were not burthensome to the people; that he had an undoubted right to levy them; that his parliament had been the aggressors; that the house of commons and the people were distinct bodies; that though he was, perhaps, acting against the sense of the former, he was acting for the good of the latter; while the tides of commerce flowed in so fast, that their riches, as well as patience, were inexhaustible.

Charles was better pleased to govern by his prerogative alone, than in conjunction with his parliament;

and left the hopes of relief or protection from the commons might encourage opposition, the king issued a proclamation, in which he declared, “ That whereas, for several ill ends, the calling again of a parliament is divulged; though his majesty has shewn, by frequent meeting with his people, his love to the use of parliaments: yet the late abuse having, for the present, driven him unwillingly out of that course; he will account it presumption in any one to prescribe to him any time for the calling that assembly.” This was generally considered as a declaration, that, during this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be summoned.

The eyes of the English were now turned towards their beloved object, the queen of Bohemia; and the king was very desirous of procuring some relief for his unfortunate sister; and her family. He joined his good offices with those of France; and mediated a peace between the kings of Poland and Sweden, in hopes of engaging the latter to undertake the protection of the distressed protestants in the empire. This was the famous Gustavus Adolphus, whose heroic genius, seconded by the wisest policy, rendered him, in a few years, the most distinguished monarch of the age. Charles, to encourage and assist him in his projected invasion of Germany, agreed to furnish him with six thousand men; but in order to maintain the appearance of neutrality, he made use of the marquis of Hamilton’s name, a nobleman nearly allied to the crown. Hamilton accordingly entered into an engagement with Gustavus; and inlisting these troops in England and Scotland, at the king’s expence, he landed them at the mouth of the Elbe. Gustavus was greatly pleased when he heard the English were landed, and promised to join them as soon as possible with the stipulated number of forces destined to conquer Silesia.

It is inconceivable what service the appearance of so fine a body of men did to the protestant cause. Their numbers were greatly exaggerated by their enemies through fear, and by their friends through design; and so great was the reputation of their valour, that the celebrated victory gained a few weeks after by the Swedish monarch over count Tilly at Leipsick, was, in a great measure, owing to their reputation. What remained of that hero’s life was one continued series of victories, for which he was much less beholden to fortune than to those personal endowments which he derived from nature, and from industry. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, commanded by the most celebrated generals of the age, were foiled in every encounter, and all Germany was over-run in an instant by the victorious Swede. But, by this extraordinary and unexpected success of his ally, Charles failed of the purpose for which he framed the alliance. Elated by prosperity, and no stranger to ambition, Gustavus began to form more extensive plans; and after freeing Germany from the yoke of Ferdinand, he intended to reduce it under subjection to his own. Full of these ideas, he refused to restore the Palatine to his principality, except on conditions that would have kept him in total dependence. And thus the negotiation was protracted till the battle of Lutzen, where the Swedish hero perished in the midst of a complete victory which he obtained over his enemies.

A. D. 1631. The incapacity of the lord treasurer Weston to execute that important post; had been, for some time, evident, and now became every day more glaring by the contrast between his abilities and those of Wentworth, who was now made president of the council of York. This court had been erected, after a rebellion in the north, by a patent from Henry VIII. without any authority of parliament; and this exercise of power, like many others, was indulged by that arbitrary monarch. The council of York had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but besides some innovations introduced by James, Charles thought proper, some time after Wentworth was made president, to extend its powers, and to give it a large



large civil jurisdiction; and, in some measure, a discretionary power. Possibly the king's intention in this was nothing more than to free the inhabitants of the northern counties from the trouble, expence, and fatigue, of attending the courts at Westminster; but it soon appeared, that the inhabitants were, by this means, deprived of the protection of the ordinary law; and subjected to an arbitrary authority. And accordingly, some irregular proceedings in that court were now complained of, and tended to exasperate the people still more against the government. When Wentworth was gained over to the court party, Sir Dudley Digges was made master of the rolls, Noy attorney-general, and Littleton solicitor-general. All these were leading men in the house of commons. But it soon appeared, that the same abilities which are sufficient to perplex a court by their opposition, are not capable of effectually serving it by their compliance. Charles flattered himself, that by engaging those eminent leaders in his service, his government would meet with no more opposition, and that a calm tranquillity would be established in this kingdom during the remainder of his reign; but his own upright intentions to make the virtues of his ministers supply the laws of his country, fatally deceived him. Laud pursued the puritans with unremitting fury, and was fond of introducing new ceremonies into the church, and of carrying to the utmost height the power of the priesthood.

A.D. 1632. But if the furious conduct of this imperious churchman alarmed the moderate English, it struck the Scottish presbyterians with terror. They were, in general, men as violent for one extreme as Laud was for the other; and the dreadful shock, when both afterwards encountered, crushed the church, the monarchy, and the constitution. When Mary was driven from the throne of Scotland, the constitution of that kingdom became such a confused mixture of monarchical, aristocratical, democratical, and ecclesiastical powers, that it hardly deserved the name. The prudent government of James, while he continued in Scotland, and the unsuccessful attempts of the bigotted zealots to establish their favourite model of religion, gave the crown great advantages; so that about the year 1621, episcopacy was restored in Scotland. James had been wisely cautious in the promotion of his bishops; they were, in general, men of great moderation, and well acquainted with the genius of the people; for which reason they strongly opposed every attempt to bring the discipline and worship of the church of Scotland to a nearer conformity with that of England. The truth is, nothing in the principles of the first reformers, either in Scotland or foreign parts, was against a subordination of ecclesiastical government. All of them, indeed, concurred, that the popish bishops should be removed; but neither their plan of government, nor that of power, was so fixed, as to enable them to agree who should succeed them, though, in general, they suffered those who embraced the tenets of the reformation to retain both their revenues and appellations. But what at first was no more than a matter of convenience, soon became a point of principle. The estates of their great men were chiefly composed out of the spoils of the church; and the misfortune was, that the power of the crown was not sufficient to prevent these dilapidations. The acts of parliament in favour of the present possessors, gave them infinite advantage; but the circumstances under which these parliaments were held, rendered their authority liable to many just exceptions. While the king touched not this jarring string of ecclesiastical government, the parliament submitted to the prerogative in as full a manner as it had ever been exercised; but the landholders of Scotland could not, without the utmost concern, see the least increase of episcopal power, or any nearer conformity of their church with that of England, because they considered every step as an approximation towards the re-assumption of church-lands. During the whole

reign of James, the Scottish bishops had been contented to act rather as presidents in their ecclesiastical meetings, than the fathers of the church, in the common acceptation of their character. When a see happened to be vacant, James always ordered the bishops to present him with the names of such men as they thought most proper to fill it, and he generally pitched upon the best qualified. Hence the bishops, in a manner nominating one another, lived in harmony among themselves, and acted so moderately, that the noblemen and great landholders in Scotland became pretty well reconciled both to their temper and their character. Happy would it have been for Charles, had he preserved the same moderate conduct. But Laud detested all moderation in church government, and Charles would listen to no advice but that of Laud. That imperious churchman represented, in the highest terms, the dignity of the episcopal character: he displayed an army of martyrs who had died in its defence: he called to his aid all the tyrants of the eastern empire who had favoured it: he poured forth a profusion of quotations, from what he called the fathers of the church; and, upon the whole, succeeded in convincing Charles, that the least defect of reverence, either to the government, the doctrine, or the worship of his church, struck at the most sacred rights of the crown. Nor was this all: Laud was of opinion, that the church of England, as left by James, was imperfect in its worship. To prove this, he produced some opinions, which, in the twilight of reformation, when several prelates wavered between the old and the new religion, had been maintained in the convocation, and sometimes in their writings. The authorities of the weakest of the fathers of the church were produced, to prove, that certain forms and ceremonies, things as indifferent in themselves as Laud's own dreams, had been formerly practised, and hence he inferred that they were essentials in religion.

But Charles, however warm and serious in these matters, was persuaded that these ceremonies had so near a resemblance to popery, that it would be imprudent to attempt their introduction all at once among a people accustomed to think in the opposite extreme. It was therefore determined previously to new-model the hierarchy, by introducing gradually a set of men of very different principles from those that now filled the sees of Scotland, in order to restore authority and discipline to the church, and purity and splendor to her worship. The vacant bishoprics were accordingly filled with such men as had neither the virtues nor abilities necessary for filling their stations, in a country where the minutest parts of their conduct were severely scrutinized by the piercing eye of puritanical enthusiasm.

Enemies to episcopal government, but without either power or pretence of opposing these promotions, the Scots made not the least opposition; but under the pretence of fasts and other religious exercises, they formed many secret resolutions for strengthening their party. They, however, still behaved with all the external marks of the most implicit submission to the established government; they went no farther than a protest in parliament against the measures they could not approve. Charles was so much imposed upon by these appearances of acquiescence, that he thought he should meet with nothing in that country to oppose his pleasure; and imagined that his presence, the splendid appearance of his court, and the weight of his authority, would bear down the small remains of opposition, and fix the authority of the crown on a basis that could not be shaken.

A.D. 1633. Full of these pleasing ideas, and desirous of being crowned in his ancient kingdom, he set out for Scotland, attended by the whole flower of the English nobility, who vied with each other in the splendor of their equipages. It was the fifteenth of June before Charles reached Edinburgh; and on the eighteenth, he was crowned in that city with the utmost



utmost pomp and magnificence. On the twentieth the parliament met, and gave Charles every thing he desired. Two acts, indeed, met with some opposition. The first, besides establishing the king's prerogative, gave him power to prescribe what habits he pleased to the ecclesiastics of Scotland; and by the second, the alienations formerly made of tythes, and other estates of the clergy, were revoked.

Many of the English nobility that attended the king, and disliked Laud and his principles, soon perceived the Scots were far from approving the bill that gave Charles the power of regulating the habits of the clergy. The dreadful surplice was before their eyes; and they apprehended, with some reason, that under the sanction of this law, it would soon be introduced among them. This discovery prompted the English nobility to attempt another; namely, the real strength of the royal party in Scotland. The courtiers had been at great pains to have it believed, that the Scots, who had been ennobled and enriched by Charles and his father, were men of the greatest interest, as well as property, in their country. But the falshood of these suggestions was easily perceived by Charles's attendants: they saw the Scots in general treat with great contempt the royal favourites of their own nation; and were soon convinced, that the persons of the greatest weight and property there were in the country interest. This discovery tended to lessen the terror, conceived by the English on account of the king's power in Scotland; and laid the foundation of a correspondence between the principal persons of the two kingdoms, and which was not broken off till both found themselves engaged in all the horrors of a civil war.

Soon after the king's return from Scotland, Juxon was placed in the see of London; and also made lord high treasurer. He was a person of great integrity, mildness, humanity, and understanding; but all his virtues could not procure him the friendship of the puritans. He was a lover of hunting, and other sports of the field; a sufficient reason, however eminent in virtue, to procure him the hatred of those whose religion admitted not of the least relaxation. Charles was very desirous of introducing a cheerfulness into the national devotion. He renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday, after the service was over, to such as attended the public worship; and ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service. Those who were puritanically affected refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. This tended greatly to widen the breach between the church and the dissenters, and promote that ill humour and discontent already too predominant in the nation. The queen, though strictly virtuous, was immoderately fond of pleasure, particularly the entertainments of the stage; and her example was followed by the whole court, and the greatest men in the nation.

In the midst of this dissipation, William Prynne, a puritanical barrister of Lincoln's Inn, published an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, intitled, *Historio-Mastyx*. Its professed purpose was to decry stage-plays, comedies, interludes, music, dancing, and other diversions of that kind; but he also took occasion to declaim against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bonfires, and May-poles. The author tells us, in his preface, that he was excited to write against these enormities, by observing that plays sold better than the choicest sermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than even the Bible itself. He maintained, that most of the players were papists, and all of them desperately wicked; that the play-houses were Satan's chapels, the frequenters of them little better than devils incarnate, and every step in a dance was a step to hell; that the principal crime of Nero was that of frequenting and acting of plays; and that those who conspired his death were chiefly excited to it by their indignation at that enormity. This publication gave so much

offence to the court, that Prynne was indicted before the star-chamber, where his behaviour was remarkably obstinate and petulant, which tended to increase the rigour of his sentence. He was condemned to pay a fine of five thousand pounds to the king; to be put from the bar, and rendered incapable of his profession; to be excluded from the society of Lincoln's Inn, and degraded in Oxford; to stand on the pillory in Westminster and Cheapside, to lose an ear at each place, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment.

The remarkable severity of this sentence raised the government many enemies, and greatly augmented the numbers of the puritan party. It was thought extremely hard that an invective against plays should merit a punishment proper only for the greatest criminals. But it must be remembered, that this satire against the diversions in vogue, though the pretended, was not the real crime for which Prynne was condemned. He had severely censured the practices of the new hierarchy, and the ceremonies introduced by Laud; a crime not to be forgiven by that imperious prelate.

A. D. 1634. The Dutch were at this time the great rivals in commerce to the English. A prince of Charles's principles was shocked at the independent pretensions of that haughty republic, which had been nursed by the blood, and fed by the bounty of England; nor had he received any adequate satisfaction for the massacre of Amboyna. James had made several attempts for hindering the Dutch from fishing on the coast of England, but all his prohibitions were in vain; the Dutch, after various pretences, at last asserted they had a right to fish upon the British coasts, founded on immemorial possession. The states of Holland, however, disavowed this plea of their commissioners; but, at the same time, declared, that however unjust, and however contrary to the rights of sovereignty in the crown of England, their practice of fishing on the British coasts might be, it was so absolutely necessary to the very existence of their state, that they dared not either give it up, or pay any acknowledgment for it, lest their people should rise in open rebellion against them. This was an argument not to be answered by reason, and Charles was determined to drive them by force from the British coasts.

Vigorous measures were therefore begun in several parts of the kingdom; but these could not be carried on without proportional revenues; and those of Charles were only barely sufficient for maintaining the splendor of the court, performing his engagements with foreign princes, and defraying the necessary expences of his government. Noy, the attorney-general, was therefore commanded to discover ways and means for fitting out a fleet sufficiently powerful to execute this purpose. Noy fell upon the expedient of ship-money; grounding it upon obsolete usages and records, which justified a tax upon the people for furnishing a certain number of ships for the defence of the seas; and writs were issued accordingly.

These writs were accompanied with instructions and directions from the lords of the council for the assessing and levying the ship-money. These instructions were directed to the sheriffs of the several counties; and by them it appears, that the ships assessed upon the counties of Middlesex and Hereford was to cost three thousand pounds; and that those who refused to pay their proportion, were to be distressed, and their goods sold for payment, without any respect of persons. The rest of these instructions contain the particular manner of levying the tax, and gave very arbitrary powers to the officers of the peace. The writ being served upon the lord mayor of London, he immediately summoned a common council, where it was agreed to present the following petition to the king.

"To the king's most excellent majesty,  
The humble petition of your faithful subjects, the mayor, commonality, and citizens of your city of London, most humbly sheweth,



“That whereas your majesty, by writ bearing teste 20 Octobris last, commanded your petitioners, at their own charge, to provide seven ships of war, furnished with men, victuals, and all warlike provisions, to be at Portsmouth by the first of March next, and to continue from that time during the space of twenty-six weeks in your majesty's service, upon the defence of the seas, and other causes in the said writ contained.

“Your petitioners do, in all submissive humbleness, and with acknowledgements of your sacred majesty's favours unto your said city, inform your majesty, that they conceive, that by ancient privileges, grants, and acts of parliament, which they are ready humbly to produce, they are exempt, and are to be freed from that charge.

“And do most humbly pray,

“That your majesty would be graciously pleased, that the petitioners, with your princely grace and favour, may enjoy the said privileges and exemptions, and be freed from providing of the said ships and provisions.”

But notwithstanding this opposition of the capital, Charles proceeded with as much violence as if ship-money had always been an established tax, and as if he did not expect to meet with the least attempt to oppose his arbitrary proceedings. Noy, the attorney-general, dying about this time, left the affair unfinished; but the necessities of Charles increasing, he resolved, that ship-money should be extended to the inland as well as the maritime counties. But in order to this, it was necessary to employ proper persons, and to invent plausible pretences. Sir Robert Heath, lord chief justice, had, in many respects, been found untractable, and was accordingly removed from his office, and his place supplied by Sir John Finch, a lawyer of great eloquence, and a firm friend to the court; and Sir John Banks was made attorney-general. It was, probably, owing to the opinion of those lawyers, who were far inferior in abilities to Noy, that Charles made ship-money a general tax; but even this attempt did not alarm the nation so much as was expected. The merchants, who generally take the lead on these occasions, were too well acquainted with the advantages of commerce to risk them by an opposition which might have given the court a pretence for imposing heavier duties upon goods; and as the tax proposed fell more heavy on the landed than the trading interest of the kingdom, they did not, for some time, consider it as a stretch of arbitrary power. This acquiescence gave the court a perfect security. Charles endeavoured to fill the kingdom with apprehensions, that the Dutch and the French having entered into a new alliance, would certainly attempt to make themselves masters of the narrow seas; and a proclamation was accordingly published, commanding all English seamen and shipwrights, who were in foreign services, to return home immediately.

But this calm was deceitful. The nation still continued to have the highest opinion of those patriots, who had, in a manner, forced the king to pass the petition of right, and rather acquiesced in, than approved of the many breaches daily made in that famous act, especially with regard to ship-money. It was about this time that Edward Coke, the eminent lawyer and patriot, paid the debt of nature, in the eighty-third year of his age. But there were not wanting men who trod in his paths, and endeavoured to rouse the public from their lethargy, by shewing, that the continual encroachments of the prerogative would soon banish all law from the constitution. These alarming suggestions had their weight; they occasioned such disputes with regard to the payment of ship-money, that not more than two hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds were collected during the whole year.

This opposition, however, produced no change in the conduct of Laud: he continued to exercise his ecclesiastical power with the greatest severity. He now attempted to oblige all foreigners settled in Eng-

land to conform to the established church; notwithstanding all the privileges and indulgences that had been granted them by former princes, and the infinite advantages the nation acquired by their settling in this country. The French and Dutch churches, being joined by all the puritans in England, made a vigorous opposition, and refused, on account of the exemptions and privileges they had received from the crown, to pay any deference to Laud's authority. The primate, however, prevailed so far, that though all foreigners of the first descent were suffered to continue their own method of worship, yet those of the second descent, that is, those who were born in England of foreign parents, were ordered by the king to repair to their own parish-churches, under the penalty of being proceeded against in the spiritual courts.

A.D. 1636. The good effects of the arbitrary tax of ship-money began now to appear. A fleet of sixty sail of large ships was fitted out, under the command of the earl of Northumberland; and a proclamation was issued, strictly forbidding all persons, not the natural born subjects of these kingdoms, from fishing on the British coast, without proper licences from the king, who farther declared, that he intended always to keep a strong squadron at sea, in order to prevent all such encroachments for the future, and to protect those ships of his friends and allies who should take out licences. The earl of Northumberland sailed in the month of May; and coming up with some of the Dutch ships, he sunk all that refused to leave the coasts, and discontinued their fishery. This spirited conduct struck a terror into all the maritime powers of Europe, even the haughty Richelieu himself, who had formed a design of rendering the Dutch the rivals of the English on the ocean, was obliged to abandon his project. The Dutch themselves applied to Charles in the most earnest manner; and at last consented to pay thirty thousand pounds for a licence to fish during the remainder of the year, when it was hoped a proper regulation would be made for fixing an annual tribute for the necessary licences.

But no advantages of commerce, reputation of safety, could prevail upon the people to pay the odious tax of ship-money with alacrity. The progress of the sciences had increased their thirst for knowledge; and the excellent writings and speeches on the constitution of England, during the late reign, were now purchased and read with the greatest avidity. But particularly the plain inconsistencies between the levying of that tax, and the petition of right, were evident to the most slender capacity; so that neither the sermons of divines, the opinions of lawyers, the threats of power, nor the arts of courtiers, had any effect: they firmly adhered to the dictates of common sense, and set all the sophistical arguments of the artful and the eloquent at defiance. Such, however, was their veneration for the government, and so high an opinion did they entertain of the natural equity of the king, that many paid the tax, though they were persuaded the law could not oblige them. They knew that the judges had taken great pains to recommend it from the bench, and doubted not but an attempt would soon be made to render it legal by a formal decision. Chambers, a merchant of London, absolutely refused to pay, and was sent to prison by Sir Edward Bromfield, lord mayor, one of the commissioners for levying ship-money. But Chambers was not to be intimidated by the hand of power: he brought his action against Bromfield for a trespass and false imprisonment. Sir Robert Berkeley, one of the judges of the court, would not, however, suffer Chambers's council to argue against the legality of ship-money, declaring openly in court, “That there was a rule of law, and a rule of government; and that many things which might not be done by the rule of law, might be done by the rule of government.”

This was the detestable doctrine, which, like an ignis



ignis-fatuus, led Charles to those dangerous precipices from whence he fell, to the ruin of himself, and the ruin of his people. A regular distribution was now drawn up of ships adapted to the several shires of England and Wales, with their tonnage, number of men, and monthly expence; together with the sums charged upon the respective corporate towns in each county. And Charles, that he might proceed with more safety, and remove the several objections that had been started against paying the tax, procured the opinion of the judges, "that when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the nation in danger, the king might lawfully levy a tax for fitting out such a number of ships as shall be necessary for the defence of the nation; and that his majesty is the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how it is to be prevented."

Charles was now satisfied that he had not acted contrary to the laws, and determined to punish, with the utmost severity, all who should, for the future, dare to oppose his royal pleasure. It is amazing with what reluctance the people paid this tax, though they were no strangers to this prostitution and perversion of the laws of their country: their usual asylum, the courts of law, were shut against them, and there was no medium; they must either submit, or have recourse to violence, an expedient which no wise man would chuse. A chosen few, however, were still in reserve; men who dared to think with justice, and act with intrepidity; who, armed with the principles of civil and natural liberty, were determined to support the cause of their country, and not tamely submit to the arbitrary power of the crown. Strong reasonings, bold elocution, deep learning, and upright intentions, were not, however, sufficient to sustain this dreadful combat; a leader must be found, who, besides all these accomplishments, had intrepidity sufficient to stand forth in the cause of his country. Such a man was John Hambden, a gentleman possessed of a considerable estate, and descended from an ancient family in Buckinghamshire; which being an inland county, afforded him the better pretence for refusing to pay the tax of ship-money. His share did not amount to more than thirty shillings, yet he absolutely refused payment, and determined to venture a trial, the event of which would clearly point out to the whole kingdom, whether arbitrary power was to prevail over justice.

A. D. 1637. After many pleadings and traverses, the case was argued, during twelve days, in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, every circumstance of this celebrated trial. It will be easily conceived, from the opinion of the judges, that the great question in this cause was, Whether the kingdom was in such imminent danger, that the king had a right to assess his subjects, without waiting for the necessary forms of parliamentary proceedings? It was confessed on all hands, that both public and private dangers may be so great, that all property may cease, while the parties are providing for their own safety. But none of the crown lawyers pretended, that the danger of the kingdom was then so pressing, as to give the king a right to the property of the subject; and the small portion of Mr. Hambden's assessment was no argument for his paying it, unless they could prove it to be according to law. Whether the king was, or was not, the sole judge of the public necessity, was strongly debated, but greatly to the disadvantage of the court; since nothing could be more obvious than this, that when public danger becomes so pressing as to confound all property, the case will be notorious; and self-preservation becomes the common principle with both prince and people. It is true, the king may have reasons, unknown to his subjects, to fear the attempts of some public or private enemy, and make the necessary preparations to render the whole abortive; but nothing here occurred

to convince any man of common understanding, that the danger, if indeed any was apprehended, might not have been prevented by regular parliamentary methods. With regard to the precedents brought by either side from former reigns, they were equally strong for both parties; and therefore were of no weight in deciding this great national cause. The truth is, we have too many melancholy instances in the English history of inquiry being established, not only by precedents, but by law; and that liberty often borrowed her gloom or lustre from the vices or virtues that filled the throne. The lawyers, however, that pleaded the cause of Hambden, or rather that of their country, had infinite advantage over their antagonists, by unanswerably proving the illegality of the tax from the positive and fundamental articles of the great charter, and other constitutional acts, which no practices, no precedents ought to affect or destroy. And whoever examines with attention the instances produced on both sides, will perceive, that the current of precedents runs always strongest for the people in the most virtuous periods of government: while those for the crown spring from the fear of arbitrary power, from slavish complaisance, from immediate danger, from gross ignorance, or from prevailing corruption.

But notwithstanding the force of the arguments used by Hambden's counsel, the event was what had been long foreseen. The prejudiced or prostituted judges, four of them excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown. Hambden, however, obtained, by the trial, the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety, and his quiet: the people were roused from their lethargy, and became fully sensible of the danger to which their liberty was exposed. These national questions were canvassed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently it appeared to many that liberty was totally subverted, and an unusual and arbitrary authority exercised over the kingdom. Slavish principles, it was said, concurred with illegal practices, ecclesiastical tyranny lent assistance to civil usurpations: iniquitous practices were supported by arbitrary punishments; and all the rights of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lay prostrate at the feet of the monarch.

Laud, however, proceeded in the same imperious manner, and whoever refused to submit to his arbitrary measures, was sure to feel the weight of the hand of power. Among others, Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was singled out as a person who opposed the measures of the government, and was a friend to the puritanical party. He was accordingly indicted in the star chamber on very frivolous pretences, fined ten thousand pounds, suspended from his office, and committed to the tower during the king's pleasure. Williams, when deprived of his post of lord keeper, retired to his bishopric, joined the country party, and became one of the chief leaders of those who opposed the government. This was a crime not to be forgiven by Laud; though the primate himself had been indebted to Williams for his first promotion. But to see a bishop countenance puritans, a creature of the court become its obstinate enemy, and oppose with great firmness and vigour all the measures of government; these were circumstances that excited indignation, and engaged the ministers to pursue him with the utmost vengeance. Men of more generous, and more moderate principles, however, beheld these transactions in a very different point of light; they considered the prosecution of Williams as one of the most iniquitous measures pursued by the court during the time that the use of parliaments were suspended.

Burton a minister, and Bestie a physician, were also tried in the star-chamber, for writing seditious and schismatical libels; and condemned to suffer the same punishment as had been inflicted on Prynne. These writers had attacked, with great severity, and even intemperate zeal, the ceremonies, rites, and govern-



ment of the church, crimes for which no pardon could be expected from the furious primate. Full of the enthusiastic principles they had endeavoured to support in their writings, they behaved with the greatest insolence before the court; and the very answers they gave in were so full of contumacy, and invective against the prelates, that no counsellor could be prevailed upon to undertake their defence. The sentence of the court was, however, greatly condemned, as very unworthy men of their profession; and the patience, or rather the alacrity, with which they suffered the punishments inflicted on them, still farther increased the indignation of the public.

But notwithstanding all these measures, there would have been no danger of the government's being overturned, if fanaticism, stronger than all human passions, had not armed the people against a monarch, who, in his own person, merited their esteem. We have already seen how desirous Charles was of establishing in Scotland the discipline and worship of the church of England. He was fond of episcopacy, and invested the bishops with an authority which he thought equally advantageous to religion and government. He loved church ceremonies, and wanted to have them received as essentials in divine service. Without reflecting how much all men are attached to their particular mode of worship, Charles, confident of his own power, now sent down canons for the government of the church of Scotland, and a new liturgy for regulating the manner of worship. The people were far from being disposed to receive them. The nobility from a jealousy of power, and the dissenting clergy from principles of equality, were enemies to the hierarchy; and their universal hatred of the church of Rome, made them abhor whatever had the least resemblance to the method of its worship. On the sixteenth of July, public intimations were given from the pulpits, that on the following Sunday the new liturgy would be introduced into the principal churches. Both the bishop and dean of Edinburgh attended to give the greater solemnity to this new form of worship. The latter, dressed in a surplice, began the liturgy. But he had not proceeded far in the service, before the people cried out, "A Pope! a Pope! stone him!" The bishop, however, mounted the pulpit, and attempted to appease the tumult. But his endeavours were in vain: they threw a bench at his head, and it was with the utmost difficulty that both him and the dean escaped with life. The contagion soon spread through the city. The magistrates suffered a thousand insults. The clergy declaimed with the utmost vehemence against innovations, and compared the populace to Balaam's ass, whose mouth the Lord had opened.

But notwithstanding these alarming tumults, no man of any consequence joined the people. The laws in Scotland were very severe against treason, and men of property were cautious of trusting their lives and fortunes to the furious declarations of an insubstantial multitude. Charles was fatally deceived by this appearance of restraint, and attributed their silence to an approbation of his measures. He had long been deluded by pretensions, and raised to the first posts in the ministry, those men who hated his person, his family, and his religion; they flattered him the more abjectly, that they might ruin him the more securely. The whole cabinet council, indeed, was composed of persons who wished well to the measures they seemed to oppose, and which they were sometimes obliged to punish. A deep foundation for public discontent being thus laid, nothing was wanting but a proper cement for the materials that were to compose the superstructure; and this required great skill to perform. The Scottish nobility and principal gentry were at that time very fond of travelling into foreign parts, where their countrymen served with great honour in the armies of different princes; and the knowledge they by this means acquired of men and things, gave them great advantages. It was easy for them to see, that without a common principle of action, the spirit

of the people must soon evaporate, and their whole party lie prostrate at the footstool of power. What his principle ought to be required attentive consideration. Interest, indeed, was an obvious one in men of property, but this centered in a few, compared to the whole body of the nation, and was therefore destitute of force sufficient to animate the mass of the populace. A common principle was at last agreed upon, and this was religion. They knew with how much advantage the Holy League had been introduced in France, and had seen how easily the people are animated into rebellion, by the late tumult in the capital.

The crisis which was to decide the fate of the established religion in Scotland was now approaching. The spirit against the new liturgy daily increased among the common people, and the repeated commands of the court to introduce it proved at once ineffectual, and dangerous to the bishops. The magistrates of Edinburgh, where these disturbances chiefly prevailed, were, in secret, enemies to the liturgy, but, in public, they expressed the utmost abhorrence of the riotous proceedings of the populace, and frequently assembled in order, as they pretended, to concert measures for putting a stop to those alarming attempts of the multitude. They even promised to assist the king to the utmost of their power to appease the tumultuous populace, and introduce the new liturgy. But in the mean time a breach ensued between the bishops and ministers of Scotland; and soon after another between the bishops and the nobility of that kingdom. The counsel of the moderate bishops, who had always opposed the violent methods of introducing the liturgy, was disregarded by the new prelates promoted by Laud, and who were persuaded that the interest of their patron with the king was abundantly sufficient to support them. This induced them to disregard not only the advice of their more moderate brethren, but also that of the nobility, who took advantage of this neglect to withdraw their countenance entirely from the proceedings of the clergy.

Animated by the countenance of their ministers and the nobility, the people began to unite, and to encourage one another to oppose the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were signed and presented by persons of the highest quality: the women, as is common in every religious disturbance, joined with great violence in the opposition: the puritan ministers declaimed vehemently against popery; and the pulpits resounded with the most violent invectives against anti-christ. In a word, fanaticism mingling with faction, and private interest with the spirit of liberty, soon produced the symptoms of the most dangerous insurrection and disorder in every part of the kingdom.

A. D. 1638. Charles was, however, determined to persevere. He seemed to despise the threats of the vulgar, and even the defection of the nobility. The primate of Scotland, a man of great temper, wisdom, and religion, always averse to the introduction of the new liturgy, represented to his majesty in faithful colours, the state of the nation. The earl of Traquair, lord treasurer, repaired to London, in order to lay the matter more fully before the king. But all their representations were in vain: Charles was inflexible. He had, however, nothing to oppose to so violent a combination of the whole nation but a proclamation, wherein he promised pardon for all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. But this was so far from producing the desired effect, that it was immediately opposed by a public protestation, presented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindesey. This was the crisis of the opposition: the insurrection which had been gathering by degrees, now broke out at once; the standard of rebellion was displayed, and the sword of civil discord on the point of being sheathed in the bowels of that unhappy country. No disorder, however, attended these



these dreadful appearances of war and devastation: on the contrary, a new order, or rather a new administration, immediately took place; a sufficient indication that this disturbance had been secretly fomented by persons in a station far exalted above the common people. Four tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh: one consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, and a fourth of burgeses; and in the hands of these four tables the whole authority of the government was placed. One of their first, and, at the same time, the greatest act they performed, was that of the solemn league and covenant.

This celebrated compact consisted first of a renunciation of popery formerly signed by James in his youth, and composed of many invectives well adapted to inflame the minds of men against their fellow-creatures, whom heaven hath enjoined them to cherish and to love. Then followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers bound themselves to resist all religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatsoever: "and all this for the greater glory of God, and the greater honour and advantage of their king and country." It is astonishing with what eagerness all ranks of people flocked to sign this covenant, considered by them as the bulwark of the christian religion, which, according to their narrow way of thinking, was practised nowhere in its original purity but in Scotland.

Though a people cannot be too jealous of their liberties, and though no government has a right to attack, much less to destroy them; yet this jealousy ought to have its bounds in reason, in nature, and in duty. The first never warrants resistance, but under provocation; the second makes self-preservation to be her primary law; and the latter, by supporting subordination in government, preserves the peace, the happiness, and the tranquillity of human society. Could the Scots have produced any positive fundamental act of their constitution, unintelligible as it then was, which Charles had violated; had he governed their country with a rod of iron, or arbitrarily introduced a religion essentially different from that established by law, associations might have been defensible, though they are never eligible, till after the regular applications for redress have been made in vain. But how did this matter stand between Charles and the Scots? His father's and his own unsparing hand had enriched, embellished, and ennobled their country, beyond what they ought to have done, in justice to their other dominions. If any iniquity had been established there, it had not only been established, but acquiesced in, by the legislative power; the wholesomeness of their laws had not been corrupted into poison by judges, who held over their heads the rod of the king's displeasure. Their civil liberties had never been attacked by power; prerogative had not, as in England, mocked at their calamities; nor set at nought the provident wisdom of their ancestors. Episcopal government was the legal institution; nor could an attempt to introduce a disputable mode of worship, approved of by the government, both ecclesiastical and civil, warrant that worst part of popery, an association against the civil power, under pretence of religion.

But the voice of enthusiasm listens not to the declarations of reason. The Scottish preachers, determined to carry their point, though they involved the government of their country in confusion, recommended the strongest opposition to the people. Charles was alarmed, and offered to suspend the introduction of the liturgy, provided they would retract the covenant. Their answer was, that they would sooner renounce their baptism. He then relaxed in other matters, in order to preserve episcopal government, and permitted a general assembly to be summoned at Glasgow. By this unadvised measure the whole design was finished. The laity, whom the presbyterians admitted, and who formed the strongest part, began with impeaching the bishops, whom they

charged indiscriminately with all sorts of crimes. They afterwards declared all acts with regard to ecclesiastical matters, made since the advancement of James to the crown of England, null and void. Thus the canons, the liturgy, the court of high commission, and even episcopacy itself, were abolished in Scotland at one stroke. A measure so audacious could be supported only by arms. They accordingly prepared openly for a civil war, seized all places of strength, fortified the town of Leith, and so remarkable was the desire of completing the work, that women of quality mixed with the populace, and carried on their shoulders the materials necessary for the erecting the fortifications. A prophetess, seconded by the harangues of a seditious preacher, wonderfully excited the general zeal and courage of the people: she said, that the covenant was registered in heaven; called the Saviour of mankind Jesus the Covenantor; and sacrificed all that was great and sacred in religion.

A. D. 1639. Charles, though he was fond of peace, and of Scotland, his native country, could not avoid raising troops to reduce his rebellious subjects to reason, and subdue the refractory spirit of the Scots. By his œconomy, he had saved two hundred thousand pounds; and the queen, by her influence with the catholics, engaged them to grant the king a considerable supply. The English fleet was very formidable, and well provided with every necessary. Five thousand land forces were embarked on board this squadron, the command of which was given to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the Frith of Forth, and cause a diversion in the forces of the rebels. An army of near twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse was levied, and commanded by the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but famous neither as a soldier nor a statesman. The earl of Essex, a nobleman extremely popular, and of great military abilities, was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horse. On the twenty-ninth of May, the king himself joined the army, and summoned all the peers of England to attend him. Few disregarded the summons; so that the English army resembled rather the court of an eastern prince than a military expedition against an enemy.

The forces of the malecontents were little inferior in numbers to that of the English, but almost destitute of cavalry. The infantry consisted, indeed, of an undisciplined and ill-armed rabble, but animated with a religious fervour, which, in some measure, supplied the want of discipline, and rendered them very formidable. The declamations of the clergy had greatly assisted the officers in gaining recruits, by thundering out anathemas against all "who went not out to help the Lord against the mighty." But the leaders of the malecontents did not omit the more safe and prudent method of negotiation. They knew that a defeat must be fatal; and however their troops might be inspired with an enthusiastic fury, they were unable to stand the regular attacks of disciplined forces. They therefore immediately sent very submissive messages to the king, begged leave to be admitted to a treaty, in order to restore tranquillity to their native country, and sheathe the destructive sword of civil discord.

Several conferences were accordingly held; but so many difficulties occurred, that it was some time before even any preliminary articles could be established. At last, however, a pacification was agreed to, on the following terms:

"1. The forces of Scotland to be disbanded, and dissolved, within eight and forty hours after the publication of his majesty's declaration being agreed upon.

"2. His majesty's castles, forts, ammunition of all sorts, and royal honours, to be delivered after the said publication, so soon as his majesty can send to receive them.

"3. His majesty's ships to depart presently after  
Y y y the



the delivery of the castles, with the first fair wind, and in the mean time to cause no interruption either to trade or fishing.

"4. His majesty has been graciously pleased to cause to be restored all persons, goods and ships, detained and arrested since the first of November last.

"5. That there shall be no meetings, treatings, consultations, or convocations, of his majesty's subjects, but such as are warranted by act of parliament.

"6. The works on all fortifications to be abandoned, and the places themselves to be delivered up to his majesty.

"7. To restore to every one of his majesty's subjects their liberties, lands, houses, goods, and all other particulars whatsoever, taken or detained from them since the above term."

The Scottish deputies were at a loss how to appease their principals with regard to these articles, which fell far short of what their sanguine hopes had taught them to expect. Accordingly the earls of Cassils, and several other noblemen and heads of the malecontents, loudly exclaimed against a pacification, which was to disarm them, and leave them, in that condition, to the mercy of the court. No abolition of episcopacy, nor acknowledgment of the assembly at Glasgow, had been stipulated, as they had been made to believe; the restitution of ships taken since the first of November was but a poor consideration, in comparison of the common cause; and the drawing off the English fleet from the coast was of little importance, because the ships might return whenever his majesty pleased. Add to these considerations, that Charles, in one of the answers he had given to the deputies, had actually disowned the assembly at Glasgow; nor would he consent to any thing farther than to refer civil matters to a parliament, and ecclesiastical affairs to a general assembly; both of which he could call or dissolve at pleasure.

Nor was the peace more agreeable to the English; they exclaimed against it as loudly as the Scots; and there seemed very little hopes that it would be of any long continuance: the seeds of disaffection were sown in Scotland, and it was no easy task to prevent their growth.

While Charles was thus engaged in reducing his rebellious subjects to reason, an incident happened on the coast of England, which seemed to threaten alarming consequences. The firmness of Charles in steadily preserving his neutrality disconcerted Richelieu's plan for attacking the sea coast of Flanders; and the count d'Estrades was sent to conclude a new treaty of subsidy with the prince of Orange, in order to enable the Dutch to attack Antwerp, while the French were to besiege St. Omers. The success of those attempts are foreign to this history. It will be sufficient to observe, that these dispositions induced the court of Spain to fit out a strong squadron at Corunna, consisting of fifty ships, under the command of Don Antonio Doguendo, a celebrated sea officer. Twelve thousand foot were embarked on board this squadron, which was designed to join another fleet of Spanish ships at Dunkirk. Richelieu gave immediate notice of the sailing of this fleet to the prince of Orange, who soon after discovered, that the Spanish admiral was ordered not to fight, if he could possibly avoid it; but put himself under the protection of the English, and land his men upon the coast of Flanders. This armament, and the fear of its being joined by the English fleet, greatly alarmed both the French and Dutch; and extraordinary efforts were made to put their fleets to sea, in order, if possible, to render any attempt of the Spaniards abortive. A small squadron of the Dutch, then at sea, fell in with, and attacked the Spanish fleet, but with considerable loss to themselves. Soon after, the Spanish admiral came to an anchor near Dover, where he thought himself safe under the protection of the English. But the ambitious Richelieu had no regard to the rights of neutrality, when they opposed his views. He ordered d'Estrades to lay

before the prince of Orange, "the glory that would attend his defeating the measures of two great monarchs, and of crowning all his noble exploits in war by a victory over the fleet of Spain under the protection of the English, and, perhaps, actually assisted by their ships." He added, "that such an action would infallibly lay Flanders open to the united forces of France and Holland." The prince of Orange, fond as he was of glory, especially when acquired against Spain, was startled at the thoughts of committing so gross an insult on the English flag; and asked d'Estrades, with some emotion, "Whether Richelieu was in earnest?" D'Estrades assuring him he was, the prince sent orders to Van Tromp to harass the enemy with a kind of flying squadron; but not to venture a general engagement, till he was joined by admiral Evertsen. As soon as this junction was performed, Tromp was ordered to send a message to the English admiral, acquainting him, that having received orders from his masters to attack their enemies wherever he found them, he requested that the English ships might leave the Spanish squadron, because he was commanded not to attack them, unless they assisted the enemy, and in that case his orders were to attack both without distinction. Charles was in the utmost perplexity how to behave on this alarming occasion. The haughty republicans were now at the height of their power: their fleet, when united, consisted of one hundred and fifty sail of ships of war, commanded by the best sea-officers in the world; they were highly exasperated against Charles for refusing them the liberty of fishing on the British coasts, and wished for an opportunity of revenging the affront, by destroying his fleet. At the same time, the public were persuaded, that the Spanish fleet was either intended to conquer England, or assist the king in subduing his rebellious subjects. Charles therefore knew that he could not trust to the fidelity of his seamen, even if the Dutch should violate their neutrality. At the same time, he knew that the Spanish fleet, which consisted of sixty-seven large ships, was in want both of cannon and ammunition; while the Dutch were liberally supplied with both from Calais, and other sea-port towns in France. It was some time before the whole Dutch fleet appeared, and made the proper dispositions for attacking the enemy. During this interval, the Spanish minister presented repeated memorials to Charles, for his protecting the Spanish fleet, which was now riding at anchor under the guns of the English castles near the South Foreland, while the Dutch remonstrated strongly against any English ship being employed in the Spanish service. Charles knew not how to behave in this critical conjuncture, but at last determined to observe a strict neutrality; and immediately issued orders, that no English ship should take any Spaniards on board, or pass from London below Gravesend without a licence. At the same time, he acquainted the Dutch ambassador, that he could not, without the highest dishonour, refuse the Spaniards that protection on his coasts they had a right to demand from the law of nations; and that he had sent orders to Sir John Pennington, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four sail of English men of war, to join that fleet which should be first attacked. This declaration lessened the ardour of the Dutch, and the Spanish admiral found means to send twelve large ships and four thousand men to Dunkirk. Charles was, however, fearful of the consequences; and sent the earl of Arundel to persuade the Spanish admiral to slip away the first fair wind, as he could not be answerable for the success of an engagement, if the Spaniards were attacked by the Dutch. Doguendo would gladly have followed this advice, but could not, on account of contrary winds: and the Dutch fleet being now completely reinforced, Van Tromp sent a letter to Pennington, demanding the benefit of his neutrality, under pretence of the Spaniards having violated their privilege of protection, by firing on the Dutch admiral's barge,



barge, and killing one of his men. Tromp accordingly attacked the Spanish fleet with the utmost fury, forced them to cut their cables, drove twenty-three ships ashore, of which three were burnt, and two sunk. The *Theresa*, mounted with a hundred brass guns, was burnt, sixteen were taken, and sent to Flushing; with four thousand five hundred prisoners, and fourteen ships were lost near Boulogne; the Dunkirk squadron, under Doguendo, only escaping. The victory was complete on the side of the Dutch, though it was not obtained without some loss; ten of their ships perishing in the action.

Charles did not fail to represent this conduct of the Dutch, as an insult upon the British flag; and made use of it as an argument for enforcing the payment of ship-money, in order to be able to keep a sufficient fleet at sea to curb the insolence of those republicans. New writs were accordingly issued and sent to all the counties of England and Wales for collecting the tax. About this time the lord-keeper Coventry, who had the good fortune to hold the great seal many years, died in possession of that high office. Every day now increased the obstinacy of Charles, when it ought rather to have increased his caution. He determined to seize by violence that power which would enable him to govern the nation without controul, and to exercise it with prudence and equity, or, at least, with something which Laud and his own conscience termed equity. The great seal was given to Finch, a man fit for promoting every arbitrary purpose.

But though the odious tax of ship-money was raised with great severity, and other acts of despotic power were daily exercised, the people discovered no remarkable uneasiness at the neglect of parliaments and the unconstitutional measures of the government. Peace and plenty reigned in the kingdom, and the wars that raged in the other nations of Europe, made England the repository of riches from every part of the world. This greatly contributed to render the people almost passive in their present situation. They knew indeed their rights; they murmured at their being violated; they publicly proclaimed their grievances; they protested against illegal exactions: but this was nothing more than forming a rope of sand; a parliament was wanting to give their complaints strength and consistency. On the other hand, the situation of affairs seemed to be irremediable even by wisdom itself, and men of sense plainly perceived that if the affairs of Scotland did not oblige the king to call a parliament, he would continue to govern by his present arbitrary methods, till the use of those assemblies was forgotten.

The conduct of Charles in Scotland answered the most sanguine hopes of the warmest patriots; and the dispositions of the Scots were equally favourable for bringing matters to the crisis they desired. The nobility and persons of consequence in that kingdom, were persuaded they had sufficiently guarded against all resumptions of church revenues by exacting a promise from Charles to call a free parliament and an assembly of the clergy. They would willingly have waited the result of both; and that great point, the only one they dreaded, being gained, they would willingly have concurred and acquiesced in every dutiful measure towards the crown. But they found the people untractable: they refused to stop till episcopacy was totally abrogated, and the principles of civil liberty founded on a more solid basis than at present. This scheme might have answered the just expectation of men of property, and, at the same time, if not have fully satisfied the wishes, have calmed the spirit of the people; but the whole was defeated through a want of moderation on the part of government. The marquis of Hamilton laid before Charles the destructive consequences that must attend his not acting with sincerity, by leaving the approaching parliament and assembly in Scotland, at free liberty to gratify the people with regard to every thing that had been understood to have been granted by

the late pacification. By this he meant the total abolition of the episcopal order both in church and state; but he perceived by the manner in which the king received his representations, that this would not be granted. He therefore resigned the office of high-commissioner in Scotland, and that invidious post was given to the earl of Traquair.

The moderate part of the Scottish nobility would have been contented with some restraints being laid on episcopal power in parliament; but so furious was the spirit of the people, that it was thought there was less danger in an entire abrogation of the order, than either in continuing it, or risking the consequences of popular fury. The marquis of Hamilton was entirely of this opinion, and fairly laid all his reasons before the king, who had continued some time at Berwick. Charles was astonished, and ordered fourteen of the chief covenanting lords to attend him, in order to consult the proper measures for settling the affairs of Scotland. The people were alarmed at this message, and openly declared, that it had been proposed by their own leaders in order to elude the force of the covenant. This so greatly intimidated the noblemen, that three only of the fourteen lords, could be prevailed upon to obey his majesty's orders. Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, were the persons who despised the fury of the populace when it tended to prevent their obedience to the king. The business of Charles was serious and important: he was desirous of learning the whole design of the covenanters, and what they intended to demand in the approaching parliament and assembly. Montrose was one of those noblemen who thought the king had done enough to satisfy all his Scottish subjects, who had no dangerous or fanatical views. His two companions, particularly the earl of Loudon, were of the same opinion, but wished to have security for the performance; and this they thought could only be effected by some additional bulwarks to the liberties of their country, established in a full and free parliament. They therefore laid fairly before Charles what they expected from the next parliament.

In the first place the currency of the coin in that country was not very large; but its value might be raised or lowered by the crown in so arbitrary a manner, that all property, in a great measure, depended upon the king, and, at best, was very uncertain. The same power had formerly been exercised in England, and proved an intollerable grievance; but it carried with it its own remedy when commerce enlarged. For foreigners, without regarding the orders of the English government, always proportioned the price of their commodities to the intrinsic, not the nominal value of the coin. This conduct at last obliged the crown to lay aside those destructive practices, which could serve only some mercenary immediate ends, and the English mint had been, for some time, under excellent regulations. But Scotland had not the same remedy against this alarming oppression, because the commerce of that kingdom was more restrained, and money of much greater value than in England. It was therefore justly thought, that the subject ought to have some security against this grievance; and that the king should declare, "that the coin should not be meddled with, but by advice of parliament."

The next grievance enumerated by the Scots, was that of the command of their garrisons being given to strangers. Both James and Charles had, indeed, to use their own expressions, broken down the partition-wall between the two kingdoms; and the Scots had poured by multitudes into England, where they enjoyed a great number of offices both ecclesiastical and military. But the wisest men in both nations condemned this partiality in favour of the native country of their prince; and even the generality of the Scots themselves were dissatisfied with the encouragement many of their great men met with in England, which induced them to spend both their money and



and estates in that country. The English, a great and powerful people, had far less to apprehend from the Scots than the Scots from them. The castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton were already garrisoned by the English; and it was always easy for their navy to destroy the commerce of Scotland. The Scots therefore thought it reasonable, that no stranger should be intrusted with the government of any of their castles, unless by the advice of the states.

The heritable jurisdictions of Scotland were thought, even by the natives themselves, to be dangerous, because they created too great a dependence of the inferior people on particular families. They demanded, therefore, that no commission of justiciary or lieutenancy might be granted, but for a limited time.

Lastly, they excepted against the precedency of the lord treasurer and lord privy-seal, as not being warranted by any positive law. This exception was, probably, intended to prevent arbitrary promotions, which might eclipse the lustre of their ancient nobility, and create too powerful an influence of the crown in parliament.

Such were the demands intended by the Scots to be made in the ensuing parliament; and, possibly, if Charles had acted with sincerity, they had stopped there; but he could not be prevailed upon to consent to the abolition of episcopacy. The covenanters saw this, and were convinced that all concessions made by the king must be forced, and that he would retract them the first favourable opportunity. Their chiefs, therefore, thought they had no safety but in uniting more closely than ever, and openly opposing the power of the crown itself. Though their army had separated on the conclusion of the late treaty, they continued still in large bodies; the fortifications of Leith were continued; they issued commissions for purchasing large quantities of arms and ammunition abroad; and Lesley still kept up the character and title of general.

As soon as Traquair received his commission, he returned to Edinburgh, where both a parliament and an assembly were held. They immediately passed a bill for abolishing episcopacy, and another for removing the grievances already mentioned. The king was greatly exasperated at these precipitate proceedings, and Traquair received orders to prorogue both the parliament and assembly; but his authority was disregarded; they continued their session, and sent the bill, they had passed to Charles for the royal assent, pretending that no prorogation could take place without the consent of the estates of the kingdom in parliament.

The assembly proceeded with equal violence; and all that Charles could obtain was an explanation of the famous covenant, in the following terms: "We do swear not only our mutual concurrence and assistance for the cause of religion, and to the utmost of our power, with our means and lives, to stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, and his authority, in the preservation and defence of the said true religion, liberties, and laws of this kirk and kingdom: but also in every cause which may concern his majesty's honour, we shall (according to the laws of this kingdom, and the duties of good subjects) concur with our friends and followers, in quiet manner or in arms, as we shall be required of his majesty's council, or any having his authority." Charles was not contented with this explanation, though it was more than could have been expected from persons of their disposition. The assembly paid not due deference to the king's prepossessions, though they gave the utmost indulgence to their own. They voted episcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: the king was willing to allow it, contrary to the institutions of that church. They stigmatized the liturgy and canons as popish: he agreed simply to their being abolished. They denominated the high commission tyranny: he was willing to set it aside. Both were

determined to persevere; and on this account recourse was again had to arms, and it was now supposed the sword alone must decide the dispute.

A. D. 1640. The king, on signing the late pacification, had disbanded his army, a very considerable sum of money was necessary for raising another, and the council was greatly perplexed to discover necessary ways and means for that purpose. The only constitutional method, by summoning a parliament, was thought a dangerous experiment; but the necessities of the crown were so pressing, that it was determined to summon that assembly. It was, however, thought, that there was a necessity for striking some bold, speedy, and effectual blow, to intimidate the rebels; and that the parliamentary supplies would be too slow and uncertain to answer the purpose. The earl of Strafford therefore proposed a subscription, and generously opened it with twenty thousand pounds. The young duke of Richmond followed his example, and subscribed the same sum. Their examples influenced many of the nobility and clergy; so that a large sum was soon subscribed, in order to enable the king to oppose his rebellious subjects.

On the thirteenth of April, the parliament met at Westminster; and were informed by the lord keeper Finch, that the king had been able to assemble and support his army, not by any revenue he possessed, but by means of a large debt, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds, which he had contracted, and for which he had given security upon the crown lands. He represented, that it was necessary to grant supplies for the urgent demands of his military armaments: that the season was far advanced, the time precious, and that none of it must be lost in deliberations: that though his coffers were empty, they had not been exhausted by unnecessary pomp, sumptuous buildings, or any other kind of magnificence: that whatever supplies had been levied from his subjects, had been employed for their advantage and preservation; and, like vapours arising out of the earth, and gathered into a cloud, had fallen in sweet and refreshing showers on the same fields from which they had, at first, been exhaled: that though the king desired such immediate assistance, as might, for the time, prevent a total disorder in the government, he was far from any intention of precluding them of their right to enquire into the state of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for the relief of their grievances: that as much as was possible of this season should be allowed them for that purpose: that as he expected only such supplies at present as the current service absolutely required, it would be necessary to assemble them again next winter, when they should have full leisure to conclude whatever business had been left imperfect and unfinished: that the parliament of Ireland had twice put such trust in his good intentions, as to grant him, in the beginning of the session, a very large supply, and had always experienced good effects from the confidence reposed in him: and that in every circumstance his people should find his conduct suitable to a just, pious, and gracious king, and such as was calculated to promote an entire harmony between prince and parliament.

But these topics, however plausible, produced not the desired effect. The leaders of the discontented party began to foresee the consequences of the Scottish insurrection, and to hope that the time so long wished for was at hand, when royal authority must become wholly subordinate to popular assemblies; and when public liberty must acquire the full ascendant. A reasonable compliance with the measures of the court was now considered as slavish dependence; a regard for the king, servile flattery; a confidence in his promises, shameful prostitution. It was hoped, that by reducing the crown to necessities, the king would be pushed into violent measures, which could not fail of serving their purposes; and that by multiplying these necessities, his prerogative, undermined on all sides, must at last be overthrown, and rendered no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people.

Full



Full of these sentiments, every measure that had a tendency to preserve the government in its present form was zealously opposed by the popular leaders. Instead, therefore, of taking notice of the king's complaints against his Scottish subjects, or his applications for a supply, the house entered immediately upon grievances, and a speech made by Pym upon that subject was much more attended to than the harangue delivered by the lord keeper in the name of their sovereign.

During these transactions in England, the Scottish covenants were not idle; they proceeded in their preparations with a spirit far above their strength. The noblemen and gentry of that party stripped themselves of every luxury, and the ladies of their jewels and ornaments, in order to support the necessary expences of what they termed a holy war. Some of the fortifications of Edinburgh having fallen down, the covenanters not only refused to suffer them to be rebuilt, but openly opposed an order sent by the king for throwing in stores, provisions and soldiers, to reinforce that fortress. Men, women, and children, worked with amazing alacrity on the fortifications of Leith; and the covenanters having demanded that the castle of Edinburgh should be delivered into their hands, declared Ruthven, the governor, a traitor, for refusing to deliver up the fortrefs.

In the mean time, the scene of grievances was every day extended in the house of commons. But still there wanted a proper cement for the rougher and less valuable, though not less strong and useful materials, that were to compose the mighty fabric of opposition. Many gentlemen sat in the lower house, easy in their circumstances, unmolested in their properties, and therefore unsuspicious of any dangerous attempts against public liberty. They had seen Charles pursue methods which they knew to be illegal; but excepting a few instances, and these far removed from themselves, no rigorous severities had been inflicted; and the fortune of other nations, now desolated by war, taught them to enjoy their own tranquillity. They were not affected with apprehensions of public, while they continued to enjoy private liberty. But though insensible to realities, they were alarmed by appearances; the substance was less formidable than the shadow; the danger which they imagined attended religion, united them all in the preservation of liberty. They accordingly divided the public grievances into three classes, the infringement of parliamentary liberties, innovations in religion, and grievances against property, and the common liberties of the kingdom. Each of these branches was referred to a proper committee; and it was determined to apply themselves to remove the grievances of the nation, before they granted any supplies to his majesty.

This perverse behaviour of the commons excited the indignation of the king. He came to the house of peers; and having sent for the commons, he told them, "That the cause of his coming was to put them in mind of what had been delivered in his name by the lord keeper, at the opening of the session.

"That, contrary to his expectations, the house of commons had held consultations with regard to religion, property of goods, and liberty of parliament; had voted some things on each of these three heads, and therefore given them precedence to the matter of his supply: that his necessities were so pressing, as not to bear delay; but if the commons would trust him, whatever had been promised in his name by the lord keeper should be faithfully performed.

"That with regard to religion, his heart and conscience went together with that established in the church of England; and that he would issue strict orders to his archbishops and bishops, that no innovations might be made.

"That as to ship-money, he never made, nor intended to make any profit of it himself, but had levied it merely to preserve the dominion of the seas, which was so necessary, that without it the kingdom

could not subsist; but left it wholly to them; whether they would raise the necessary supplies for the defence of the kingdom by ship-money, or any other means.

"That as for property of goods and liberty of parliament, he always desired his people should enjoy them, and considered no monarch so great as he who governed a rich and free people; but if they had not property of goods and liberty of persons, they could neither be opulent nor free.

"That if the house of commons refused to trust him, the affairs of government must be disordered; and the present opportunity of retrieving them irrecoverably lost: that though they trusted him in part at first, yet before the conclusion of the parliament, he must totally trust to them; and they, at last, wholly confide in him for the execution of every thing passed in the present assembly: that since there was nothing more than who should be first trusted, and that the trust in him was but a trust in part, he desired the lords to take into their serious consideration his and their own honour, the safety and welfare of the kingdom, and the great danger with which it was now threatened; and that they would endeavour, by their advice, to dispose the house of commons to give him the precedence to grievances."

This speech either convinced the house of lords; or they were gained over to the interest of the court, for they immediately voted that the supply ought to have the precedence of all other matters. But this determination of the peers produced not the desired effect; the commons voted it a breach of their privileges, the proposing and granting subsidies naturally belonging to their house. The commons were, however, fully sensible of the necessity of granting the king a present supply; and nothing but the violent counsels of Laud, and the other ministers, could have prevented its being granted. But instead of listening to any remonstrance from the commons concerning their grievances, Charles absolutely insisted, that the supply should have the preference of all other matters. Accordingly, on Monday the fourth of May, he sent the following message by Sir Henry Vane:

"Whereas on Saturday last, his majesty was pleased to send a message to this house, desiring you to give a present answer concerning his supply; to which, as yet, his majesty has had no other answer, than that, upon this day, you will again take the matter into farther consideration: his majesty; therefore, the better to facilitate your resolutions this day, has thought fit to let you know, that, of his grace and favour, he is pleased, upon your granting him twelve subsidies, to be presently passed, and to be paid in three years, with a proviso, that it shall not determine the session, his majesty will not only, for the present, forbear the levying any ship-money, but will give way to the utter abolishing of it, by any method you yourselves shall propose.

"And for your grievances, his majesty will, according to his royal promise, give you as much time as may be now and the next Michaelmas; and expects a present and positive answer, upon which he may rely; his affairs being in such a condition as can endure no longer delay."

The house immediately resolved itself into a committee; and a debate ensuing, the speaker, by a pathetic speech, turned the attention of the members on the business so strongly urged by his majesty; and the only question was, the proportion of supply that should be granted. Vane now stood up, and told them, that he had authority to say, the king would accept of nothing less than what had been mentioned in his message. This ill-timed speech threw the whole house into a flame, and they immediately adjourned till the next day.

Charles was highly exasperated, especially when Vane informed him that the commons intended to abolish ship-money, and all the other branches of the revenue. Determined to prevent any attempt of that kind, Charles came the next morning to the



house of lords; and having sent for the commons, dissolved the parliament.

It is agreed by all historians that no parliament ever met with better dispositions than this, both with regard to king and people. Even Strafford himself had advised its being called, and Charles, in his last message, had proposed an expedient, which would have healed all the breaches between himself and his people. But the truth is, a state of public tranquillity must, to many, have become a state of private danger. The secret connections with the Scots had, by those who were enemies to tranquillity, in both houses, been carried into treason, and might have been punished by the approbation of the public. Hambden, Pym, and other members of parliament, had been deceived in their opinion of the temper of the nation, which was much more favourable for the king than they imagined. Had the house been brought to trust the king in one instance, he had probably gained their confidence for ever. The influence of the Scots, their erecting the banner of their covenant against the authority of a sovereign who appeared to have done so much to give them satisfaction; their repeated menaces of invading England, and their application to the French for assistance, were such flagrant characters of rebellion, that the parliament could not have failed to have voted a war against them to be just; the consequence of which would infallibly have involved all their abettors, whether secret or open, in inevitable ruin. Add to this, that Vane's antipathy to Strafford, whose talents he could not equal, undoubtedly influenced him on this occasion, to make that ill-timed speech in the house of commons.

Strafford had discovered amazing abilities for government. Nor did those consist in low intrigue, in forming cabals, or airy speculative notions of policy, but in the manly, practicable, executive part. He had for some time been made lord-deputy of Ireland, and in that capacity experienced the misfortune which attends every prince or minister, who attempts to humanize a people, that of being forced to have recourse to many severities, which, in a well regulated government are unjustifiable, though necessary in an unsettled state. Many great men in Ireland, though otherwise friends to the English administration, could not bear that impartial rigour which Strafford always exerted. But his great merit and success were sufficiently conspicuous through the cloud of malice and envy. The king drew upwards of an hundred pounds a year, clear revenue, from that kingdom. Its manufactures flourished, the people prospered, the parliament was pleased and dutiful, and the army regular and powerful. Strafford was persuaded that these particulars spoke so strongly in his favour, that the voice of calumny could not be heard; he imagined his public conduct stood in need of no private management, either to vindicate or recommend it; and as he was as great an economist for himself as for his master, he was above the necessity of mean, oppressive practices, to increase his own fortune. He had also the merit of advising Charles to call the last parliament, a fact not only publicly known, but mentioned with applause in both houses. Strafford's enemies were therefore in danger of seeing him at once both popular and powerful. It is therefore no wonder that both puritans and papists conspired his destruction; for he was no friend to either.

Charles had hardly dissolved the last parliament before he was convinced of his error. He perceived he had acted too precipitately, and was desirous, when it was too late, to retrieve it. He was now obliged to call upon his friends for their subscriptions; and such was their ardour, joined with that of the public, that in a few weeks no less than three hundred thousand pounds were brought into the exchequer. This sum, with the assistance he expected from Ireland both of men and money, enabled him to purchase arms, erect magazines, and levy forces in every part of England. The earl of Northum-

berland was appointed general, the earl of Strafford lieutenant-general, and lord Conway general of the horse. According to the original plan of this campaign, an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse was designed to act on the borders of Scotland, near Berwick; ten thousand foot and five hundred horse were to be landed from Ireland, and to take possession of the town of Aire, in Scotland; ten thousand foot and five hundred horse were to be sent into the north of that kingdom; and a fleet of ships, having a considerable number of soldiers on board, were to sail into the Frith of Forth. Had the sums of money raised by the king been sufficient to execute this scheme with vigour, Scotland must have trembled to its foundations.

The heads of the Scottish covenanters, ever since the breaking up of the last assembly, had been employed in modelling their church, their state, and their army, according to their own pleasure, without the least regard to the royal authority. They had blocked up the castle of Edinburgh, imprisoned several noblemen who were friends to the king; and a resolution was taken, in a meeting at Edinburgh, to march their army into England, under the command of Lesley, their former general. Their parliament met on the seventh of June, pursuant to their prorogation; and though an order was sent down from the king to prorogue it for a longer time, the king's message was disregarded, under pretence of its being defective in form. They endeavoured to excuse this proceeding in a letter to the secretary of state; but added the severest menaces, if the king did not order Ruthven to deliver up the castle of Edinburgh, and withdraw his ships from their coast, where they did infinite prejudice to their commerce. They considered the dissolution of the late parliament in England as a proof of their strength in that kingdom; and looked upon the queen, Laud, and Strafford, as the only enemies they had in the nation. This opinion, however unjust, gave them infinite spirits; and it is astonishing with what alacrity the gentry, the citizens, and even the lower ranks of people, threw their plate and money upon the tables of the covenant, taking only the bonds of their chiefs for their security.

The English convocation was still sitting; where Laud, from his zeal to support the royal authority, pushed on the most destructive measures. After granting the king a liberal benevolence, they framed seventeen new canons, and assumed to themselves the name of "the holy, sacred synod." One of those canons was calculated to prevent the increase of popery, but all the rest were strongly tinged with arbitrary doctrines.

It was, however, evident, notwithstanding the vast sums brought into the royal exchequer, that they were insufficient to answer the expences of an offensive war against Scotland; and recourse was accordingly had to a cabinet council; the fatal result of which was, to employ the whole force of the prerogative in raising money. All the various oppressive methods already enumerated were accordingly employed in the most execrable manner. The feudal grievances were revived, knight-money was exacted, the tenants who held of the king in capite were unreasonably taxed for men, horses and arms. Privy-seals were every where circulated for a loan; ship-money was rigorously exacted; cart and conduct-money for the soldiers was levied, under the empty promise, indeed, of re-payment. It was with great difficulty that Charles was dissuaded by the merchants from seizing all the bullion in the Tower, and to content himself with forty thousand pounds. Commissions were renewed for compounding with recusants; patents, and pardons of all kinds, were sold for money; and great quantities of India goods were purchased upon credit by the king's officers, and sold at vast discount for ready money. But what was of still worse consequence to the royal cause, an order was issued, commanding the city of London to fur-



nish four thousand men with cart and conduct-money, for the expedition against Scotland. The lord mayor and aldermen were also summoned by the council to give in the names of such citizens as were best able to lend the king two hundred thousand pounds; and, upon refusal, Sir Nicholas Rainton, and the aldermen Soams, Atkins, and Geere, were sent to the Tower.

It was no wonder if these violent measures occasioned a universal disgust. The very soldiers caught the infection, and repaired so unwillingly to the several places of rendezvous in the north, that in some of the towns they mutinied, and murdered their commanders, and in others were guilty of the greatest disorders. Notwithstanding this, an army of twenty thousand men was raised, and continued their march to the northward. In the mean time, the earl of Northumberland was taken dangerously ill; and Strafford being very lately recovered from a very alarming distemper, was unable to join the army; so that the active part of the command fell upon lord Conway, who was by no means equal to the task.

The Scots army, though superior in numbers, was sooner ready than the king's, and advanced with great alacrity to the borders of England. To engage them to proceed, besides their general knowledge of the discontents of the kingdom, lord Saville had forged a letter, in the name of six noblemen, the most considerable in England, in which the Scots were invited to assist their neighbours in procuring a redress of their grievances. But notwithstanding these warlike preparations, the covenanters still made use of the most pacific and most submissive language; and entered England, as they pretended, with no other view than that of obtaining access to the king's presence, and laying their humble petition at his royal feet.

On their reaching Newburn upon Tyne, they were opposed by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men, under the command of lord Conway, who seemed determined to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scots first intreated them, with great civility, not to stop them in their march to their gracious sovereign; but being refused, they attacked them with such fury, that they gained the passage, and drove the English from their intrenchments. A panic now seized the whole army, and the forces left to defend Newcastle fled, with the utmost precipitation, to Durham; and not yet thinking themselves safe, they left that city, and retreated into Yorkshire.

The Scottish army marched immediately to Newcastle; and though sufficiently elated with their victory, they preserved an exact discipline; well knowing, that if they acted otherwise, the people would become their enemies, join the king's army, and drive them back into their own country. They also dispatched messengers to the king, who was now arrived at York; and were particularly careful, after the advantage they had obtained, to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person; and even made apologies, full of sorrow and contrition, for their late victory.

Charles had summoned a great council of the English peers to meet at York, and was highly exasperated at the proceedings of his Scottish subjects, but he was in no condition to chastise their insolence. Served by officers whom he could not employ; surrounded by counsellors whom he dared not trust; his exchequer empty, his spirits low, his general detested, and his cause disliked by the public, to what side could he turn for advice? When he mentioned war and the chastisement of the rebels, he met with coldness in every look of his peers, more expressive of disapprobation than the most violent debate. Such fullness forced him to ask counsel of his faithful Strafford, who frankly confessed he was for fighting the rebels. This advice was, doubtless, the best that Charles could have pursued at that critical juncture. Notwithstanding the coldness of his peers, and the

dislike many of them entertained against Strafford, the English would have gladly revenged upon the Scots the insult of invading their country. The refinements of the great had not reached their inferiors, and every man who could see or feel was touched with the indignity suffered by the English. The emptiness of the exchequer was no argument against fighting, because the two armies might have met in a few days, and the contest have been soon decided. Should the attempt have been unsuccessful, Charles, even after the loss of a battle, could not have been more distressed, or reduced to a more deplorable situation: on the contrary, it would, in all human probability, have so exasperated the English, that they would have forgot, at least for a time, their hatred of the court, and exerted all their efforts to take a dreadful revenge on their insulting enemy. The marquis of Hamilton retained still his pacific sentiments; he trembled for the danger of his native country, should the king be victorious; and for his majesty's situation, should the Scots succeed. He was therefore very earnest for concluding a treaty; and was so well seconded by the rest of the council, that Charles determined to embrace pacific measures.

During these transactions in the English council, the Scots actually gave themselves over for lost, and the heads of the army held several consultations on the most eligible measures to be pursued in this alarming crisis. It was even proposed to throw themselves entirely upon the king's mercy, and to give up the names of the English, who had not only encouraged, but invited them to invade their country. They were, however, diverted from this resolution, by intelligence received from their friends in the English camp; but it was not without difficulty they were persuaded to continue in their present situation, and to endeavour to conciliate the friendship of the Londoners by some signal act of kindness. They wrote a very affectionate letter from Newcastle to the mayor and aldermen of London, inviting them to continue the Newcastle trade, and assuring them of all imaginable security. This was a very prudent and successful measure, and induced the citizens to send a petition to his majesty for calling a parliament; and soon after, twelve noblemen presented a petition to the same purpose. As these petitions seemed to express the sense of the whole nation, Charles issued writs for the meeting of the parliament on the third of November.

On the twenty-fourth of September, Charles opened the great council of peers with a speech, in which he demanded their advice with regard to two particulars of the utmost importance. What answer was proper to be given to the rebels, and in what manner they were to be treated? And what methods must be used for raising money till a parliamentary supply could be obtained? After various debates, it was resolved to name commissioners for treating with the Scots; and fourteen noblemen, all of them professed friends to moderate measures, were named as commissioners. It was first proposed, as most consistent with the king's dignity, that the conferences should be held at York; but the Scots, not so much from any real apprehension they entertained of danger, as to increase the popular odium against Strafford, refused to meet in a place where he had any power, and Rippon was accordingly appointed for that purpose. With regard to the king's second question, it was proposed to borrow two hundred thousand pounds of the city of London: but this loan could not be obtained till the peers assembled at York joined in the request; so low was this unfortunate prince already fallen in the eyes of his own subjects!

The Scots, during the whole conference, behaved with that insolence, as sufficiently shewed they were not ignorant of their own importance. The earl of Rothes, though no commissioner, upbraided the lord Mandeville for not having more early appeared, pursuant to the promise he had made under his own hand. Mandeville, seemingly surprized at this, Rothes



Roths put the forged letter, already mentioned, into his hand. The signatures were so exactly copied, that it would have been difficult for the lords, whose names were forged, to have denied the writing; but by their all concurring in the most solemn assurances that the whole was a forgery, the Scots were satisfied they had been imposed upon.

After proposing some insolent preliminaries, the Scots demanded forty thousand pounds a month for the subsistence of their army during the treaty. Charles would very gladly have consented to the disbanded of both armies, but could not prevail, and soon perceived that nothing advantageous to him could result from the conferences at Rippon. He therefore made another attempt to remove the meeting to York, where the great council of peers were still sitting; but was again disappointed through the obstinacy of the Scots. Some of the English noblemen, exasperated at their insolent behaviour, advised Charles to break up the conferences, and fortify himself in York, where he might be able to set his enemies at defiance, and, in all probability, render their expedition abortive. This was, indeed, the only expedient Charles could have taken to support his own authority; but the majority of the council were of a different opinion, and it was therefore rejected.

The conferences, though they still continued at Rippon, were carried on in so languid a manner, that the commissioners seemed to meet rather to consult measures than to settle differences. The Scots, who were very assiduous in caressing the English, solemnly protested, that they intended nothing more than to concur with the parliament in limiting the prerogative, in circumscribing the high claims of the clergy, in chastising the insolence of the papists, and in settling the constitution of the two kingdoms upon free and equitable principles. Nothing but the facility of the English commissioners could have given the Scots such great advantages on this occasion, though it must be admitted they behaved with great address. They had treated Wilmot, and other English officers taken prisoners at Newburn, with the utmost politeness; and after giving them the highest ideas of their courage, resolution, discipline, and good intentions, sent them back to the English camp. This behaviour was of the utmost consequence to their affairs, which were far from being in so promising a condition as the public imagined. The earl of Montrose had kept up a secret correspondence with the king; and one of his letters, either through accident or treachery, fell into the hands of Lesley, the Scottish general. This affair was at once both alarming and delicate. The Scots were particularly desirous of carrying on their designs with an air of candour, in conjunction with their English friends; but the reputation of Montrose, the most able officer they had, together with the sense of his services, which were far superior to those of any other nobleman, rendered him dear to the whole army. His correspondence with the king, after the many professions of loyalty the Scots had made for his majesty's person, could not, with any appearance of justice, be deemed treasonable; but, at the same time, the heads of the covenanters were convinced that he had abandoned their cause. Montrose soon perceived that his correspondence was discovered, by his being no longer admitted to the private consultations and councils of war held by the other general officers; but he took no pains either to conceal or excuse the fact; he openly avowed and justified it. Lesley was for bringing him to a court-martial, and putting him to death; but the other noblemen were more cautious: they knew that the soldiers loved Montrose, and the loss of their leader might make such a division in their army as might prove their ruin. Charles was reduced to so unfortunate a situation, that he could take no advantage even of this favourable incident. His own commissioners pressed him to remove the conferences from Rippon to London; and he was obliged to comply, though he was very sensible of

the great advantages the Scots would reap by it. A cessation of arms was also agreed to, by which the Scots were assured of maintenance for their army, and the river Tees was made the boundary between both parties.

The utmost endeavours had been used throughout the nation in electing members for the ensuing parliament; and the persons returned were, perhaps, men of the greatest abilities that any age or country ever saw convened together at one time. Happy had it been for England, had the virtues of some of them been equal to their abilities! The circumstances of the juncture were as extraordinary as the characters of the members. The army of an enemy, whose riches were not sufficient to support it ten days beyond the bounds of their own country, lay in a friendly manner in the heart of England. So violent were the prepossessions of all ranks against the conduct of the ministry, that the sword of the enemy was thought less dreadful than the power of the court. The nobility also, whom the king had no means of retaining by offices and preferments suitable to their rank, had been seized with the general discontent, and unwarily threw themselves into the scale, which began already too much to preponderate. Sensible of some encroachments that had been made by royal authority, the people entertained no jealousy of the commons, whose enterprizes for the acquisition of power had always been covered with the appearance of public good, and had hitherto gone no farther than some disappointed efforts and endeavours. The progress of the Scots had reduced the crown to an entire dependence for supply; their union with the popular party in England brought the latter a great accession of authority; the near prospect of success roused all the latent murmurs and pretensions of the nation, which had hitherto been held in such violent constraint; and the torrent of general inclination and opinion ran so strong against the court, that the king was in no situation to refuse any reasonable pretensions of the popular leaders, either for restraining or limiting the powers of his prerogative.

The parliament met on the third of November, and the session was opened by a speech from the throne; but this was very little regarded; the grievances of the kingdom engaged the whole attention of the commons. Unfortunately, the English constitution, obscure, uncertain, and ill-settled in ignorant and troublesome times, opened a wide field for troubles and discord. The monarch concluded he was maintaining an inviolable right, in supporting an authority which the Tudors enjoyed in tranquillity. He thought it would be a disgrace to him to sacrifice any branch of the prerogative. The parliament, on the other hand, perceiving open attempts were made against the laws, exulted in the defence of civil liberty, of which they had acquired much clearer ideas, and the love of which was now the prevailing passion among the people. Encouraged by their first attempts, and animated by resistance, they forgot the respect and submission due to the sovereign, and determined to establish a new system of government, under the specious pretence of restoring the ancient constitution. Interest, ambition, cabals, and, above all, fanaticism, united their formidable influence with that patriotic zeal, which, while it was contending for liberty, threw the whole nation into a flame. At the very opening of the session, one of the members complained, that religion was stigmatized with the name of puritanism. "Whoever (said he) will conform his actions to divine and human laws, is a puritan. Whoever declines to do what others chuse he should do, is a puritan." The great object of these declarations was to render those odious who professed the catholic religion, by representing them as disaffected to the state.

Strafford was too much devoted to the interests of his master, too vigilant, and too firm in his administration, not to be universally hated by the popular leaders. Pym began the attack in a long speech,



speech, divided into many heads, after his general manner; wherein he enumerated all the grievances under which the nation laboured; and inferred, from a complication of such oppressions, that a deliberate plan had been laid for changing entirely the form of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "Could any thing (said he) increase our indignation against so enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that, during the reign of the best of princes, the constitution has been endangered by the worst of ministers, and that the virtues of the king have been seduced by wicked and pernicious counsels. We must enquire (continued he) from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow: and though, doubtless, many evil counsellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet there is one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterprise, and capacity, is intitled to the first place among the betrayers of his country; I mean the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York, who, in both places, and in all other provinces where he has been intrusted with authority, has raised ample monuments of tyranny, and will appear, from a survey of his actions, to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary counsel." He proceeded to enumerate some particulars of imperious actions and expressions; and then entered on a more personal attack of that minister, and endeavoured to expose his whole character and manners. At last the orator concluded, that it belonged to the house to provide a remedy proportioned to the disease, and to prevent further mischiefs, which might otherwise be justly apprehended from the influence he had acquired over the measures and counsels of their sovereign.

Several other speeches were made against the minister; and it was at last moved, that Strafford should be impeached of high-treason. This motion was received with universal applause; nor was there a single person who spoke in his favour. Lord Falkland alone, though known to be his enemy, modestly desired the house to consider, whether it would not be more conformable to the gravity of their proceedings, first to digest, by a committee, many of those particulars that had been mentioned, before they ventured to send an accusation against him to the lords. But this was over-ruled, the accusation was voted, and Pym chosen to carry up the impeachment, and was followed by the greater part of the commons. Strafford was in the house of peers when Pym brought up the impeachment. The lords seemed almost as much prejudiced against him as the commons, for all the favour he could obtain was to be heard in his place. He urged how unreasonable it was, upon a general charge, unsupported by evidence, to deprive him of liberty, which was in itself a punishment, before any crime had been proved against him; and how dangerous a precedent to the peerage itself they would establish, by admitting such precipitate measures. But these considerations, however just, had very little weight with the house: the earl was committed to the custody of the black rod, till the commons should exhibit a more particular charge against him.

Having been thus successful against a man who was considered as their capital enemy, they proceeded to consider more particularly the grievances of the nation, which they reduced under the heads, Privilege of parliament; prejudice of religion; liberty of the subject.

"Under the first head were reckoned, 1. Restraining the members of parliament from speaking. 2. Forbidding the speaker to put a question. 3. Imprisoning divers members for matters done in parliament. 4. Proceeding against them in inferior courts. 5. Enjoining their good behaviour, and continuing them in prison till death. 6. Abrupt dissolutions of parliament."

"Under the second head of religion were mentioned, 1. The suspension of the laws against persons professing the popish religion. 2. Their places of

trust and honour in the commonwealth. 3. Their free resort to London, and to the court, to communicate their counsels and designs. 4. Their being permitted to have a nuncio here, to execute the orders of the pope.

"Under innovations in religion were enumerated, 1. Maintenance of popish tenets in books, sermons, and disputes. 2. Practices of popish ceremonies countenanced and enjoined, as altars, crucifixes, and images. 3. Discouragements of protestants, by rigid prosecutions of the scrupulous, for things indifferent; no vice being considered so great as non-conformity. 4. Encroachment of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

"Under the third head were classed the grievances.

1. By tonnage and poundage unduly taken. 2. Composition for knighthood. 3. The unparalleled grievance of ship-money. 4. Enlargement of the forests beyond due bounds. 5. Selling of nuisances, by compounding for them. 6. The commission for building. 7. The commission for depopulation. 8. Unlawful military charges, by warrant of the king, letters of the council, and orders of the lieutenants of the counties, and their deputies. 9. Extra-judicial declarations of judges, without hearing counsel or arguments. 10. Monopolists countenanced by the council-table, and justices of the peace required to assist them. 11. The star-chamber court. 12. The king's edicts and proclamations lately used for maintaining monopolies. 13. The ambitious and corrupt clergy preaching divine authority, and absolute power in kings to act as they please. 14. The intermission of parliaments."

These heads of inquiry sufficiently indicated, that a total alteration in government was intended, and this intention was supported by speeches enforced by all the learning and eloquence of that age. Almost every county in England had its peculiar grievances, which were presented to the house by members, many of whom were afterwards the firmest friends to the king, and suffered deeply in his cause. They who were the warmest asserters of the king's legal prerogative, inveighed with the greatest vehemence against its abuse. Among others, Mr. Capel, who afterwards fell a victim to his loyalty, expatiated in the warmest manner on the grievances of the county of Hertford, which he represented in parliament. Hyde, afterwards lord Clarendon, and Falkland, were also in this number: but, in their ultimate views and intentions, they differed widely from the majority, though they were equally desirous of removing the real grievances of the nation, and of placing proper bounds to the royal prerogative.

The house of lords were not backward in encouraging this spirit of the commons. Lord Digby, who afterwards suffered so deeply in the cause of royalty, was among the first who inveighed against the oppressions of the court. But other matters, for some time, engaged the attention of the parliament. Sir Thomas Rowe having made a report concerning the treaty with the Scots, it appeared, that a contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day had, for a very considerable time, been levied on the inhabitants of the north, and that they had petitioned his majesty for relief in the most affecting terms. From these complaints, it was suspected, that they were unable to support this heavy contribution; and it was known that the Scots had declared, they should consider the cessation of payment as an infraction of the treaty; and that they should be then at liberty to pass the river Tees, and advance farther into the heart of England.

From this short state of the case, the lord-keeper, in a conference between the two houses, endeavoured to prove, that as the lords commissioners were the first that advised the cessation of arms, the miseries of the country, in consequence of that measure, could not be attributed to the king. This being premised, he admitted the necessity of providing for the Scottish army, but, at the same time, enlarged on the absurdity of suffering that of the king to starve, or be disbanded;



disbanded; because Yorkshire, and several of the finest counties in England, would, by that means, be wholly exposed to the ravages of an inveterate and rapacious enemy. The commons, however, were of a very different opinion: they had already shewn some disgust at an expression in his majesty's speech at the opening of the session, in which he had called them traitors, and had called one of their own members to the bar of the house for making use of the same expression. They were even so far from censuring the lords commissioners at Rippon, that it was resolved upon the question, "That this house doth approve of the persons of those lords that were commissioners in the late treaty of Rippon, to be commissioners now, to treat with the Scotch commissioners; with this declaration, that no conclusion of their's shall bind the commons without their consent in parliament." The house could not, however, with any appearance of decency, refuse to provide for the royal, as well as for the rebel army. But it was sufficiently apparent, that the former was not an object of their favour. They appointed a committee to consider the state of the king's army, and what commanders, or other inferior officers, were papists; to consider of the state of the northern counties; and how the money, after being raised, may, with convenience and dispatch, be sent into the north.

The Scottish commissioners were by this time arrived in London, where they were received as the guardian angels of the rights and liberties of the people. They were attended by Henderfon, and other fanatical preachers; and the church of St. Atholin was appointed for the place of their devotions. It was amazing to see the propensity of the public for this new religion: multitudes of all ranks crowded into the church. They who were so happy as to find access early in the morning, kept their places the whole day: those who were excluded, elung to the doors and windows, in hopes of catching at least some broken murmurs of the holy rhetoric. All the eloquence of parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the spirit of liberty, and employed in the most important interests of the nation, was attended to with much less avidity than these lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbarism and ignorance.

The commons were now very assiduous in providing for the subsistence of the two armies; and because subsidies would be levied too slowly for so urgent an occasion, money was borrowed from the city on the security of some particular members. Two subsidies, a very small sum, not more than a hundred thousand pounds, were at first voted; the intention of this supply being only to indemnify the members, who by their private had supported public credit.

It soon appeared, that the business of the Scotch commissioners was rather to consult measures with their friends, than to finish the treaty. It was sufficiently evident, that the Scots had proceeded much farther than they originally intended, which was nothing more than that of forming and securing the constitution of their country; but this was rather owing to the arts of the malecontents in England than their own. The great aim of the popular leaders was to protract the treaty, though that could not be effected but at the enormous expence of maintaining at least forty thousand men, in a country already exhausted. The commons, indeed, made no secret of retaining these invaders of their country till all their enemies were suppressed, and all their purposes effected. "We cannot spare the Scots," said Strode plainly in the house "the sons of Zeruiah are still too strong for us." The earl of Rothes, a man of parts, and of great credit with his countrymen, though he had never joined their popular clamour, was very sensible of this design, and exerted all his interest to render it abortive. But he soon perceived that his labours were in vain; the Scottish commissioners being given to understand, that if they did not assist their

English friends, their country would be abandoned to the mercy of the king.

Many of the leaders of the commons were, however, alarmed, and thought it highly improper that the spirit of opposition should lose any of its vigour, till the parliament had testified, in the strongest terms, its disapprobation of the late arbitrary measures, and inflicted some signal infamy or punishment upon their principal authors. A committee was accordingly appointed to consider of the state of the nation, and the members were to be directed in their proceedings, by the petitions against grievances, sent up by different counties. Religion was one of the principal ingredients in the composition of the remonstrance intended to be drawn up by this committee, and it was resolved to accuse Windebank of high-treason, for the many services and favours, which he, as secretary of state, had conferred on priests and papists. Windebank saw their intention; but affected such a firmness of resolution, that the commons imagined he would make a stand against all the power of their indignation; but being interrupted by a message from the lords, when they were on the point of declaring him a traitor to his country, he took the opportunity of leaving the house, and made his escape into France.

Several violent speeches were made against the usurpations of the clergy; and it was resolved to purge the army of papists, to present the names of recusants, to examine the high commission courts of Canterbury and York, and to enquire into the proceedings of the late convocation, or as the clergy themselves had termed it, the holy and sacred synod. These resolutions were hardly finished when alderman Pennington presented to the house, a petition subscribed by above fifteen hundred persons in the city of London, against the hierarchy and government of the church of England, by archbishops, bishops, deans, and arch-deacons, praying the house, "that the said government, with all its dependences, roots, and branches, might be abolished; and all laws in their behalf made null and void." A schedule was annexed to this petition, consisting of twenty-eight articles, in which were contained all the commonplace objections to the episcopal hierarchy, whether founded on the pretended unlawfulness of the order itself, or the abuses and vices of those who composed it.

Thus was launched the dreadful bolt which had been long preparing against the church, and which, at last, together with the church, destroyed the constitution of England. The length of the schedule annexed to this petition, required time for deliberation, and it was ordered that members only should have a copy of either. Four days after the petition was delivered, the house came to the following resolutions:

"That the clergy of England, convened in any convocation, or synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any constitutions, canons, or acts whatsoever, in matter of doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy, or laity of this land, without the common consent of parliament.

"That the several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, passed with the consent and approbation of his majesty, in the last synod, do not bind either the clergy or laity of this kingdom.

"That these canons and constitutions ecclesiastical established with the king's consent in the last synod, contain in them many matters, contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the rights of parliaments, and to the property and liberty of the subject; and also matters tending to sedition and dangerous consequence.

"That the several grants of the benevolence, or contribution, granted by his majesty by the last synod, are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy."

These resolutions were followed by several bitter speeches against Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, particularly



particularly one by Mr. Grimstone. He accused the primate of having introduced the earl of Strafford to his majesty, and of procuring the post of secretary for Windebank, whom he termed "the very broker and pander to the whore of Babylon." He upbraided him for having advanced Montague, Manwaring, and other prelates, suspected of popery; and lastly, he accused him of being the main spring and promoter of all the detestable projects and monopolies, that had proved so oppressive to the subject. Several others spoke nearly to the same purpose, and it was at last voted, that Mr. Hollis should go up to the lords with a message, "To accuse William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, of high-treason, in the name of the commons of England, and to desire he might be immediately sequestered from parliament, and committed; and that the house, in a convenient time, will offer particular accusations against him."

The demand of the commons was immediately complied with, and the primate was ordered to withdraw, but he requested to be heard a few words in his place. This being complied with, he began with protesting his innocence, and added, that he was persuaded, there was not a member in the house of commons, who believed, in his heart, that he was a traitor. He was called to order for that expression by the earl of Essex, who observed, that the primate had severely reflected on the house of commons, by affirming they had brought him in guilty of a charge, which they themselves did not believe. Laud was desirous of retracting this indiscretion, which had escaped him without mature deliberation; but the peers were so little favourable to his cause, that they refused to grant him even this small indulgence. He was immediately sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody.

The fall of Laud was accompanied with the release of bishop Williams from the Tower. The maxims and conduct of that able prelate were remembered to his honour by all parties. His sufferings had rendered him popular, and every wise and moderate Englishman, thought him the only person, whose counsels and prudence could give such weight to the episcopal character, as would enable it to stem the torrent by which it was now opposed. During all his sufferings he had behaved towards his country like a genuine patriot, and towards the church as a worthy prelate. Those who formed the opposition to the king were persuaded, that the many provocations he had received could not fail of having rendered him an implacable enemy to the court; but the friends of Charles knew too much of his private character to believe, that his resentments would ever influence him to join with those who aimed at the destruction both of church and state. He had made several dutiful applications to the king to be restored to his seat in parliament, but all his attempts were defeated by the violent opposition of Laud, notwithstanding the queen herself had interposed in his favour. This was now publicly known, and a motion was made and carried in the house of peers, for restoring Williams to his seat in parliament. The king readily gave his consent, and he was, with great pomp, introduced into the house of lords, where he omitted nothing consistent with his duty, as a churchman, to conciliate the friendship and good opinion of the house of commons.

The cause of ship-money now came to be heard before the commons, and several animated speeches were made on the occasion, and it was resolved, "that the charge imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom, for the providing and furnishing of ships, and the assessments for raising of money for that purpose, commonly called ship-money, are against the laws of the realm, the subjects right of property, and contrary to former resolutions in parliament, and to the petition of right."

This resolution was followed by others which condemned the extra-judicial determination of the judges

upon ship-money, published in the star-chamber; all writs issued for levying it, and the judgment in the exchequer against Mr. Hambden. It should be remembered, that all these resolutions passed in the house without one dissenting voice, though many gentlemen, who afterwards ruined their families and lost their lives in defence of his majesty, were members. A convincing proof in favour of those measures that rendered the calling of a parliament necessary, and first kindled the flames of popular discord in the kingdom.

But the great question is, whether those measures were not carried too far, and whether they ought not to have left sufficient power in the crown after all the grievances were removed, and the constitution settled upon a solid foundation. That the nation had been provoked is past all doubt. But was there a necessity that the knife of justice, intended to prune away the luxuriances of government, should wound its essence and its root? Should the medicine, intended to cleanse and heal the wound, be converted into a poison that cankers and destroys? Perhaps from a fair and candid collection of facts, the reader will be best enabled to form a proper judgment, whether the house of commons, through the ignorance of many, the inadvertence of some, and the malice of a few, did not afterwards pass that ancient boundary, beyond which the constitution of England cannot subsist. Their first and greatest grievance was the earl of Strafford: he had deserted the country party, and consequently irritated the leaders in the opposition. His great abilities rendered him dangerous; his lofty carriage unpopular, and his severity, odious. But still those particulars admitted of degrees of alleviation. His abilities could not have injured a people, protected by a parliament always on its guard; and he had effected one of the greatest services that could possibly have been done to the crown and people of England, by rendering Ireland, instead of being dangerous, to be dependent upon England; from being a gulph of expence, to be a province of profit. It ought therefore to have been the care of parliament to have preserved those advantages which Strafford had procured; to have improved those revenues he had raised; and to have prevented those dangers he had introduced. His practices, as lord-president of the council of York, amounted, at most, to nothing more than misdemeanors; and with regard to Ireland, his government, however severe, transgressed not the bounds of justice; and that severity was perhaps absolutely necessary among a wild and ferocious people. The arbitrary maxims he had supported at the council-board, were justly odious in a free nation; but they had been crushed in the bud, and were never so sufficiently proved as to deserve a parliamentary condemnation. The people were now sufficiently convinced, that the greatest minister must be levelled with the meanest subject, when he became obnoxious to the kingdom. The impeachment and imprisonment of Strafford had more effectually plucked the sting from prerogative, than all the oppositions, the sufferings, the remonstrances, and resolutions of parliaments had ever been able to effect; and there seems to have been no necessity of having recourse to injustice to shed the blood of a person who could no longer direct the councils of his sovereign.

The next public grievance was archbishop Laud, a man great indeed by his station in the church and his favour with his sovereign, but, stripped of those accidents, despicable in his qualities, either to hurt or to serve the public. His actions against the commonwealth had proceeded from an enthusiastic zeal, bordering upon frenzy, and an insatiable desire of extending ecclesiastical dominion. His censure therefore could not be too severe for his demerits, yet in his person he was too inconsiderable to be the cause of straining justice, or even hazarding the consequences of shocking the minds of many well-meaning people, who highly revered his character, by bringing his



grey hairs to the grave, in a manner till then unprecedented, and which it is to be hoped will never be revived.

The book of canons was a third national grievance; and certainly they well deserved the attention of parliament, because they served as a scourge to freemen. They were passed in the late convocation; and though some of them were excellent, and others indifferent, yet the whole was poisoned by the first canon, which established the indefeasibility of kingly authority, and the unlawfulness of resisting it on any pretence whatever. Several of the other canons tend to establish a detested and unnatural power in the church, and to exclude the lawful exercise of reason in religion. But the malignity of those canons ought to have been imputed to the whole body of the clergy assembled in convocation, many of whom were unimpeached in their lives and principles, and no power of the crown prevented the parliament from censuring them for their behaviour in convocation. Neither Charles nor his ministers ought therefore to have been charged with this crime, nor ought the sword of public justice to have fallen on the head of any single person on this account.

The breach of parliamentary privileges, and of personal liberty, is the next grievance loudly complained of by the commons. But these, however necessary to be supported, and however necessary to be redressed, ought impartially to be considered as the acts of those who had already suffered, or were now suffering for them. All that the commons could do, was to prosecute the authors of such pernicious measures, and to prevent their being repeated for the future. They had full liberty from the king to do this; and if they failed in the attempt, the fault could not be imputed to him. The same may be said of ship-money, the advisers of which, and the judges who had given their opinions for it, being now under prosecution by the house, were all the sacrifices Charles could make to atone for the abuses he had authorized.

With regard to the other grievances, they were nothing more than such as may happen under any well-regulated government. Parliaments had been intermitted, and to that intermission the unpunished abuses of power were chiefly, if not entirely, owing. But a bill was now preparing of a new and unusual, though salutary, nature, to remove that complaint for the future. The English constitution knew no other law than the will of the sovereign, with regard to the sittings of parliaments. Those who wished well to both the king and his people, thought that the spirit of the constitution ought, in this respect, to supply the letter. While the feudal system continued in vigour, the subject seldom complained of the intermission of parliaments, because by their assistance only the king could demand other aids and subsidies. Under the government of the Tudors, till towards the end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, parliaments were considered as the scourges of the people; both the wicked and the virtuous were alike sacrificed to their fear, their venality, or their bigotry. But when the people began to think for themselves; when they discussed the great points between the crown and the subject, they perceived many examples of parliaments forcing kings to give up ministers to justice, and to redress the grievances of the public, in consideration of the aids and subsidies they received from the people. The condition of the subject was desperate, if these aids could be commanded by the crown without the consent of parliament; because then there could be no necessity for calling one. This had, in fact, been the case under Charles; nor did he ever call a parliament, but when his revenue, however illegal, was insufficient to defray the expences of his government. The parliament now sitting had, by their vigorous proceedings, gone far towards stopping the sources of iniquitous exactions, which, in fact, must have put Charles under a tacit necessity of frequently calling parliaments.

But these precautions were not thought sufficient; it was feared that some rapacious minister might prevail upon the king to dissolve the parliament, crush their proceedings in the bud, and attempt to reduce England to a despotic government. To prevent so dreadful a calamity, no measure was thought so proper as some positive, constitutional act, which might render the calling of parliaments less precarious, and more frequent. Many specious arguments, besides those drawn from the circumstances of this important crisis, were urged, with great force and eloquence. Parliaments, in former times, regularly met once a year, and it could not be any unreasonable concession in the crown to bring the constitution so far back to its first principles, as to pass an act for triennial parliaments. This bill was strongly supported by lord Digby, son to the earl of Bristol. He appealed for the truth of what he urged to the violations of the petition of right, which had happened through the discontinuance of parliaments. "Let his majesty (said he) hear our complaints ever so compassionately; let him purge away our grievances ever so efficaciously; let him punish and expel ill ministers ever so exemplarily; let him make choice of good ones ever so exactly: if there be not a way settled to preserve and keep them good, the mischiefs will all grow again like Sampson's locks, and pull down the house upon our heads."

"The people of England (continued he) cannot open their ears, their hearts, their mouths, or their purses, to his majesty, but in parliament. We can neither hear him, acknowledge, nor give, but there."

"This bill, Mr. Speaker, is the sole key that can open the way to those reciprocal endearments, which must make and perpetuate the happiness of the king and kingdom."

"Let no man object any derogation from the king's prerogative by it: we only present the bill; it must be made a law by our sovereign; his honour and his power will be as conspicuous in commanding at once, that a parliament shall assemble every third year, as in commanding a parliament to assemble this or that year: there is more of majesty in ordaining primary and universal causes, than in the actuating of subordinate effects."

"I do not doubt but that the glorious king Edward III. when he made those laws for the yearly calling of parliaments, did it with a right sense of his dignity and honour: the truth is, the kings of England are never in their glory, their splendor, their majestic sovereignty, but in parliament. Where is the power of imposing taxes? Where is the power of restoring from incapacities? Where is the legislative authority? In the king, Mr. Speaker, but how? In the king encircled and environed by his parliament."

"Out of parliament the king has only a limited power, a circumscribed jurisdiction; but, waited on by his parliament, no monarch of the east is so absolute in dispelling grievances."

"In chasing away bad ministers, we do nothing more than dissipate clouds that may gather again; but in voting this bill, we shall contribute, as far as is in our power, to the perpetuating our sun, our sovereign, in his vertical, in his noon-day lustre."

Such were the sentiments of that great man, who afterwards lost his life and fortune in the royal cause. He thought the sentiments of liberty were not at all incompatible with those of loyalty; that a king of England could be great only by ruling over a free people; and that the people could be no longer free than the king was great. But he believed, and believed with reason, that Charles had imbibed false notions of royal greatness, and that he sought to make that personal which was only political. That a king of England can do no ill, was an allowed maxim in the constitution; but that his ministers may, and that they may be punished for it, was equally allowed. Charles, while he was able to keep the seat of power, supported the first of these maxims, but was willing to



to evade the latter. He endeavoured to screen his ministers; and by this preposterous conduct, he at last received, in his own breast, those darts of popular resentment which were originally aimed only at his ministers.

The more the commons proceeded in their inquiry after grievances, the more they multiplied. The truth is, there was a party in the house of commons, who laboured assiduously to discover grievances, and fought rather to propagate than extinguish them. Every unthinking court divine, every busy officer, and every imprudent person who was honoured with a commission in the army or navy, who spoke with warmth for ceremonies in religion, or despotism in the state, were called before the commons, and their follies or offences were obliquely charged upon the court. The servants of the high commission court, the star-chamber, and other officers, where illegal or other arbitrary measures had been pursued, were condemned to make satisfaction to the injured parties, and sometimes corporally punished. By these, and other artful measures, the anger of the house against the late grievances was kept up perpetually, without allowing a calm hour for reflection, or the least allowance for natural infirmity, mistakes, or misrepresentations. Some alleviations ought surely to have been made for the weaknesses and infirmities of human nature: it would be the height of cruelty to demand perfection in a mortal being. But men's passions were now too much heated to be shocked by any instance of injustice, which served ends so popular as those pursued by the house of commons.

The king remained entirely passive during these violent operations. The few servants who continued faithful to him, were seized with astonishment at the rapid progress made by the commons in power and popularity, and were glad, by their inactive and inoffensive behaviour, to compound for impunity. The torrent rising to so dreadful and so unexpected a height, all those who, either from interest or habit, were most attached to monarchy, were seized with despair: and with regard to those who maintained their duty to the king, merely from their regard to the constitution, they seemed, by their concurrence, to swell that inundation which began already to deluge the kingdom. Charles ordered both houses of parliament to attend him at Whitehall, where he complained strongly of their slow proceedings, and recommended to them the better support of the two armies, the forts and the navy. He professed, in very earnest terms, his desire of their perfecting the reformation they had begun; but, at the same time, wished them not to make any alteration in the established government. "You have (said he) taken the whole machine of government in pieces; a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire, so that not a pin be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the commons; they were persuaded that the machine was incumbered with many wheels and springs which retarded and crossed its operations, and destroyed its utility. Happy would it have been for themselves, and happy for the kingdom, had they proceeded with moderation, and been contented with their present plenitude of power, to remove such parts only as might justly be deemed superfluous and incongruous.

The petition presented by alderman Pennington against the government of the church, had hitherto lain dormant; the attempt was thought too dangerous, and the leaders of the opposition determined to proceed with caution. They accordingly introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen from exercising any civil office. One of the consequences of this bill would have been a deprivation of the bishops of their seats in the house of peers; but it was soon discovered, that though this measure was very acceptable to the zealous commons, who observed, with

regret, the firm attachment of that order to the crown, it was not generally approved; for when the bill was presented to the peers, it was rejected by a great majority. This was the first check the commons had met with in their popular career; and sufficiently informed them of the opposition they must expect to meet with from the upper house, whose inclinations and interest could never be totally separated from the throne.

The cry against popery was immediately revived; an engine which the commons well knew would effectually alarm the populace. One Goodman, a Romish priest, but of a very inoffensive and virtuous character, and guilty of no crime besides that of executing the duties of his function, had been tried and found guilty; and Charles, from motives of justice and compassion, had reprieved him from time to time. This mercy was considered as a crime by the commons, and a remonstrance was presented to the king on this subject. Though this violent proceeding could be considered only as a gross insult upon the common understanding of mankind, yet Charles thought proper to send an answer to the house, in which he observed, that there was no instance upon record of any priests being executed merely for their religion, either in the reign of queen Elizabeth, or that of her father; and that he feared any acts of severity exercised on persons guilty of no other crime than that of religion, would be fatally felt both by his own subjects in foreign countries, and the protestants abroad. He, however, added, that after informing the house of the real reasons that influenced his conduct, he should leave the affair entirely to their determination, and think himself sufficiently discharged from any ill consequences that might ensue upon the execution of Goodman.

But this moderation of the king was much less remarkable than the magnanimity of the priest, who presented to Charles the following petition, which deserves to be recorded, as it does honour to his memory.

"To the king's most excellent majesty,

"The humble petition of John Goodman humbly sheweth,

"That whereas your majesty's petitioner hath been informed of a great discontent in many of your majesty's subjects, at the gracious mercy your majesty was freely pleased to shew your petitioner, by suspending the execution of the sentence of death pronounced against your petitioner for being a Roman priest: These are humbly to beseech your majesty, rather to remit your petitioner to their mercy that are discontented, than to let him live the subject of so great discontent in your people against your majesty; for it hath pleased God to give me the grace, to desire with the prophet, that if this storm be raised for my sake, I may be cast into the sea, that others may avoid the tempest. "This is, most sacred sovereign, the petition of him who should esteem his blood well shed to cement up the breach between your majesty and your subjects upon this occasion."

Charles immediately sent this remarkable petition to the house; but whether it produced any effect on the popular leaders, is uncertain. Goodman, however, escaped with life; but, probably, more from the multiplicity of business than any pity so uncommon an instance of magnanimity excited in the breasts of those who had given rise to so much disturbance.

For some years, Cañ, a Scotchman, and afterwards Rosetti, an Italian, had openly resided at London, and frequented the court, as persons vested with a commission from the pope. The queen's zeal and authority with her husband had been the cause of this imprudence, so offensive to the nation. But the spirit of bigotry now rose too high to permit any longer such indulgences. Informed that the commons were greatly exasperated at these proceedings, and desirous of removing every cause of complaint, the queen sent a message to the house of commons,



in which she observed, "That she had been always ready to use her best endeavours for removing all misunderstandings between the king and his subjects: that, at the request of the lords, who petitioned the king for calling a parliament, she wrote expressly to his majesty, conjuring him to have recourse to so salutary a method: that she had since been most willing to do every good office in her power between the king and his people, a circumstance not unknown to several in the house of lords; and that she would continue to pursue the same intention, from a full persuasion of its being the only method of procuring happiness to the king, to herself, and to the kingdom: that it was her earnest desire, that all things might be justly settled between the king and his people, and all causes of misunderstanding taken away and removed: that her majesty being informed that the person sent to her from the pope is obnoxious to the kingdom, she is desirous of giving all the satisfaction in her power, and will, within a convenient time, remove him out of England: that understanding exception has also been taken at the great resort of people to her chapel at Denmark-house, her majesty will be careful not to exceed what is convenient and necessary for the exercise of her religion: that as the parliament is not satisfied with the method she pursued for raising money on the catholics, for assisting the king in his late journey to the north, she desires it may be observed, that she was moved to it merely by her dear and tender affection for the king, and the example of many others among his majesty's subjects. If, therefore, any thing in her proceedings be illegal, she hopes it will be remembered, that she was ignorant of any laws to the contrary, and carried away by her great desire of assisting the king on so pressing an occasion; but promises to be more cautious for the future, not to do any thing contrary to the established laws of the kingdom: that being desirous of employing her own power to unite the king and his people, she wishes the parliament would look forward, and pass over such errors and mistakes as her servants may formerly have committed; and promises to repay this instance of respect with all the good offices she can do the house; and that they shall experience the real good effects of her interposition, as often as there shall be occasion."

A bill was brought in for giving the king the duties of tonnage and poundage for a limited time; but the utmost care was taken by the commons, in the preamble, to assert their own right of bestowing this gift, and to divest the crown of all independent title of assuming it. And that they might increase, or rather finally fix, the entire dependence and subjection of the king, they voted these duties only for two months; and afterwards renewed their grant from time to time, by very short periods. Charles passed this important bill without any hesitation; probably with an intention to shew, that he entertained not the least intention of ever more attempting to govern without a parliament.

The triennial act did not so readily obtain the royal assent. By this bill it was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was first bound under severe penalties, failed to issue writs by the third of September, every third year, any twelve or more of the peers should be empowered to exert this authority: in default of the peers, the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. should summon the voters; and, in their default, the voters themselves should meet, and proceed to the election of members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown: nor could the parliament, after it was assembled, be dissolved in less than fifty days. As this act, however necessary to prevent the disuse of parliaments, retrenched some of the noblest and most valuable prerogatives of the crown, it is no wonder that the king was unwilling to pass it into a law, especially as these assemblies had lately established it as a maxim, to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. But finding

nothing less would satisfy the commons, he came to the house of lords, and gave it the royal assent. Solemn thanks were returned to his majesty by both houses for this mark of condescension. Great rejoicings were made in every part of the kingdom, especially in the capital; and the highest professions were every where made of gratitude and mutual returns of supply and confidence.

The king had determined to bestow gratifications on individuals; as a much surer method of softening the malignancy of the popular leaders, than any concessions he could make to the public. Accordingly several new privy-counsellors were sworn; among whom were the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol, and Warwick; the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton: all these were of the popular party; and afterwards, when the commons pushed affairs to extremity, proved the greatest support of the throne. Juxon, bishop of London, was very desirous of resigning the treasurer's staff, a post he had never solicited, and the king at last consented to his request. It is something very remarkable, that during all the severe inquiries carried on against the conduct of ministers and prelates, the mild and prudent virtues of this man, who filled both these invidious characters, continued unmolested. The staff was intended for the earl of Bedford, a popular nobleman of great authority, as well as prudence and moderation. But unfortunately both for the prince and people, he paid the debt of nature soon after his being sworn one of the privy council. The following promotions were also intended: St. John, solicitor-general; Hollis, secretary of state; Pym, chancellor of the exchequer; lord Say, master of the wards; the earl of Essex, governor; and Hamden, tutor to the young prince. But it was soon perceived that these promotions would not be sufficient to answer the end proposed, as these popular leaders seemed determined still to promote all the measures of the parliament; or, in other words, to oblige the king to resign himself passively to their direction and government. The projected promotions, therefore, never took place.

Ever since the imprisonment of the earl of Strafford, the king had laboured incessantly to save his life. He attempted to mollify, by every indulgence, the rage of his most inveterate prosecutors; and was willing to make almost any sacrifice to obtain his wishes. But he laboured in vain: the members of the opposition dreaded his experience and great capacity; and were fully persuaded, that if he escaped their vengeance, he would again assume his former power, and severely repay the miseries he had suffered. They therefore considered his death as their only security, and on which all their success in their future enterprises must ultimately depend. Every method was therefore taken that human prudence could suggest, to prevent his escaping the fate they were preparing for him. An oath of secrecy had been taken by the committee appointed to draw up the charge against him; and they were invested with the power of examining all witnesses, of calling for all papers, and of using every means of scrutiny with regard to any part of the earl's conduct and behaviour. A man must have been very cautious, or very innocent indeed, not to afford, during the whole course of his life, some matter of accusation against him; especially when so general and unbounded an inquiry was exercised by such powerful and implacable enemies.

The house of commons in Ireland, as soon as advice arrived of Strafford's imprisonment, entered into all the violent counsels against him, notwithstanding they had so very lately bestowed the most ample praises on his administration. They prepared a representation of the miserable state into which the kingdom was fallen, as they ungenerously pretended, by his misconduct. They sent over a committee to England, to assist in the prosecution of their unfortunate governor.



A. D. 1641. Some unfair methods had been used to intimidate the bishops, and they were privately given to understand, that no farther notice would be taken of the petition from the citizens, provided they did not insist upon their right of sitting on Strafford's impeachment. By an ancient canon they were forbid to assist in any trial for life, and being unwilling to exasperate the commons, who were already too much prejudiced against them, they thought proper to withdraw, nor did they assist at any of the transactions preparatory to this famous trial.

The earl of Arundel, was appointed lord high-steward, a nobleman not at all favourable to Strafford. He was, indeed, a person of too great honour to be guilty of any glaring injustice, but he seized not any opportunities of doing him service, though several offered during the course of this celebrated trial. The cause came on before the house of lords on the twenty-second of March, in Westminster-hall, where both houses were assembled, the one as accusers, the other as judges. Besides the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial.

Twenty-eight articles of impeachment were exhibited against Strafford, and regarded his conduct, as president of the council of York, as deputy of Ireland, and, as counsellor or commander in England. But though every method had been used; though the managers had spent four months in framing the accusation; and though the earl was obliged to give his answers extempore, it appears, from comparison, that he was not only free from the crime of treason, of which indeed there is not the least appearance, but that his conduct, though exposed to such severe scrutiny, if proper allowance be made for the infirmities inseparable from human nature, innocent and even laudable. His greatest enemies confessed, that his defence was something more than human.

With regard to his behaviour when president of the council of York, it appeared to have been unexceptionable. The power of the council had indeed been greatly extended, but there was not the least reason to conclude that Strafford had used any art to procure these extensive powers; because, after the court was invested with the authority so loudly complained of, he had never once sat as president, nor exercised one act of judicial authority.

The Irish committee had, if possible, still less reason to complain. Industry and the arts of peace had been introduced, during his administration, among that rude and savage people: the shipping of the kingdom had been augmented more than an hundred fold: the customs trippled upon the same rates: the exports double in value to the imports: manufactures, particularly that of linen, introduced and promoted: agriculture, by means of the English and Scots plantations, gradually advancing: and the protestant religion encouraged, without having recourse to persecution. These were known facts, and ought to have concealed any discretionary authority, so much practised during that age, especially as they were never exercised to the prejudice of the people. No illegal advice or action was proved against him; and the whole amount of his guilt during his administration in Ireland, consisted of some peevish, at most, imperious expressions, which, during such dreadful extremities, and during a bad state of health, had casually dropped from him.

Among all the species of guilt the laws of England had, with the most scrupulous exactness, defined that of treason; because on that side it was found most necessary to protect the subject against the violence of the king and his ministers. By the famous statute of Edward III. all kinds of treason are enumerated, and every other crime, besides such as are there expressly mentioned, is carefully excluded from that denomination. The commons endeavoured to prove that Strafford had been guilty of "An endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom;" and would willingly have inferred that the

crime was treason. But surely to introduce a species of guilt of which the act is totally silent; and construe it treason, is, in itself, a subversion of all law; because, under the specious pretence of defending liberty, it reverses a statute the best calculated for defending liberty, that had ever been enacted by an English parliament.

On the thirteenth of April Strafford was brought to the bar, and commanded to make a general reply to all the crimes laid to his charge. This he very nobly performed in a speech that does honour to human abilities; nor perhaps can history produce any performance equal to it, in the perspicuity of language and strength of reasoning, in stating, clearing or evading controverted evidences and facts, in extenuating some charges, in confuting others, and in following a subtle adversary through all the mazes of a long and complicated impeachment. In all the argumentative part of this noble speech, the earl confined his language only to the facts themselves; but when he comes to repel the arguments of the commons, to make the guilt amount to treason, he gave himself a much greater latitude, and displayed such an amazing strength both of style and reasoning, as at once astonished and affected the audience.

"Where, (said he) has this species of guilt lain so long concealed? Where has this fire been buried, during so many centuries, that no smoke should appear, till it burst out at once to consume me and my children? Better it were to live under no law at all; and by the maxims of cautious prudence, to conform ourselves the best we can, to the arbitrary will of a master; then fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find, at last, that this law should inflict a punishment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims unheard of till the very moment of the prosecution. If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor; in case there be no buoy to give warning, the party shall pay me damages: but if the anchor be marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime? Where is the token by which I should discover it? It has lain concealed under water; and no human prudence, no human innocence, could save me from the destruction with which I am threatened.

"It is now full two hundred and forty years since treasons were defined; and so long has it been, since any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, before myself. We have lived, my lords, happily to ourselves at home: we have lived glorious abroad, to the world: let us be content with what our fathers have left us: let not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they were, in those killing and destructive arts. Great wisdom it will be in your lordships, and just providence, for yourselves, for your posterities, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you into the fire, these bloody and mysterious volumes of arbitrary and constructive treasons, as the primitive christians did their books of curious arts, and betake ourselves to the plain letter of the statute, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it.

"Let us not, to our own destruction, awake those sleeping lions, by rattling up a company of records, which have lain, during so many ages, by the wall, forgotten and neglected. To all my former afflictions, add not this, my lords, the most severe of any; that I, for my other sins, not for my treasons, be the means of introducing a precedent, so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country."

"However these gentlemen at the bar say, they speak for the commonwealth, and they believe so: yet, under favour, in this particular, it is I who speak for the commonwealth. Precedents, like those endeavoured to be established against me, must draw along such inconveniences and miseries, that, in a few years, the kingdom will be in the condition



"condition expressed in a statute of Henry IV. and no man shall know by what rule to govern his words and actions.

"Impose not, my lords, difficulties unfurmountable upon ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with cheerfulness their king and country. If you examine them, under such severe penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable; the public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste; and no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, will ever engage in such dreadful, such unknown perils.

"My lords, I have now troubled your lordships a great deal longer than I should have done. Were it not for the interest of these pledges, which a saint in heaven left me, I should be loth"—Here he pointed to his children, and his weeping stopped his voice—"What I forfeit for myself, it is nothing; but I confess, that my indiscretion should forfeit for them, it wounds me very deeply. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmity: something I should have said; but I see I shall not be able, and therefore I leave it.

"And now, my lords, I thank God, I have been, by his blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration. And so, my lords, even so, with all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit clearly, and freely, to your judgments: and whether that righteous doom shall be to life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great Author of my existence."

Whitlocke, who was himself chairman of the committee which conducted the impeachment against this unfortunate nobleman, candidly declares, "That never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence; with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent person; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity." In a word, this nobleman, without the least assistance, blending modesty and humility with firmness and vigour, made such a defence, that the commons themselves, tho' far from being strangers to his great abilities, were astonished: they perceived that it would be impossible, by any legal prosecution, to obtain a sentence against him, and therefore determined to bring in a bill of attainder immediately after the pleadings were finished; for many of the leaders in the opposition well knew, that either Strafford or themselves must perish. It was known that he intended to impeach Pym, Hambden, and several others, of high treason, for having invited the Scots to invade England. It was thought, that had he not been prevented by the accusation of the commons, he would that very day have presented the impeachment to the house of peers. The bill was therefore pushed, with the utmost violence, in the lower house. This gave great offence to the lords; because it, in a manner, altered the course of the proceedings, as the commons seemed desirous of exchanging the character of prosecutors for that of judges. The friends of Strafford, who had the courage to declare their sentiments, took great advantage of this particular; they declared rebellion to be equally odious with treason; and that it was plain the commons intended, with the assistance of their friends, the clamorous and insolent populace, to deprive the crown and house of lords of their most valuable privileges. The peers themselves seemed to entertain some apprehensions of this kind, and declared their intention of proceeding according to the method already begun by impeachment. The bill, however, passed the commons, with only fifty-nine dissenting voices. It was, however, apprehended the bill would miscarry in the upper house, and it became necessary for the popular leaders to make use of other methods to execute their purpose.

The puritanical ministers, who hated Strafford, entertained their congregations, the Sunday after the bill of attainder was passed by the commons, with the most enthusiastic declamations on the necessity of executing justice on great delinquents. These destructive orations were not uttered in vain. About six thousand men; armed with swords, staves, &c. issued from the city, and surrounded the two houses of parliament. They threatened with the severest punishments the fifty-nine members who had voted against the bill of attainder, and posted up their names in every part of the city, under the title of Straffordians, and betrayers of their country; by which means they were exposed to the continual insults of an ungovernable rabble: and all the peers suspected of being friends of the unfortunate minister, were sure to meet with menaces of the most desperate vengeance from the enraged populace. The lords sent complaints to the commons against these violences, which they justly represented as the most flagrant breach of privilege, and as tending to destroy the freedom of parliament. But they soon perceived, from the affected coolness and indifference of the lower house, that the popular tumults were far from being disagreeable. So greatly were their sentiments altered with regard to the privileges and freedom of parliament!

A discovery, which was made about this time, tended to increase these popular disorders. Some of the principal officers of the English army, partly from an attachment to the court, and partly from a disgust they had conceived against the parliament, at the preference they gave the Scottish army, entered into an association, took an oath of secrecy, and kept up a close correspondence with some of the king's servants. They drew up the form of a petition, and proposed to get it signed by the whole army. In this petition they represented, that the great and unexampled concessions made by the king for the security of public peace and liberty, produced not the desired effects; because of some insatiable, turbulent spirits, whom nothing less than a total subversion of the ancient constitution can appease. "Far be it from our thoughts (added they) to believe, that the violence and unreasonableness of such persons can have any influence upon the prudence and justice of the parliament. But what increases our present trouble and discontent is, that we are informed these ill-affected persons are supported in their violence by the multitude, and the power of raising tumults; that thousands flock at their call, and beset the houses of parliament, and even Whitehall itself; not only to the prejudice of that freedom so essentially necessary to great councils, and judicial proceedings, but may possibly be productive of some personal danger to your sacred majesty, and the peers.

"Desirous of preventing the malignant designs of those persons, and the licentiousness of the multitudes that follow them; and impressed with the deepest care and zealous affection for the safety of your sacred majesty and the parliament, our humble petition is, that in your wisdom, you would be pleased to remove such dangers, by punishing the ringleaders of these tumults, that your majesty, and the parliament, may be secured from such insolences for the future. For the suppression of which, we offer, in all humility, to wait upon you ourselves, hoping we shall appear a sufficient defence to our gracious sovereign, the parliament, our religion, and the established laws of the kingdom, and able to repel whatever numbers may audaciously presume to violate them: so shall we, by the wisdom of your majesty and the parliament, not only be vindicated from the precedent innovations, but be secured from the future which are threatened, and which are likely to produce more dangerous effects than the former."



The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was prevailed upon to counter-sign it himself, as a mark of his approbation. The officers in general approved of this petition; but suspecting that unless they went farther, they should be abandoned by the court, and if they went so far they should become obnoxious to the parliament, the petition itself, with the whole project was laid aside.

About two months after, Goring, one of the principal actors, betrayed the secret to the popular leaders, who took advantage of it to alarm the people, tho' they well knew the danger was over. The attempt fully answered their purpose. Pym opened the matter in the house; and the terror was soon conveyed to every corner of the kingdom. A protestation was signed by the parliament, declaring that they would defend their religion and liberties against any force whatever. The panic of the people was artfully kept up by alarms continually spread of fresh conspiracies. It was given out, That great numbers of papists were gathering in Lancashire: that secret meetings were held by them in subterraneous passages in Surry: that they had entered into a plot to blow up the Thames with gunpowder, in order to drown the city: that provisions of arms were making in foreign parts: sometimes France, sometimes Denmark, was forming designs against the kingdom. All this tended to one point, namely, that of animating the people in their demands of justice against the earl of Strafford.

The king was now greatly alarmed for the fate of his favourite minister, whom his conscience told him, was innocent. He came to the house of peers, and offered the parliament any security that Strafford should never again be employed in any public business, provided his life might be saved. At the same time he declared, that he was totally dissatisfied with regard to the circumstances of the treason; and on that account mentioned his difficulty of giving his assent to the bill of attainder should it pass the house of peers. This mistaken mercy in the king, produced a fatal effect. Charles should have known, that his attachment to Strafford was the chief motive for passing the bill; and that the great proofs he gave of his anxious concern for the life of his minister, rendered his destruction the more inevitable. The commons took fire at this proceeding, and voted it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill depending before the house.

Numbers of the lords were so intimidated by the popular tumults, that they retired into the country, to avoid the brutal fury of the rebels; so that only forty-five were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the house. Yet even of this small number nineteen had the courage to vote against it. A certain proof, that if entire freedom had been allowed, it would have been rejected by a great majority. The popular leaders of the commons knew this, and were therefore very assiduous in raising the popular tumults which prevented the lords from attending their duty, and consequently destroyed the freedom so necessary in parliamentary debates: they supported the very grievance they had so long and so loudly complained of; for nothing is more evident than that all this storm of popular fury, was raised, directed, or allayed, by the breath of the fanatical preachers, and the violent enemies of Strafford.

The condition of Charles was now truly deplorable. Racked with the pangs of conscience, with regard to his consenting to the death of a minister whom he loved, esteemed, and believed to be innocent. He saw the commons whom he and his family had always hated and despised treating him as the mere phantom of a king; and that they revered his person only, that they might present him with a reed instead of a sceptre. The two armies continued in their former situation, but greatly altered in their sentiments and affections. The Scots perceived they had been made the tools of a party, who had reduced the power of the crown much lower than they had ever intended to

level it in Scotland. But they had experienced the fruits of this despicable employment, by an immense profusion of money, as it were thrown at their feet, for their entertainment: at the same time they were highly caressed and complimented by the parliament. The English forces, on the other hand, tho' extremely well disposed to support the power and authority of the king, were no friends to the queen and her party; and perceived that they must entirely depend upon the parliament for subsistence. The popular leaders made the greatest advantages of this unhappy situation of the English troops, and endeavoured to fill the minds of the people with terror, by representing the army as little better than a company of wild beasts who could be kept tame and innocent only by feeding them with a sparing hand. At the same time the commons, by raising all the money necessary for the payment of the two armies in the city of London, made, in fact, that city the national creditor, and themselves her debtors. The money had been raised by a vote of parliament; the parliament was therefore to refund it; and the interest of the city depended upon supporting the credit of the parliament, which could only be done by prolonging the duration of that assembly. Such was the artful reasoning that induced many well meaning members to give their consent for the bringing in a bill "That the parliament should not be adjourned; prorogued; or dissolved, but by its own consent."

It must be granted that by this bill, the parliament dissolved the English constitution. Even the people themselves, however disgusted against the measures of Charles, would not have suffered the thoughts of such a bill, had they not seen it through a false medium; through the mist of terror; occasioned by seventy thousand men in arms, ready to sheath their swords in the bowels of their country. Charles beheld all the tumults excited by the arts of ambitious men, with amazement and dismay. He imagined that the sceptre trembled in his hand, even at the time when its touch would have dispelled every commotion; had not his hand been too weak to wield it.

The populace now flocked about Whitehall and accompanied their demand of justice upon Strafford, with the most shameful and open menaces. Rumours of conspiracies were again spread abroad: invasions and insurrections talked of: and the whole nation thrown into so violent a ferment, as seemed to foretell some great and alarming convulsion. Wherever the king turned his eyes he was presented with a gloomy and frightful prospect: he perceived no resource, no expedient, no security. All his servants preferred their own safety to that of their master, and even declined interposing with their advice between him and his parliament. The queen, terrified with the appearance of such alarming insurrections, pressed him with tears to satisfy his people with regard to his minister, as it was hoped that his death would restore that tranquillity which had for some time forsaken the kingdom. Juxon alone, whose courage was not inferior to his other virtues, despised the menaces of the populace, and boldly told the king; that if in his conscience he thought Strafford innocent of the treason laid to his charge, he ought not to pass the bill of attainder.

While the king continued in this dreadful situation of mind, Strafford took a step which demonstrated that his soul was a stranger to fear. He wrote a letter to the king, in which he treated his majesty to prefer the peace and safety of his kingdom to the life of an unfortunate, though innocent man; and quiet the tumultuous populace; by granting the request they made with so much vehemence. "In this, added he, "my request will more acquit you to God, than all "the world can do besides. To a willing man there "is no injury. And by God's grace, I forgive all the "world with a calmness and meekness, of infinite "contentment to my dislodging soul; so, Sir, to you "I can resign the life of this world with all imaginable cheerfulness, in the just acknowledgment of "your



"your exceeding favours." This letter astonished his majesty: he knew the soul of Strafford was not easily terrified, but he thought him not endowed with such amazing magnanimity. But it tended little to remove the doubts of Charles: he could not bear the thought of putting to death a man whom he loved, esteemed, and believed to be innocent.

At last, however, after the most violent anxiety and doubt, Charles granted a commission to four noblemen, empowering them to give the royal assent to the bill. Carleton, secretary of state, was sent to inform Strafford that the bill of attainder was signed. On receiving this fatal news, he rose from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand upon his heart, and said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation." He, however, soon recollected his spirits, and prepared himself to suffer the fatal sentence. Three days only were allowed him; nor could the king, though he sent a letter by the prince of Wales to the parliament, obtain any longer respite.

He was attended, in his last moments, by archbishop Usher; and in passing from his apartment to Tower-hill, where the scaffold was erected, he stopped under the window of archbishop Laud, with whom he had long lived in the most intimate friendship. The aged primate appeared dissolved in tears; and on Strafford's begging the assistance of his prayers in those awful moments which were so nearly approaching, the prelate pronounced, in a broken voice, a tender blessing on his departing friend, and sunk into the arms of his attendants. This affecting scene of tender friendship drew tears from the eyes of the unfortunate Strafford, but could not shake the magnanimity of his soul. With a mind superior to his fate, he marched on with an air of greater dignity than that which usually attended him. His behaviour on the scaffold was noble and decent. "I fear (said he) it is an ill omen for the projected reformation in the state, to begin with shedding innocent blood." He complained not of the malice of his enemies, nor of the methods that had been taken to deprive him of life; but laid himself down with great tranquillity, and his head was severed from his body by one stroke of the executioner. He perished on the twelfth of May, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

Strafford was one of the greatest men that ever appeared in England; and though he was not irreproachable, yet he certainly merited a much better fate: and whatever advice he might give his majesty when dangers rendered desperate methods necessary, yet he often repeated to his master this memorable and noble maxim, "That if ever necessity obliged the sovereign to violate the laws, it ought to be done with great reserve; and that, as soon as it was possible, reparation ought to be made to the laws for what they had suffered by such violation."

The same commissioners who signed the bill against the minister, signed also another more fatal to the royal authority. By this act it was declared, that the parliament should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without the consent of both houses. The king considered not the consequence of this statute. Absorbed in grief for the loss of his favourite, he gave his assent to an act that rendered him the slave of his oppressors.

It was in vain that Charles expected a proportional return for so many instances of unbounded compliance. The commons proceeded in their career, and resolved to annihilate all remains of arbitrary power. They attacked the court of high commission and the star-chamber, whose jurisdiction, almost without rule or bounds, put real shackles on civil liberty. A bill unanimously passed the house to abolish these courts; and, in them, to annihilate the principal and most dangerous articles of the king's prerogative. The breach made in the power of the crown by this abolition was the greater, as the star-chamber took cognizance of all the infractions of the royal proclama-

tions. The right of issuing ordinances was, from that time, in a great measure abrogated, as the king no longer had it in his power to carry them into execution.

The marshal's court, which took cognizance of offensive words, and was thought not sufficiently limited by law, was also, for that reason, abolished. The stannary courts, which exercised jurisdiction over the miners, being liable to a similar objection, underwent a similar fate. The abolition of the council of York, and the council of Wales, followed from the same principles. The authority of the clerk of the market, to whom the care of a general inspection of the weights and measures throughout England was committed, was transferred to the mayors, sheriffs, and ordinary magistrates.

Thus did the commons abolish every remains of arbitrary power; and made the rigid maxims of law and equity the sole rule of conduct. No courts of judicature now existed but those of Westminster-hall; and though the means they made use of to procure these great advantages to posterity, often favoured of artifice, sometimes of violence, yet it should be remembered, that it is, perhaps, impossible to effect a revolution in government, merely by the force of reason and argument. Upon the whole, therefore, if we except that complication of cruel iniquity that effected Strafford's attainder, it must be owned, that the transactions during the first period of this memorable parliament, were productive of very great advantages to the nation, by fixing the liberty of the subject on a firm and solid foundation.

The parliament now adjourned to the twentieth of October; and the king set out on a journey to Scotland, in order to settle the government of that kingdom. As his path lay through the places where both the English and Scottish armies were cantoned, the commons entertained great jealousy on that account; and a committee of their house was appointed to attend him, under pretence of seeing the articles of the treaty with the Scottish commissioners fully executed, but in reality to be a spy upon his actions.

While Charles continued in Scotland, Argyle and Hamilton precipitately left the parliament, where every transaction was carried on with candour, under pretence that the earl of Crawford and others intended to assassinate them. This plot, if indeed any thing of that kind ever existed, seems to have been laid in England; where it made a much greater noise, and was much better understood than in Scotland. Charles on this occasion behaved nobly. He went, attended by about five hundred gentlemen, to the parliament, and desired the members not to be alarmed at pretended designs, which had, probably, no real existence, but search the affair to the bottom, and restore security to the kingdom, by withdrawing the veil of deception, or punishing, with the utmost severity, those who dared disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. His advice was followed; and the circumstances of the plot being thoroughly examined, they were found to be wholly destitute of support; and even the noblemen themselves were so much ashamed of their conduct, that they returned in a few days to attend their duty in parliament. But though this incident had no effect in Scotland, it was attended with very alarming consequences in England. The parliament, which was now again assembled, represented it as a premeditated design in the papists to break off the treaty of pacification; and that there was not the least doubt of their having a large party to carry on the same designs in England. The two houses, therefore, came to the most alarming resolutions; and circular letters, full of apprehension and terror, were sent to all the civil and military officers in the kingdom.

The arrival of the Scottish commissioners at Edinburgh changed the face of affairs in that kingdom. Charles was obliged to consent to every proposal, however exorbitant, in order to save the lives of his friends who were still in prison. For notwithstanding the



the articles signed at London, it was now made a matter of conscience with the violent covenanters, that according to their religious engagements, their deaths only ought to satisfy them. Strange and preposterous conduct, to make religion, intended to disseminate peace and happiness in every part of the world, the author of the most horrid crimes! Charles, who determined not to abandon those who suffered for their loyalty, was obliged to court the favour of the Scots: He made such a distribution of public posts and preferments among the rigid covenanters; that it may with justice be said, that his enemies were loaded with riches and honours, while his friends were abandoned to poverty and distress.

It was the fate of Charles to see his three kingdoms in flames at the same period of time. Ireland had been peaceable since the establishment of the laws, and a proper subordination, till the late transactions of the English parliament excited the flame of rebellion in that kingdom. The remains of the old Irish families had indeed never been thoroughly satisfied with their state of subjection under the kings of England, while the assistance they constantly received from the catholic princes, kept them firmly attached to the religion of Rome. There were among them, as well as among the English and Scotch, men of sense and penetration, who knew the dreadful effects of enthusiastic fury, among a wild and ferocious multitude. They had seen its consequences in their sister kingdom; and determined to follow the example. Popery in Ireland acted in the same manner, and pointed to the same ends, as fanaticism in England and Scotland. They began with wresting from the government many civil privileges; and at first attempted nothing more than the free exercise of their own religion. Charles had agreed that four catholic regiments should be sent over into Spain in order to serve in the armies of that kingdom. Had this been effected, the dreadful rebellion and massacre that ensued had, possibly, never been excited: the horrid design had slept in the bosom of its contrivers, and perished with them; but this measure was opposed by the puritans in England, and the papists in Ireland. The faction in England opposed it merely because the king was engaged in honour to assist the king of Spain: the well-meaning papists in Ireland opposed it in parliament, because they knew from fatal experience, how dangerous enemies to the civil government of their own country all Irish soldiers are, when bred in foreign service: and the malignant papists opposed it, because they were unwilling to lose so large a body of their friends, who could not fail of being of the utmost service in their projected rebellion. Charles therefore was obliged to break his promise with the Spanish monarch, and the Irish committee, who had assisted in the prosecution of Strafford, returned from England loaded with favours and privileges for their countrymen.

By the ancient constitution of Ireland, their successions passed by a kind of adoption. Thus every sept or family, out of which a king or leader happened to be elected, considered itself as the descendants of that man, and as having a right to the territories he had governed. Those prejudices were encouraged by the clergy, who considered themselves as so many martyrs and confessors, while aliens and heretics enjoyed their power and possessed their patrimonies. The old English families, who had, in fact, conquered Ireland for the kings of England, thought themselves ill treated, and most of them being catholics, they joined in sentiments, as they had done before in interests and alliances, with the old Irish.

The party being thus numerous both in country and parliament, they followed the example set them by the English, and their attempts were crowned with similar success. They impeached and persecuted all the ministers of Charles, till there was hardly a single person left, who had courage sufficient to oppose their destructive measures. Nor was there any thing

a people could desire, with regard to indulgence in religion, or the security of their properties, which the Irish did not now enjoy. But these were not sufficient to satisfy the craving dispositions of the Irish. Zealous catholics, but sunk into the very abyss of brutal and superstitious ignorance, they beheld with horror a number of puritans scattered over their country, and the ancient revenues withheld from their clergy.

Roger More, a gentleman descended from a very ancient family in Ireland, and highly celebrated among his countrymen, for valour and capacity, first formed the project for expelling the English, and asserting the independency of his native country. He was indefatigable in the pursuit of his purpose; going, with the utmost secrecy, from one chieftain to another, and using all the arts in his power to awaken every latent principle of discontent. He maintained a close correspondence with lord Maguire, and Sir Phelim O Neale, the most powerful persons among the ancient Irish. He observed, that the rebellious factions in England and Scotland offered the most favourable opportunity for effecting their purpose; that the English planters who had expelled them from their possessions, suppressed their religion, and bereaved them of their liberties, were but a handful when compared with the natives; that though the catholics had hitherto enjoyed, in some tolerable degree, the exercise of their religion, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, they must henceforth expect the government would be conducted by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical parliament having at last subdued their sovereign, would, doubtless, when their power was consolidated, extend their ambitious enterprizes to Ireland; and make the catholics in that kingdom feel the same furious persecution, to which their brethren in England were at present exposed; and that a revolt in the Irish, tending only to vindicate their native liberty against the violence of foreign invaders, could never, at any time, be deemed rebellion, much less, during the present confusions, when their prince was, in a manner, a prisoner, and obedience must be paid, not to him, but to those who had traiterously usurped his authority.

Considerations like these could not fail of awakening the native pride of the Irish, and induce them to form a conspiracy against their hated masters. Plunket, a soldier of fortune, readily engaged in the undertaking, and it was agreed that Sir Phelim O Neale, and the other conspirators, should begin the insurrection on the same day in the different provinces, while lord Maguire and Roger More made themselves masters of the castle of Dublin. The twenty-third of October was the day fixed upon for carrying their design into execution. The scheme was at first proposed with a great deal of moderation; it was resolved not to spill any blood but in cases of necessity, and not to molest the Scots, who were very numerous in the northern parts of the kingdom. The English ambassadors at foreign courts, received frequent hints of what was projecting in Ireland, and the lords justices were desired, by repeated advices, to be upon their guard; but all these intimations produced no effect, they continued in the same supine indolence and security. The castle of Dublin, by which the capital itself was commanded, contained arms for a hundred thousand men, thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a proportional quantity of ammunition: yet even this important fortress, was guarded by no greater force than fifty men. The truth is, there was at this time so great a similarity of interests between the English puritans, and the Irish catholics, that the lords justices, who were enemies to Strafford, did not chuse to be very active against the papists. Leicester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, remained in London, and Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace, the two chief justices, were men of slender capacities, and owed the promotion merely to their zeal for the party that



that now governed every thing. Tranquil from their ignorance and want of experience, they lumbered on the very brink of destruction.

But the evening before the horrid design was to be carried into execution, they were roused from their lethargy by the information of O'Connolly, an Irish protestant, who betrayed the whole secret to Parsons. On his information, Mahone, lord Maguire, and about thirty of the conspirators were seized during the night; but More, Plunket, and some others, made their escape. Mahone discovered the project that was formed for a general insurrection, but his information came too late to prevent the intended effect.

The consternation which the discovery of this conspiracy occasioned among the English in Dublin, was greatly increased, when it was known that the catholics in every part of the kingdom had been barbarously punctual at the appointed time. It is shocking to imagine, much more to describe, the massacre that followed. Death was the smallest penalty those religious ruffians exacted from the unhappy protestants. It would have exhausted the fancy of the most ingenious savages, practised in all the cruel arts of destruction, to have inflicted greater inhumanities than the Irish rebels perpetrated on men, women, and children, without distinction. These barbarities appeared as works of piety to those in whom superstition had extinguished every natural sentiment. And while they were inflicting the most brutal torments on the unhappy protestants, they told them, with a kind of infernal pleasure, that the miseries they suffered were only the beginning of an eternity of torments they were going to receive in the regions of perdition. Some authors make the number of protestants that perished in this rebellion amount to one hundred and fifty, or two hundred thousand; but according to the lowest computation, above forty thousand fell by the hands of these merciless enthusiasts.

Had Dublin fallen into the hands of the rebels, all the English had been exterminated; but the capital being preserved, a small remnant escaped thither, and were preserved from the swords of the catholics.

Charles was in Scotland when he received advice of this rebellion and massacre; and appeared so sensibly affected by it, that he recommended, in the most affecting language, the relief of the Irish protestants to the parliament of Scotland; and was extremely desirous that some part of the Scottish army, which had not either yet been disbanded, or might easily be re-assembled, might be sent immediately over to Ireland. The Scots were not at all averse to this proposition, and appointed a committee of their parliament to treat with the commons of England; but so much time was spent in negotiations, that the opportunity of chastising the rebels, and putting a stop to their inhuman ravages, was irretrievably lost; and the unfortunate protestants denied that assistance from their brethren in England, which even the laws of nature, and the sacred ties of friendship, gave them the highest reason to expect.

When the heat of slaughter was over, and cool reflection returned, the Irish rebels trembled for their situation, and endeavoured to conceal the blackness of their crimes by the most horrid imposture. They pretended they had received authority from the king and queen, especially from the latter, for the horrid murders they had committed; and by this specious assertion, though destitute of the least foundation in truth, they deceived many of their deluded countrymen. They added, that the sole reason for their taking up arms was to vindicate the royal prerogative, so unjustly invaded by the puritanical parliaments of England and Scotland. To give some colour of truth to this improbable declaration, recourse was had to artifice and fraud. Sir Phelim O'Neale having found a royal patent in the house of lord Cranfield, whom he had murdered, tore off the

seal, and affixed it to a commission he had forged for himself.

Sensible of his utter inability to defend his Irish subjects, and chastise the rebels for their inhuman murders, Charles was obliged to have recourse to his English parliament for that assistance he was unable to supply. He flattered himself, that the terror they had always expressed against popery, a religion that now appeared in all its horrors, would sufficiently second his exhortations, and procure his protestant subjects immediate relief. But he was mistaken; a real zeal for religion was not the object of the parliament; it wanted the stimulation of faction or interest to produce the desired effect. Charles was not, however, wanting on his part, to rouse the parliament to revenge the blood of their countrymen. He laid before the commons all the intelligence he had received; and informed them, that the insurrection was not, in his opinion, the result of any rash and furious enterprize, but of a formed conspiracy against the crown of England. He added, that a cause so important to national and religious interests, required their utmost attention, must be entered upon immediately, and pursued with vigour.

But he soon perceived that the parliament were more desirous of exalting their own authority on the ruins of the prerogative, than of sending assistance to their brethren, though plunged in the very abyss of distress. As soon as the particulars of this infernal massacre arrived, all the privy-counsellors in the neighbourhood of London repaired to the house of commons, and laid before the assembly all the informations they had received. The dreadful narrative seemed to rouse in the breasts of the members the tender feelings of humanity; and it was immediately resolved to borrow fifty thousand pounds from the city, on parliamentary security. Several committees were appointed to take care of the Irish affairs; and the following resolutions were taken by the house:

"That a convenient number of ships be provided for guarding the sea-coasts of Ireland.

"That six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, be raised with all convenient speed, for a present expedition into that kingdom.

"That the lord-lieutenant be desired to present to both houses of parliament the names of such officers as he shall think proper to send into Ireland, for commanding the forces intended to be transported thither.

"That magazines of provisions be immediately provided at West Chester, in order to be sent over to Dublin, as the occasions of that kingdom may require.

"That the magazine of arms, ammunition and powder, now in Carlisle, be forthwith sent over to Knockfergus, in Ireland.

"That it be referred to his majesty's council to consider of some method of offering rewards to such as shall signalize themselves in the Irish expedition; of pardoning those rebels in that kingdom who shall make their submission in a limited time; and of offering sums of money as rewards to such as shall bring in the heads of the principal rebels.

"That letters be immediately sent to the justices in Ireland, informing them how sensible this house is of the affairs of that kingdom.

"That the committee of Irish affairs consider how and in what manner this kingdom may make use of the friendship and assistance of Scotland in the affairs of Ireland.

"That directions be given for drawing a bill for impressing men for this particular service.

But notwithstanding these resolutions, the preparations were carried on so slowly, that all the hopes of the Irish protestants with regard to a speedy assistance from their brethren in England, vanished. In the mean time, the commons took care to alarm every part of the kingdom with the most dreadful apprehensions of the horrid designs and numbers of the papists. This gave many of their own friends



in the house of commons a dislike to their proceedings; they began to be alarmed at their conduct; and to mistrust their designs. Capel, member for Hertfordshire, and a person of great integrity, had been very warm in the opposition, and as forward as any gentleman in the house for removing the real grievances of his country. The same may be said of the lords Falkland and Digby, Sir John Culpepper, Mr. Hyde, and many others whose concurrence in the measures against the court had given great credit to the opposition. But they now thought the king had gone as far as in prudence, and, perhaps, farther in duty than they could require; and therefore, that all opposition ought now to cease. They made no secret of these sentiments; but none, except lord Digby, had as yet the courage to break with the popular leaders in the house of commons.

It was, however, sufficiently evident, that the two parties must soon divide; and the opposition took every method in their power to strengthen themselves against the approaching rupture, and to prevent the desertion of so many powerful friends from having any effect in turning against them the current of popular favour. Nothing contributed more to this than the continual alarms they artfully spread with regard to the designs of the papists, already so much the object of general abhorrence. Accustomed, in all their invectives, to join the prelatical party with the catholics, the people immediately supposed the insurrection in Ireland to be the result of their united counsels: and when they heard that the rebels in that kingdom pleaded the king's commission for all their violences, bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented, without scruple or examination, to that gross imposture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance shocking to humanity. It is, however, at present, so universally allowed that the king had no hand in the Irish rebellion, that it would be nothing less than offering an affront to the judgment of the reader, to urge any arguments to prove a point that stands in need of no elucidation.

The commons, however, took care not to contradict a report that seemed so favourable to their designs. They did not, indeed, pretend to charge the king with this enormous cruelty, but insinuated that the Irish rebellion had been secretly planned, and was at that very time fomented by papists in great trust about the persons of the king and queen. Alarmed at these base imputations, Charles, to clear himself and his consort from all suspicions, unhappily recommended the suppression of the Irish rebellion to his parliament. Probably, the popular leaders had foreseen this, and took care to make use of the advantages they had acquired from an act of so much imprudence. Under pretence of this acquisition of trust, they assumed the power of disposing of the royal magazines, and of issuing orders for raising forces, which till that time had always been understood to be lodged in the crown. In short, Charles, by thus injudiciously devolving his authority to the parliament, in some measure put his own sword into the hands of his subjects. Care was taken to publish to the whole world, that his majesty had particularly recommended the preservation of Ireland to both houses of parliament; but, at the same time, effectual measures were pursued to defeat the king's prudent intention of sending over immediately a body of Scots to suppress the Irish rebels, and to restore peace to that miserable kingdom. They had, indeed, voted, that a considerable army should be immediately raised for the service of Ireland; but no effectual step was taken for carrying that vote into execution, though the rebellion was now arrived to such a height, as to call for the whole power of England. They, however, carried on the prosecution against the papists with the utmost vigour: five priests were executed at one time: the law of nations was violated with regard to foreign ambassadors, whom they suspected of harbouring priests: all the recusants of any figure or

fortune in England were secured; and it was resolved that all the Irish in the inns of court, who refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, should be expelled those societies, and rendered incapable of being again admitted. These violent proceedings alarmed the lords, who expressed a visible reluctance to proceed to such extremities. This occasioned several strong resolutions of the commons, sufficiently indicating their intention of acting without the concurrence of the house of peers, if they continued to oppose them.

On the twenty-fifth of November, Charles arrived in London from Scotland; and was soon informed, that the commons were preparing a remonstrance on the state of the nation. It soon after appeared, and was followed by very important consequences. It was not addressed to the king, but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. It was a recapitulation of all the wrong measures embraced by the king since the commencement of his reign: the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé are mentioned; the sending ships to France for the suppression of the Hugonots; the forced loans; the illegal confinement of men for refusing to obey illegal commands; the violent dissolution of four parliaments; the arbitrary government that always succeeded; the questioning, fining, and imprisoning members, for their conduct in the house; the levying taxes without consent of parliament; the introducing superstitious innovations into the church, without the authority of law: in short, every thing which, either with or without reason, had given offence during the course of fifteen years, from the accession of the king to the calling of the present parliament.

Had Charles been still in the full exercise of his authority; had the necks of his people been subject to the chariot-wheels of his power; had the detestable rod of the star-chamber still hung over the heads of his subjects; had the court of high-commission still endeavoured to fetter their consciences with the cords of iniquity; had all these, and a thousand other oppressions, still continued, this famous remonstrance had been the bravest and wisest measure that any parliament ever pursued, and must have gained its authors immortal honours. But as the landmarks of the constitution had been now replaced, as Charles had been as liberal in granting as his people had been importunate in asking; as nothing that the will of heaven could warrant, or the art of man devise, was now wanting to the security of the people; and as no recent violations of the king's concessions, or the people's rights, had been so much as pretended; it is sufficiently plain, that this remonstrance could not be calculated to promote the happiness and tranquillity of the nation.

It was easily perceived, that some farther attacks on the prerogative were intended, and that the remonstrance was intended as a signal to the whole party to exert all their powers. It is, therefore, no wonder that it met with very strong opposition in the house of commons. For more than fourteen hours the debate was supported with remarkable warmth and acrimony; and the remonstrance would possibly have miscarried, had not the uncommon length of the debate wearied out many of the king's party, which principally consisted of persons advanced in years; for it was at last carried by a small majority of eleven.

When Charles returned from Scotland, he was received at London with shouts and acclamations of the people. This was not at all agreeable to the leaders of the commons; and one of the principal designs of the remonstrance undoubtedly was to efface those favourable sentiments which the citizens were inclined to entertain of the king, and to reconcile them to the commons. It was soon after presented to his majesty, together with a petition, requesting, that the bishops might be deprived of their votes in parliament, that several alterations might be made in the established worship, and that the king would



would remove all evil counsellors from his presence. They did not, indeed, name particulars; that was impossible; because all places of power, profit, and confidence, about his person, and in his councils, were filled by men recommended by the commons, and in whom they placed an entire confidence. But the words Religion, Popery, Purity, Malignance, with the unmeaning sounds of Arminianism, and others of a similar kind, reconciled every doubt, and removed every difficulty.

During the king's absence, the commons affected such terror, that they procured a guard from the earl of Essex; but on his return, Essex surrendered his commission, as general on the south of Trent; and Charles had the resolution to order the guard to be discontinued; adding, that his royal presence ought to be a sufficient safety to his parliament.

Soon after the remonstrance of the commons appeared, Charles dispersed an answer to it, though he lay under very great disadvantages in the contest. The only reasons on which he could apologize for his former conduct, were of such a nature, that it would have been imprudent to have urged them at this dangerous crisis. To have blamed the past conduct of the parliament, would have been considered as an affront to the nation; and had he asserted the prerogative of supplying, by his own authority, the deficiencies in government, arising chiefly from the obstinacy of parliaments, he would have increased the clamours which already resounded in every part of the kingdom. He therefore contented himself with observing in general, that even during the period so much and so bitterly complained of, the people enjoyed a large share of happiness, even when compared with the most fortunate periods of English history. He made the warmest professions of sincerity in the reformed religion; promised indulgence to tender consciences, with regard to the ceremonies of the church; enumerated his great concessions to natural liberty; and blamed the infamous libels every where dispersed against his government and the national religion. "You have thrown out (said he) general reproaches with regard to pernicious councils; but ask your own consciences, have I protected any minister from parliamentary justice? Have I retained any unpopular servant, or conferred offices on any one who enjoyed not, in a high degree, the esteem of the public? But if, notwithstanding this, any malignant party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country to their own sinister ends and ambition, under whatever pretence of religion and conscience; if they shall endeavour to lessen my reputation and interest, and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they shall attempt, by discountenancing the present laws, to loosen the bands of government, that all disorder and confusion may break in upon us; I doubt not but God, in his own good time, will discover them to me; and that the wisdom and courage of my high court of parliament will join with me in their suppression and punishment."

This answer, though the king was obliged to conceal the strongest reasons for his conduct so greatly complained of in the beginning of his reign, and to confine himself within the limits of civility towards subjects who had transgressed all the bounds of regard and good manners, had great effect on the more wise and prudent part of the nation. Even the leaders of the commons themselves were alarmed, and began to fear, that unless they could remove the bishops from the house of lords, they should never succeed in the plan they had projected. They had already attempted this without success, though thirteen of the bishops were impeached of high-treason. Nor could the committee, with all their art, draw up any charge against Laud that would affect either his life or fortune. They, however, renewed their attempts against the bishops with great violence, but without success; the peers thought it highly unrea-

sonable to condemn them before they were proved to be guilty. Exasperated at this, and other instances of opposition they had lately met with from the upper house, particularly by their insisting on taking ten thousand Scots into their pay, the commons appointed a committee "to prepare heads for a conference with the lords, and to acquaint them what bills this house hath passed, and sent up to their lordships, which much concerned the safety of the kingdom, but have had no consent of their lordships to them; and that this house being the representative body of the whole kingdom, and their lordships being but particular persons, and coming to the parliament in a particular capacity; that if they shall not be pleased to consent to the passing of those acts, and others, necessary for the preservation and safety of the kingdom, that then this house, together with such of the lords as are more sensible of the safety of the kingdom, may join together, and represent the same to his majesty. They are likewise to take into consideration some methods for guarding the towns of Hull and Newcastle; and they are for this service to withdraw immediately into the inner court of wards."

It is very difficult, even in this enlightened age, to discover the real intention of this strange resolution. But tares, in this season, grew among the wheat, and a fanatical fury often obscured the reasoning faculty. The public had now acquired a great compass of knowledge with regard to the English constitution; nor were there wanting many great men, who were persuaded that several abuses had crept into the constitution, and could plead no better right to their continuance than prescription. This, in effect, was all the plea the bishops had to offer for their seats in parliament, and which stood on the same foundation with those of the temporal lords. The commons, perhaps, saw how difficult it would be to deprive the bishops of their votes, without affecting the privileges of all the peers; and knew no better expedient for succeeding, than by intimidating the lords into their measures, by asserting a new doctrine, which they afterwards carried into execution: that the original constitution knew no distinct house of parliament, because in these early times all the members sat together in one house, and enjoyed the same powers. If, therefore, the constitution should revert to its first principles, it would be found that the majority in both houses was conclusive upon the whole, by which the majority of the lords alone lost their negative upon the commons. Bold and absurd as this doctrine seemed, the lords knew the spirit of the commons too well to exasperate them: they passed no violent votes on that head, though the resolution carried with it a much stronger violation of the privileges of the peers, than Charles, during his whole reign, had ever committed on those of the commons.

But this violence of the lower house produced a different effect from what it was intended; it operated strongly in favour of the king. They soon perceived it; and in order to avert the consequences, encouraged the lower class of people, and persons incapable of judging for themselves, to present petitions to the house against the bishops' votes in parliament. One was brought up by the London apprentices. But the principal object of their attention was that of wresting from Charles all his power over the military. He had offered to raise ten thousand volunteers for the service of Ireland; but the proposal was rejected under pretence that they were unwilling to trust the king with so large a military force; though the most dreadful accounts and pathetic petitions were every day received from the protestants in Ireland. The Scots thought themselves trifled with, and presented a paper to the commons, insisting upon a categorical answer. It was in vain for Charles to endeavour to quicken the motions of the commons by repeated messages; the time was fruitlessly spent in voting money, that was never paid; in making resolutions,



that were never executed; in conferences that had no conclusion, and in debates that had no meaning.

Though the tumultuous assemblies of the lower class of people still continued about Westminster-hall, and the two houses of parliament, yet the popularity of Charles daily increased among the better sort. The common-council of London not only disclaimed publicly their having any share in them, but also presented several dutiful addresses to the king, beseeching him to continue his residence at Whitehall, and assuring him of protection against any who should dare to offer him the least insult. The Scots also, affected to see their king ill used by others; however contumaciously they had treated him themselves, informed him of the correspondence carried on between the chief covenanters and the principal leaders of the house of commons, both before, and during the continuance of the late invasion.

Unfortunately Charles mistook this gleam of compassion for the return of lustre to his reign. He began therefore to act with more spirit and vigour. He discharged Belfour from his government of the Tower, and appointed Lansford in his place, notwithstanding the warm declarations made against it by the commons. But Charles wanted courage to support his nomination; he soon after dismissed Lansford, and gave the command to Sir John Biron. On the eleventh of December, while the house was engaged in warm debates with regard to bishops voting in parliament, the king issued a proclamation for paying obedience to the laws for establishing the true religion in England; and the next day he issued another, commanding all absent members to attend their duty in parliament. These two proclamations, published at such a juncture, gave the commons room to believe, that Charles was meditating some dreadful blow; and their apprehensions were increased when they saw Falkland, Culpepper, Hyde, and several others of the wisest and most popular members in the house, divide against them.

The commons had passed a bill for impressing men for the service of Ireland; in the preamble to which the king's power of impressing, though always practised by former princes, was declared illegal, as contrary to the liberty of the subject. While this bill was debating by the peers, Charles, unwilling to submit to so considerable a diminution of his power, came to the upper house, where he told the lords he was very willing to pass the bill without the preamble, by which means, he observed, that ill-timed question with regard to the prerogative would, for the present, be avoided, and the pretensions of each party remain entire. Both houses took fire at this precipitate measure; and immediately declared it to be a high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill before it was presented to him for the royal assent. The king soon perceived his error, and made an apology to the parliament.

A. D. 1642. Weary at last of making concessions, which instead of acquiring returns of gratitude, tended only to increase the demands of the commons, Charles unfortunately determined to alter his conduct. He ascribed the insolence of the commons in a great measure to his own indolence and facility, and was unhappily confirmed in this opinion by the queen and ladies of the court; who represented to him, that if he exerted the vigour, and displayed the majesty of a monarch, the daring usurpations of his subjects would shrink before him. Had the king continued in tranquillity, and cautiously eluded, for a little longer, the violence of the tempest now raised against him, the leaders of the opposition would soon have lost their popularity, and also their majority in the house, and the king, in the end, would have certainly prevailed; at least so far as to have preserved entire the ancient laws and constitution of England. But Charles had taken his measures, and lost all the advantages he had gained over the opposition by a single stroke.

Persuaded that he was now capable of giving the final blow to the popularity of the discontented leaders, by producing undoubted evidences of their having invited the Scots to invade England, the king ordered the attorney-general to impeach them of high treason, at the bar of the house of lords. He obeyed his majesty's commands, and presented at the clerk's table in the house of peers, the following accusations:

"Articles of high treason, and other misdemeanors against the lord Kimbolton, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hambden, and Mr. William Strode.

"1. That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of England, to deprive the king of his royal authority, and to place in subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the lives, liberties, and estates of his majesty's subjects.

"2. That they have traiterously endeavoured, by many foul aspersions upon his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his majesty odious to them.

"3. That they have endeavoured to draw his majesty's late army to disobedience to his majesty's command, and to side with them in their traiterous designs.

"4. That they have traiterously invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his majesty's kingdom of England.

"5. That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the rights and very being of parliaments.

"6. That in order to complete their traiterous designs, they have endeavoured, so far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join with them in their traiterous designs; and to that end had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and parliament.

"7. And that they have traiterously conspired to levy, and actually have levied war against the king."

After delivering these articles of impeachment, the attorney demanded, in behalf of his master, that the house should appoint a committee of secrecy for examining the king's witnesses; that he should have liberty to add or alter as he pleased; and that the persons he had impeached should be secured.

These precipitate measures of the king astonished the nation. It was madness they said to suppose that the house of lords, however willing, would be permitted by the populace to pass a sentence which must totally subdue the lower house, and put an end to all their undertakings. But their astonishment was increased that a serjeant at arms had been sent to the house of commons, and in his majesty's name, demanded the persons of the five accused members; but was sent back without any positive answer. In the mean time messengers were employed to search for, and arrest them. Their trunks, chambers and studies were sealed up and locked. These proceedings being reported to the commons, they came to the following resolutions.

"That the serjeant at arms be ordered to apprehend and bring hither as delinquents the persons who have sealed up the trunks, or doors, or seized the keys of Mr. Pym, Mr. Hollis, or any other member of this house; and that the serjeant shall have power to break open the doors, and to break the seals off from the trunks.

"That if any person whatsoever shall come to the lodgings of any members of this house and there offer to seal the trunks, doors, or papers of any members, or to seize upon their persons, that such members shall require the aid of the constable, to keep such persons in safe custody, till this house give farther order; and this house doth declare, that if any person whatsoever shall offer to arrest or detain the person of any member without first acquainting this house therewith, and receiving farther order, that it is lawful for such member, or any person assisting him;



him to stand upon his or their guard of defence, and to make resistance according to the protestation taken to defend the privilege of parliament.

Irritated at these proceedings, the king resolved to go the next day in person to the house of commons, and demand the impeached members. But this design was not kept sufficiently secret to answer his majesty's intention. The countess of Carlisle, sister to the earl of Northumberland, discovered it, and sent intelligence to the five members, so that they had time to withdraw a few minutes before the king entered. Charles was attended with his ordinary retinue, amounting to about two hundred men, armed in their usual manner, some with halberts and some with walking swords. He left his attendants in the lobby, and the door being immediately thrown open, he entered the house and advanced to the speaker's chair, all the members standing up to receive him. Charles looked carefully round the house, but not seeing the accused members, he made the following speech to the commons.

"Gentlemen,

"I am sorry for this occasion of coming to you: Yesterday I sent a serjeant at arms to demand some, who, by my order, were accused of high-treason. Instead of obedience, I received a message. I must here declare to you, that though no king that ever was in England could be more careful of your privileges than I shall be, yet, in cases of treason, no person has privilege. Therefore am I come to tell you, that I must have these men wheresoever I can find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect you will send them to me as soon as they return. But I assure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a fair and legal way; for I never want any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatever I have done in favour, and to the good of my subjects, I do intend to maintain it."

It is impossible to describe the disorder into which this imprudent action of Charles threw the house; and even before the king reached the door, some of the members called aloud, "Privilege, Privilege." Immediately after his departure, the house adjourned till the next day; and the five accused members retired into the city, where they were sure of protection. The guards at the gates were immediately doubled, and the greater part of the citizens continued the whole night under arms.

Early the next morning, Charles dispatched a message to the lord mayor, ordering him to call a common council immediately. His commands were obeyed; and about ten o'clock, the king, attended only by three or four lords, repaired to Guildhall, and made the following speech to the common-council.

"Gentlemen,

"I am come to demand such persons as I have already accused of high-treason, and do believe are concealed in the city. I hope no good man will keep them from me; their offences are treasons, and misdemeanors of a very high nature. I desire your loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legal trial.

"And whereas there are divers suspicions raised, that I am a favourer of the popish religion, I do profess, in the name of a king, that I did, and ever will, to the utmost of my power, be a prosecutor of all such as shall in any ways oppose the laws and statutes of this kingdom, either papists or separatists; and not only so, but I will maintain and defend that true protestant religion which my father professed, and will continue in it during life."

The lord-mayor and aldermen behaved with very great civility, and attended him to Temple-Bar; but he could not escape the contumelious language of the populace; the cry of "privilege of parliament" resounded from all quarters; and one of the rabble, more insolent and more daring than the rest,

advanced almost to the coach door; and called aloud, "To your tents, O Israel;" words used by the rebellious Israelites, when they abandoned their king Rehoboam.

The king had hardly left the city, before a committee of the parliament met at Merchant-Taylor's Hall, doubtless to insinuate, that they did not think themselves safe without the walls of London. This committee was charged with the affairs of Ireland, which, notwithstanding the dreadful situation of the protestants in that kingdom, had been hitherto neglected. A declaration was, soon after their meeting, drawn up, with regard to the late attempt on the privilege of parliament, and afterwards confirmed by the house. It was conceived in the following terms:

"Whereas his majesty, in his royal person, came yesterday to the house of commons, with a great multitude of men, armed in a warlike manner; with halberts, swords, and pistols; who came up to the very door of this house, and placed themselves there, and in other places and passages near to the house, to the great terror and disturbance of the members thereof then sitting, and, according to their duty, in an agreeable and orderly manner, treating of the great affairs of both kingdoms of England and Ireland; and his majesty having placed himself in the speaker's chair, did demand the persons of divers members of that house to be delivered to him."

"It is this day declared by the house of commons, that the same is a high breach of the rights and liberties of parliament, and inconsistent with the liberty and freedom thereof; and therefore the house doth conceive, that they cannot, with safety of their own persons, or the indemnities of the rights and privileges of parliament, sit here any longer, without a full vindication of so high a breach of privilege, and a sufficient guard wherein they may confide, for which both houses jointly, and this house by itself, have been humble suitors to his majesty, and cannot as yet obtain."

This imprudent action of Charles set the nation in a flame. Nothing was now talked of but declarations, votes and remonstrances, against the late flagrant breach of privilege; and several addresses were presented to the king, requesting him to name the persons who had advised him to pursue such alarming measures. Petitions were also sent up from different parts of the kingdom; and, among others, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, represented to his majesty, "That trade is decayed, to the ruin of the protestant religion, and the lives and liberties of the subjects, by the designs of papists; more particularly, by their fomenting the Irish rebellion, by changing the constable of the Tower, by fortifying Whitehall, and his majesty's late invasion of the house of commons. They therefore pray, that by the parliament's advice, the protestants of Ireland may be relieved; the Tower put into the hands of persons of trust; a guard appointed for the safety of the parliament; and that the five members may not be restrained, nor proceeded against, but by the privilege of parliament."

Charles thought proper to return an answer to this petition; in which he observed, "that it was impossible for him to express a greater sense of Ireland than he had done; that, merely to satisfy the city, he had removed a very worthy person from his command in the Tower; and that the late tumults had rendered it absolutely necessary for him to fortify Whitehall for the security of his own person: that his going to the house of commons was to apprehend those five members for high-treason, to which the privilege of parliament could not extend; but that he never intended to proceed against them any otherwise than by legal methods only."

During the continuance of the tumults of the populace in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, several reduced officers and young gentlemen from the inns of court offered their service to his majesty, to protect his



*Engraved for (Sydney's History of England.)*



CHARLES the first DEMANDING the five MEMBERS  
in the HOUSE of COMMONS.







his person, in this time of danger and disorder, from the insolence of the multitude. Frequent skirmishes passed between them and the populace, which sometimes ended in blood. These gentlemen, by way of reproach, called the rabble "Roundheads," on account of their wearing their hair cropt short; and the others gave them the name of "Cavaliers." Thus the two factions, which had so long divided the nation, were now distinguished by party names, under which they might rendezvous, and signalize that mutual hatred they had conceived for each other.

This did not at all tend to quiet the people. Exasperated by opposition, and inflamed by the artful harangues of their leaders, the popular tumults every day increased; and the king thinking himself and family in danger, determined to remove from Whitehall, and take up his residence at Hampton-Court. His friends, who were best acquainted with the nature of popular insurrections, particularly those of the lower class in London, exerted all their influence to prevail upon the king to lay aside his design. They observed, that a little firmness would be sufficient to dissipate the storm raised by an artful faction: that if the king would remain in his palace, and his friends return to their seats in parliament, the giddy populace must soon spend their rage, and the affairs of government resume their natural order. But all their reasonings were in vain: Charles, after dismissing the guard that attended at Whitehall, removed, with his whole family, to Hampton-court, on the tenth of January.

Two days after, he sent a message to the commons, in which he proposed, that they should agree upon a legal method, by which he might carry on his prosecution against the members, lest farther misunderstandings happen with regard to privileges. In their answer, they desired the king to lay the grounds of his accusation before the house, pretending that they must first judge whether it would be proper to abandon their members to a legal trial. In a subsequent message, Charles informed them, that he was willing, for the present, to waive all prosecution; and, by another, he offered pardon to the members; offered to concur in any law that should acquit or secure them; offered any reparation for the breach of privileges, of which he acknowledged they had reason to complain. But the commons were determined to accept of no satisfaction, unless he would name the persons who advised him to pursue that illegal method; a condition which they well knew he must refuse.

But though the commons were deaf to all the offers made them by his majesty, the distress to which himself and his family were reduced, excited the compassion of the wiser part of the nation. They were alarmed at the furious proceedings of the commons: no person seemed to be safe, as it could not be known what they would, or what they would not vote to be treason. It soon appeared that they were determined to strike a terror into every person who should venture either to speak his mind, or to do his duty. They allowed the attorney-general but one night to prepare for justifying his conduct with regard to his accusing the five members; and after many captious questions, which he could not answer without breaking his oath of secrecy, they voted him guilty of a high crime, and addressed the lords to secure his person till they could bring him to an open trial. It appears, however, that the true design of these proceedings against the attorney-general was to discover the names of the witnesses whom the king could produce against the accused members; but in this they were disappointed by the attorney's firmness. Had they succeeded in their intention, it might, perhaps, have proved still more favourable to Charles; as it is more than probable, that he had both his information and proofs from the Scots, who would then have been obliged to declare in his favour; and they seem themselves to have been apprehensive of this, for the Scottish parliament ordered their

commissioners to mediate a peace between the king and his parliament.

The accused members, who had hitherto affected to remain in the city, now returned in triumph to Westminster. The Thames was covered with boats and other vessels, mounted with small pieces of ordnance, and prepared for battle. Skippon, whom the commons, by their own authority, had appointed major-general of the city militia, conducted the members, at the head of a tumultuous army, to Westminster. When the populace, both by land and water, passed by Whitehall, they asked, in a very insulting manner, "What was become of the king and his cavaliers? and whether they were fled?"

It was now sufficiently evident, from the proceedings of both parties, that the sword alone could decide the contest. Charles, however, was still desirous of averting the horrors of a civil war; and accordingly sent a message to the parliament, desiring, "that they would digest into one body all the grievances of the kingdom, and to send them to him, promising his favourable assent to those means which should be thought most effectual for redress." But this request was refused: the commons pretended they were too much engaged in matters of far greater consequence, to allow them time sufficient for that purpose.

These concessions were surely sufficient to have quieted the apprehensions of men who were desirous of peace. But the leaders of the party had so invincible a distrust of Charles, that they put no confidence in his promises; and were persuaded that nothing less than wresting all power from his hand would be sufficient for their safety. He, however, stood at present fairer in the eye of the public than they. He had taken away, by his messages and concessions, all the points controverted between them. New ones were therefore started. They desired him to put the Tower of London, all the forts, and the whole militia of the kingdom, into such hands as they could trust. Charles agreed to give the command of the Tower to Sir John Coniers, instead of Sir John Biron, though the latter had done nothing to merit his discharge; but he absolutely refused their request with regard to the militia.

Charles had removed to Windsor, and began to make dispositions against providing for events which he now saw no prospect of avoiding. He perceived that the intention of the parliament was to secure the magazines in the Tower of London, Hull, and Portsmouth; and even their addresses to him had hinted something of that kind. He had given private orders to the duke of Newcastle to secure Hull; but the design being discovered by the treachery of some about his person, the house of commons insisted on his attending his duty in parliament; and ordered Sir John Horham, a gentleman of great estate in that neighbourhood, to take care of the place for the parliament. At the same time, they passed a vote, that the governor of Portsmouth should admit no person into that fortress, nor suffer any part of the ordnance or military stores to be disposed of, without an order from the king signified by both houses of parliament.

These proceedings were by many considered as a dissolution of the regal government; especially as the commons had taken upon themselves, not only to dispose of the militia and trained bands of the capital, but to name lord lieutenants of several counties; and even the captains that were appointed to command the ships of war. The duke of Richmond was highly exasperated at these proceedings; and made a motion in the house of peers to adjourn for six months; but his motion was over-ruled, he was slightly censured for his conduct, and a protest was entered by those lords who were friends to the commons, because, as they pretended, his punishment was not adequate to his crime. So dangerous was it to oppose the current of popular fury, whatever unconstitutional methods were made use of to effect it!



Richmond was a nobleman of great spirit, nearly related to the king, and in possession of a very large estate. The leaders of the commons therefore thought it necessary to point him out as an object of popular resentment. They procured an attested copy of the protest, and resolved, "that the house had sufficient cause to accuse him of being one of the malignant party, and an ill counsellor to his majesty." Sir Ralph Hopton also felt the weight of their resentment. He had been one of the most strenuous declaimers against the real grievances of his country; but was persuaded the concessions made by the king were more than sufficient for reforming the government, and placing the liberties of the subject on a basis not to be shaken: He therefore opposed the proceedings of the house with great force of reason, and sometimes with indecent expressions, similar to those that had been used by many of the leaders against their sovereign. But the very words that had been applauded when uttered against majesty, were censured when they were directed against the leaders of the commons. His speeches were declared malignant, and he himself committed to the Tower.

Charles saw the proceedings of the commons with astonishment, and began to be anxious for the personal safety of his wife and children, whom he loved with the most tender affection. It was therefore resolved to send them to Holland, where they would be beyond the reach of their inveterate enemies. His eldest daughter, the princess Mary, had been lately married to the prince of Orange, who now greatly interested himself in favour of a monarch reduced to the greatest distress. Charles accordingly repaired to Dover, where they embarked for the continent. While the king was employed in providing for the safety of his family, the commons presented to him a bill for disposing of the militia, or rather putting it entirely into the hands of the parliament. The lower house had been so accustomed to insult the personal character of the king, that the very preambles to their bills presented to him for the royal assent, were generally conceived in the most contumelious language. This with regard to the militia was remarkable; it was as follows: "Whereas there has been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the house of commons, which we have just cause to believe an effect of the bloody counsels of papists and other ill affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland. And whereas by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir up the like rebellions and insurrections in this kingdom of England; but also to back them with forces from abroad, &c."

Charles was weary of making concessions, and now determined to change his conduct. He did not, however, absolutely refuse the royal assent, but replied, that he was not sufficiently at leisure to consider a matter of such importance, and therefore they must wait till his return for a positive answer. Alarmed at this delay, the parliament instantly dispatched another message to the king, pressing him for an immediate answer. They represented that when dangers and distractions prevailed, a delay was of equal consequence with a denial; that it was their duty to see a measure so necessary to the safety of the public carried into execution; that the people in many parts of the kingdom had applied to them for that purpose, in the most earnest manner; and that in some places, the inhabitants were so alarmed at their present dangers, that they had exerted their own authority in preparing for their defence.

Charles had already passed a bill for depriving the bishops of their votes in parliament, and hoped his compliance in that particular would have prevented their making any farther demands. He was mistaken; and now perceived that the commons were not to be satisfied, while any power remained in the crown. The king did not, however, think proper to give the commons an absolute denial; but desired that if the

military authority was in any part defective, it might be conferred on the crown; promising at the same time, that he would immediately give commissions to such persons only as the parliament should name. But this was far from satisfying the commons. They replied, that the dangers of the kingdom were so pressing as to admit of no longer delay; and that if his majesty refused to satisfy his people, they would do it by their own authority. But though they had recourse to menaces, where they found persuasions had no effect, they did not chuse as yet to pull off the mask, but pretended the greatest sorrow at his majesty's leaving the capital, and earnestly pressed him to return, and fix his residence at Whitehall. The king was astonished at this message, and made the following answer to the committee who delivered it.

"I am so much amazed at this message, that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! Lay your hands upon your hearts, and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies; and if so, I assure you, this message has nothing lessened them. As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave that answer, and am so much assured, that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point.

"For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall: ask yourselves whether I have not.

"What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask what you have done for me.

"Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I offer as free and general a pardon as you yourselves can devise. All this considered, there is a judgment of heaven upon this nation, if these distractions continue.

"God so deal with me and mine as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of of the protestant religion, and for the observance and preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation."

The commons declared that the king's answer was a refusal; that those whose counsels he followed were enemies to the state; that if he persisted in his resolution, he would expose the safety of the three kingdoms to the utmost danger, unless the parliament provided some remedy; and that they approved the conduct of those who had already put themselves in a posture of defence.

But notwithstanding this they were greatly alarmed, especially when it was known that his majesty intended to visit the northern parts of his kingdom, and to make the city of York the place of his residence. As soon as the king reached Huntingdon, he sent a message to the commons, upbraiding them for their conduct with regard to the affairs of Ireland, and informing them, "that he expected an equal tenderness in them with regard to his majesty's known unquestionable privileges, among which he is sure it is a fundamental one, that his subjects cannot be obliged to obey any act, order, or injunction to which his majesty hath not given his consent; and therefore he thinks it necessary to publish, that he expects, and hereby requires obedience from all his loving subjects to the laws established, and that they presume not, on any pretence of order or ordinance, to which his majesty is no party, concerning the militia, or any other things to do or execute what is not warranted by those laws; his majesty being resolved to keep the laws himself, and to require obedience to them from all his subjects.

"And his majesty recommends to his parliament, what he had before required, that they should compose and digest as soon as possible, such acts as they shall



shall think fit, for the present and future establishment of their privileges, and the free and quiet enjoyment of their estates and fortunes, the liberties of their persons, the security of the true religion now professed in the church of England; the maintaining of his majesty's regal and just authority, and the settling of his revenue; his majesty being very desirous to take all fitting and just ways, which may beget a happy understanding between him and his parliament, in which he conceives his greatest power and riches consist."

This message threw the house into a new ferment. They resolved to insist upon their former resolutions concerning the militia; they voted severe penalties against all who had advised the king to give that answer; and resolved upon the question, "that when the lords and commons in parliament, which is the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom, shall declare what the law of the land is; to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament."

Charles was now less afraid of their insolence. He had reached York; and finding the people faithful to him, he determined firmly to oppose the attempts of the parliament with regard to the militia. On the contrary, the commons, resolved to support the power they had usurped, in contempt of all laws, appointed lord lieutenants to the different counties, gave them the command of the militia, the garrisons, and all the forts in the kingdom; obliging them to obey his majesty's orders signified to them by both houses; that is, the orders of parliament, signified in the king's name, with an intent to dethrone him. Manifestos, the forerunners of civil wars, were published on both sides. Those of the king carried with them a force of evidence; which was only opposed by invectives. A detail of the sacrifices and concessions he had made, and of the violences and insults which had been their only reward, gave an appearance of justice to his cause. Confiding in the strength of his arguments, the king was desirous that the declarations of the parliament might be distributed with his own; while the parliament was very industrious to suppress the king's papers. Lord Falkland, secretary of state, and Mr. Hyde, afterwards lord Clarendon, were the authors of the papers in behalf of the king. In these the English constitution was defined with great precision; the three species of government, the monarchical, the aristocratical, and the democratical, were distinguished; and the government of England shewn to be a compound of the whole, each tempering the other.

The parliament could not answer the facts brought by the king, to convince the world that he had done all that could be required of him to give them satisfaction. But they pretended, that the king, even while he was making his concessions, was contriving the means to destroy them. Had they been able to prove this assertion; had they been able to have brought any other evidences for it than a few frivolous facts, many improbable suspicions, and more groundless fears; could they have shewn any recent instances of the king's violating his concessions, or even of appearing backward to grant any thing farther, if they should be found consistent with the safety and constitution of the kingdom; they might have been justified in some part of their harsh treatment of majesty. But nothing of that kind appears, even after the strained constructions which the two houses put upon the least indiscreet action or word of every imprudent friend of the king; and the journals of the house at this time are filled with inquiries, proceedings, and severities, which would disgrace not only the barbarous, but the irrational part of mankind. Charles had denied them nothing but the militia, which the constitution had confessedly lodged in his hands; and which they endeavoured to wrest from him, under pretence of extraordinary dangers. It may here be observed, that the very question returned against themselves, which, but a few months

before, they had so solemnly determined against Charles. He had attempted to levy ship-money, and other illegal taxes, under pretence of danger, of which he was the sole judge. The parliament denied that this danger was sufficiently imminent to warrant an arbitrary exercise of power; and therefore they voted his proceedings to be illegal. In the same manner, the parliament now demanded the militia, under pretence of extraordinary and imminent dangers. The king refused to gratify them, because he did not apprehend these dangers to be sufficiently alarming, as to warrant them to require from him a surrender of the real part of regal authority, which had been vested in him by the constitution.

The arms of all the forces levied against the Scots had been deposited in the magazine of Hull; and Sir John Hotham, the governor, had accepted a commission from the parliament, but was thought to be no enemy either to the church or monarchy. These circumstances induced Charles to believe, that if he proceeded in person to the gates of that town, before the commencement of hostilities, the governor, overawed by his presence, would admit him with his ordinary retinue, by which means he might easily become master of so important a place. He was, however, mistaken. Hotham had received strict orders from the parliament to be upon his guard; so that when Charles appeared before the place, the governor sent him a very respectful message, desiring his majesty not to approach nearer to the town, but the king continuing to advance, he ordered the bridge to be drawn up, and the garrison to appear on the walls in a posture of resistance. When Charles was near enough for his voice to be heard by the garrison, he called for Hotham, and demanded entrance; which the governor refused, declaring, that he had received his trust from the parliament. Charles was in no condition to attack the place; and therefore repeated his demand, offering to reduce his train to twenty persons. This was also denied; and the king perceiving that the governor was determined to defend the place, he retired, after proclaiming Sir John Hotham a traitor by two heralds at arms. He afterwards complained to the parliament of the disobedience of the governor; but was so far from obtaining redress, that they justified the action.

The increasing inclinations of the inhabitants of Yorkshire for the royal cause, greatly alarmed the parliament. They had raised a guard of six hundred men for his person, and seemed determined to assist him to the utmost of their power. The parliament, though they had already levied a guard for themselves; had attempted to seize the whole military power, the navy, and all the forts of the kingdom; yet they immediately voted, "that the king, seduced by wicked counsels, intended to make war against his parliament, who, in all their consultations and actions, had proposed no other end but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person: that this attempt was a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a dissolution of the government; and that whoever should assist him in such a war, were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom."

Every thing now hastened towards a crisis. The parliament appointed the earl of Essex general of their forces; and the ardour was so great among the people in the capital, that no less than four thousand men enlisted in one day. At the same time, the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general. Orders were issued for bringing in loans of money, in order to maintain the forces levied to defend the parliament: and the zeal of the people was, in this particular, more remarkable than in their enlisting under Essex; for during ten days, the throng was so great, that the persons appointed to receive the offerings of the populace had neither time nor room sufficient for the purpose.



many of them were therefore obliged to carry back their treasures, till a more convenient opportunity, when the commissioners would be at leisure to receive them.

But though the parliament was thus supported by the voluntary offerings of the people, they were totally eclipsed by the splendid appearance of the nobility, who flocked to the king at York. Above forty peers of the highest rank in the kingdom attended upon Charles, among whom was the lord-keeper Littleton; while the house of lords at Westminster seldom consisted of more than sixteen members, and even some of these were of the royal party, and constantly opposed the measures of the commons. The king issued commissions of array all over the kingdom, but the execution of them was voted treasonable by the parliament. They were, however, greatly astonished and alarmed, when they perceived so large and respectable a part of the kingdom had declared for the king. This produced a new set of propositions, on which they were willing to come to an agreement. Their demands were as follows:

1. That the officers of the crown, the ministers of state, and the governors of all the ports and forts of the kingdom, should be chosen and approved of by the two houses, or by the council in the intervals of parliament.
2. That no places shall be given for life; but that those on whom they should be bestowed, may hold them no longer than they discharge their duty well.
3. That the two houses, and the council, shall name the person unto whom the government and education of the king's children shall be committed.
4. That no marriage shall be concluded, or treated, for any of the king's children, without the consent of parliament.
5. That the laws against Jesuits, and other secular priests, and in general against all papists, shall be strictly put in execution, without any toleration or dispensation whatsoever.
6. That the popish lords be expelled from the house of peers, and their children taken from them, in order to their being brought up in the protestant religion.
7. That such a reformation be made of the liturgy and church government, as both houses of parliament, with the advice of divines, shall advise.
8. That the king shall rest satisfied with the method taken by the parliament for settling the militia.
9. That a strict alliance be entered into with the states of the United Provinces, and other neighbouring princes and states of the protestant religion, against the pope and his adherents.
10. That the five impeached members be cleared by act of parliament, and restored to their rights, that future parliaments may be secured from the consequence of that bad example.
11. That peers made hereafter be restrained from sitting and voting in parliament, without the consent of both houses.
12. That the military forces now attending the king be discharged.
13. That the lords and others of the privy-council, and others in offices and employments, be removed, except such only as shall be approved by both houses of parliament; and that the persons made choice of to fill their places and employments, may be approved of by both houses of parliament; and that the privy counsellors shall take an oath for the due execution of their places, in such form as shall be approved of by the parliament.
14. That the great affairs of the kingdom shall not be concluded nor transacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unsworn counsellors; but that such matters as concern the public, and are proper for the high court of parliament, shall be debated, resolved, and transacted only in parliament; and such as shall presume to do any thing to the contrary, shall be reserved to the censure and judgment of parliament; and such other matters of state as are proper for the privy-council, shall be debated and concluded by such of the nobility and others as shall, from time to time, be chosen to fill that

board, by approbation of both houses of parliament; and that no public act, concerning the affairs of the kingdom, which is proper for the privy-council, shall be esteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the royal authority, unless it be done with the advice and consent of the major part of the council, attested under their hands; that the council shall be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty-five, nor under fifteen; and if any counsellor's place happen to be vacant, it shall not be supplied without the assent of the major part of the council, which choice shall be confirmed at the next sitting of parliament, or else be void.

15. That the lord high-steward of England, the lord high constable, the lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seal, the lord treasurer, the lord privy-seal, the earl marshal, the lord admiral, the warden of the cinque ports, the chief governor of Ireland, the chancellor of the exchequer, the master of the wards, the several secretaries of state, the two chief justices and chief baron, shall always be chosen with the approbation of both houses of parliament; and in the intervals of parliament, by the assent of the major part of the council, in the same manner as is before expressed in the choice of counsellors.

16. That such members of either house of parliament, as, during this present parliament, have been put out of any place or office, shall either be restored, or otherwise have satisfaction upon the petition of such house of which they are members.

17. That all privy-counsellors and judges shall take an oath, the form whereof shall be agreed upon and settled by act of parliament, for maintaining the petition of right, and of certain statutes made by this parliament, which shall be mentioned by both houses; and that an inquiry of all breaches and violations of those laws shall be given in charge by the justices of the king's bench every term, and by the judges of assize in their circuits, and justices of the peace at the sessions, to be presented and punished according to law.

18. That the justice of parliament shall pass upon all delinquents, whether they be within the kingdom or in foreign parts; and that all persons cited by either house of parliament shall appear, and abide the censure of parliament.

19. That a general pardon shall be granted, with such exceptions as shall be advised by both houses of parliament.

It could not be expected that these demands would ever be complied with. No subjects had ever talked in so high a strain since Henry III. was in the power of the Mountforts. They had, indeed, so changed every part of the constitution, that it scarce retained any vestige of its former state, except the name of a king at the head of a republic. "Should I grant these demands," said the king in his reply, "I may be waited on bareheaded, I may have my hand kissed, the title of majesty may be continued to me, and The king's authority, signified by both houses, may be still the style of your commands; I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre, (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead): but as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king."

Nor did Charles content himself with refusing the demands of the parliament. He retorted their accusations with great force; and, in a very spirited answer, exhibited his charge against the commons. "If the parliament (said he) had unseasonably vented such propositions, as the wisdom and modesty of their predecessors never thought fit to offer to any of our progenitors; nor we in honour, or regard to our legal authority, which God hath intrusted us with for the good of our people, could receive without just indignation, and such many of their propositions are, their hopes would soon have been

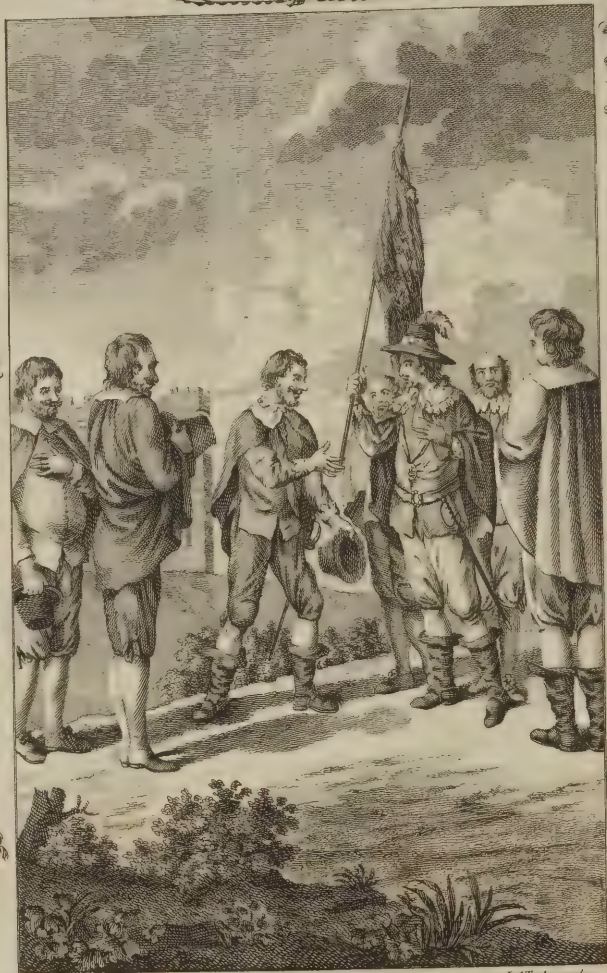
"blasted,







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*J. Wale delin.*

*J. Taylor sculp.*

*CHARLES I. ordering his Standard to be  
erected on Nottingham Castle?*



“ blasted; and those persons to whom offices, honours, power, and commands were designed, by such ill-timing their business, would have failed of their expectation; not without a brand upon the attempt. Therefore, before any thing of this nature should appear, they have (certainly with great wisdom in the conduct of it) thought fit to remove a troublesome rub in their way, I mean, the law; and, in order to undermine the very foundations of it, a new power hath been assumed, to interpret and declare laws, without us, by extemporary votes, without any cause judicially before either house, (which is, in effect, the same thing as to make laws without us) orders and ordinances made only by both houses, were pressed upon the people as laws, and their obedience required to them.

“ Their next step was to erect an upstart power without us, in whom, and only in whom, the laws of this realm have placed that power, to command the militia. And to promote this design, they have wrested from us our magazine and town of Hull, and abetted Sir John Hotham in his barefaced treason. They have prepared and directed to the people unprecedented invectives against our government, to weaken, as much as lay in their power, our just authority, and due esteem among them: they have, as injuriously as presumptively, (though we conceive by this time impudence itself is ashamed of it) attempted to cast upon us aspersions of an unheard of nature, as if we had favoured a rebellion in our own bowels. They have likewise broached a new doctrine, that we are obliged to pass all laws that shall be offered to us by both houses, however our judgment and conscience shall be unsatisfied with them; a point of policy as proper for their present business, as destructive to all our rights of parliament; and so, with strange shamelessness, will forget a clause in law, still in force, made in the second year of Henry V. wherein both houses of parliament acknowledge, that it is of the king's regality to grant or deny such of their petitions as pleaseth himself. They have interpreted our necessary guard, legally assembled, for the defence of us, and of our children's persons, against a traitor in open rebellion, to be with intent to levy war against our parliament, the thought whereof our very soul abhors, thereby to render us odious to our people.

“ They have to awe our good subjects with pursuivants, long chargeable attendance, heavy censures, and illegal imprisonments, that few of them durst offer to present their tenderness of our sufferings, their own just grievances, and their sense of those violations of the law, the birthright of every subject of this kingdom, though in an humble petition directed to both houses; and if any did, it was stifled in the birth, called sedition, and burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

“ They have restrained the attendance of our ordinary household servants, and seized upon those small sums of money which our credit had provided to buy us bread, with injunctions that none should be suffered to be returned or conveyed to us at York, or to any of our peers or servants with us; so that, in effect, they have blocked us up in that county.

“ They have filled the ears of the people with the noise of fears and jealousies, though taken up upon trust, tales of skippers, salt fleets, and such like; in order by which alarms to prepare them to receive such impressions as might best advance this design when it should be brought to maturity; and now it seems they think we are sufficiently prepared for these bitter pills. We are in a handsome posture to receive these humble desires, which probably are intended to make way for a superfection of a yet higher nature, if we had not made this discovery, for they do not tell us this is all. In them we must observe, that these contrivers, the better to advance their true ends, disguised, as much as

“ possible, their intentions, with a mixture of some things really to be approved by every honest man; and some which were already granted by us; all which are artfully blended with those other things of their main design of ambition and private interest; in hopes that, at the first view, every eye may not so clearly discern them in their proper colours.”

The sword of civil discord was now drawn, and both parties made preparations for deciding by it the dreadful contest. Hambden, Whitlocke, Mainyard, Grimstone, St. John, and Selden, accepted of the parliament's commissions; under the ordinance of militia, but the great weight of landed interest declared for the king. Charles was furnished by his queen with money, which she had borrowed upon her jewels; but the parliament had a much surer resource in public credit, upon which great sums were raised by way of loan; and small skirmishes passed between the royal and parliamentary parties in different parts of England.

The house of peers had hitherto shewn a spirit becoming so august a body. But the greater number of the lords were now with the king; some of them were reduced by the authority of Essex, and the leading members of the commons; some were intimidated by the danger to which their persons were exposed by the insolence of the populace; some by the threats of the commons to annihilate their order; some were influenced by resentment; and some by principle; so that upon the whole there was not a party sufficient, in their house, to stem the dreadful torrent that was now ready to rush upon the constitution. The venerable earl of Bristol, disdaining the ignoble motives of resentment for the usage he had met with from the king, in a very pathetic, but ineffectual speech, exposed the impending calamities of England, and exhorted them to conclude a peace with the king on honourable terms. But his advice, however prudent and salutary, produced not the desired effect; the parliament were determined to push the advantage they enjoyed over the king to the utmost extremity. Hollis, by order of the house of commons, demanded at the bar of the lords, the names of those peers who had refused to comply with the ordinance for the militia, and made an ungenerous use of the discovery. The names of those as were known to be well affected to the king were published; by which means they were insulted by the populace, and could not attend their duty in parliament without being exposed to the utmost danger; while those who had the courage to join his majesty were branded with the opprobrious title of “ betrayers of the liberties of their country.” The commons likewise voted, that all horses sent to the north, without an order from the parliament, should be seized and secured. At the same time they voted nine of the lords incapable of ever again sitting in parliament.

The last resolution produced a surprizing alacrity among the nobility now with the king. They signed a paper, “ that they would obey no orders or commands whatever, but such as were warranted by the known laws of the land; that they would defend the king's person, crown, and dignity, together with his majesty's just and legal prerogative, against all persons and power whatsoever; that they would defend the true protestant religion, established by the law of the land, the lawful liberties of the subject of England, and the just privileges of his majesty, and both houses of parliament; and that they would obey no rule, order, or ordinance whatsoever, that had not the royal assent.” Animated by these assurances of support, Charles having collected a few forces, advanced to the southward; and, on his arrival at Nottingham, he erected his royal standard, the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the nation.

Never perhaps was quarrel more unequal than that between the two contending parties; when Charles erected his standard, almost every advantage lay against the royal cause. The parliament were masters of the royal revenues, the fleet, the sea-ports, and all the magazines of arms and ammunition. The king



was destitute of almost every advantage: He had neither arms nor ammunition except what belonged to the trained bands in the counties favourable to his interest, and a small supply sent him by his queen from Holland. It is therefore no wonder that the parliament entertained the most sovereign contempt for all the efforts they imagined the king was capable of making in support of his prerogative; many imagined that he would not even attempt to make any resistance, but must at last yield to the pretensions, however enormous, of the two houses. To this persuasion Charles owed his safety. Even after his standard was erected, the danger of a civil war was not, in general, apprehended; nor was it imagined he would have the imprudence to engage his implacable enemies, and render his own condition still more desperate, by opposing a force so greatly superior to his own. These hopes were confirmed by the low condition of his army, if indeed his few forces deserved that name, when he appeared at Nottingham. His train of artillery, though far from being large, he had been obliged to leave behind him at York, for want of horses to draw it. The troops of the parliament, consisting of above six thousand men, well armed and well appointed, lay at Northampton, under the command of the earl of Essex, within a few days march of him, and seemed to threaten him with inevitable destruction.

Charles himself was alarmed at his melancholy situation, and determined to make one more effort for concluding a peace with his parliament. He accordingly sent a message to the two houses, by the earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir John Culpepper, and Sir William Uvedale. He proposed to open a negotiation immediately, in order to conclude a treaty of peace. He assured them, that nothing on his part should be wanting to advance the true protestant religion, oppose popery and superstition, secure the laws of the kingdom, confirm all the just power and privileges of parliament, and render both king and people happy. "Bring with you (added he) as firm resolutions to do your duty, and let all our people join with us in our prayers to Almighty God, for his blessing upon this work."

Charles then, in a very pathetic manner, disclaimed all intention of injuring the liberties of his people; and laid the guilt at the door of the parliament, if they refused his offers. But the commons, instead of joining with the king in his proposals for restoring the public tranquillity, reproached him with having erected his royal standard; and refused to open any negotiation, unless he would recall all his proclamations published against them. Even this answer did not exasperate Charles to make use of any indecent expressions; he offered to take down his standard, and recall his proclamations, provided they would recall the papers they had published against him and his friends. This was absolutely refused; they would agree to no terms, unless he would immediately take down his standard, and recall his proclamations, without their acting a reciprocal part. But this negotiation, unsuccessful as it was, did Charles the greatest service. The parliament had treated the king's messengers with the utmost indignity; they had not even paid the common civility to their persons. At the same time, they ordered all their officers to repair to their respective posts immediately, and published the following declaration to vindicate their conduct.

"Whereas his majesty, in his message, requires, that the parliament should revoke their declarations against such persons as had assisted his majesty in this unnatural war against his kingdom; it is this day ordered and declared by the lords and commons, that the arms which they have been forced to take up, for the preservation of the parliament, the religion, the laws, and the liberties of the kingdom, shall not be laid down till his majesty shall withdraw his protection from such persons as

"have been voted by both houses to be delinquents, and shall leave them to the justice of the parliament, to be proceeded with according to their demerits; to the end, that both this and succeeding generations may take warning, how they incur the like heinous crimes; and also to the end that those great charges and damages, wherewith all the commonwealth have been burthened since his majesty's departure from the parliament, may be borne by the delinquents and other malignant and disaffected persons; and that all his majesty's good and well-affected subjects, who by loan of monies, or otherwise at their charge, have assisted the commonwealth, or shall in like manner hereafter assist the commonwealth in time of extreme danger, may be repaid all sums of money lent by them for those purposes, out of the estates of the said delinquents, and of the malignant and disaffected party in the kingdom."

This declaration, together with several other papers that passed between the king and his parliament, turned the tide of popular affection strongly in favour of the king. This was perceived by the parliament, and rendered them cautious of offering violence to their sovereign; and, perhaps, to this single consideration the king owed his present safety, which was now considered as so precarious, that Sir Jacob Astley, whom the king had appointed major-general of his army, told him, that he could not give him assurance but he might be taken out of his bed, should the rebels make a brisk attempt for that purpose. It was therefore determined to leave Nottingham; and the king accordingly began his march for Shrewsbury, the most convenient town in England for the rendezvous of his army. Every hour during his march added considerable accessions to his strength, the people flocking from all parts to join the royal standard. On his arrival at Wellington, Charles ordered his army to be drawn up, ranged in several divisions under proper officers, and his military orders to be published at the head of each regiment. This being finished, Charles addressed his army in the following terms:

"Gentlemen,  
"You have heard those orders read: it is your part, in your several places, to observe them exactly. The time cannot be long before we come to action, therefore you have the more reason to be careful; and I must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who shall transgress these instructions. I cannot suspect your courage and resolution; your conscience and your loyalty have brought you hither, to fight for your religion, your king, and the laws of the land. You shall meet with no enemies but traitors, most of them brownists, anabaptists, and atheists; such who desire to destroy both church and state, and who have already condemned you to ruin for being loyal to us. That you may see what use I mean to make of your valour, if it please God to bless us with success, I have thought fit to publish my resolution to you, in a protestation, which, when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better quarrel; in which I promise to live and die with you."

"I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion; established in the church of England; and by the grace of God, in the same will live and die."

"I desire to govern by all the known laws of the land; and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing upon this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion; I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges

"and



“ and freedom of parliament, and to govern to the utmost of my power by the known laws of the kingdom; and particularly to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent in this parliament. In the mean while, if this time of war, and the great necessity to which I am now driven to, beget any violation of law, I hope it will be imputed, by God and man, to the authors of this war, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of the peace of the kingdom.

“ When I willingly fail in these particulars, I shall expect no aid or relief from man; nor protection from above. But in this resolution, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of the blessing of heaven.”

This speech and protestation produced amazing effects. The whole army was animated with fresh spirits; they promised to live and die with their sovereign; they now considered him not only as the father, but the guardian of his country. His cause became so popular, that the town of Shrewsbury declared in his favour, by which he acquired a communication with all North Wales, and other places beyond the Severn. The king had now learned in the school of adversity, the useful lessons of complaisance, affability, and other popular arts, which he practised with infinite success. He erected a mint at Shrewsbury, and the nobility and gentry of his party poured in money and plate with as much zeal, tho' not in such large quantities, as the Londoners had done to the parliament. He had stooped to many other measures, which nothing but his necessities could justify, for raising money, and his troops were as regularly paid, as those of the parliament, and as little burthen some to the country. The people were charmed to see the alteration made in the king, with regard to his address and behaviour. In all his excursions and marches, he repeated to his people his tenderness for their laws and liberties, and his resolution rather to die than infringe them. This behaviour gained the hearts of the populace; they flocked to his standard, and his army now amounted to ten thousand men.

At the first appearance of the commotions in England, the two princes Rupert and Maurice, sons to the unfortunate Palatine, offered their service to the king, and the former now commanded a body of horse, which had been detached to Worcester, in order to watch the motions of Essex, who was then on his march towards that city. Rupert had hardly reached Worcester, before he saw a body of the enemy's cavalry approaching the gates. He immediately attacked them with the utmost fury. The dispute was very obstinate, till colonel Sandys, who commanded the parliament's detachment, being mortally wounded, they gave way, and were totally routed by the royal party. This action, though inconsiderable in itself, tended greatly to raise the spirits of the king's forces, and acquired prince Rupert a considerable share of reputation.

It was now determined to march to meet the parliament's army, and if possible decide the quarrel by a general battle. The royal forces were commanded by the earl of Lindesey, who had served many years in the Low Countries with great applause: prince Rupert commanded the horse: Sir Jacob Astley the foot: Sir Arthur Aston the dragoons: Sir John Heydon the artillery: and lord Bernard Stuart a troop of guards. Lord Clarendon tells that the estate and revenues of this single troop, was at least equal to that of all the lords and commons, who remained in the parliament at Westminster. Nor will this appear improbable when it is considered, that both houses were now remarkably thin; the commons often voting matters of the greatest moment, when not more than forty-five or fifty members sat in the house.

The king left Shrewsbury on the twelfth of October, and in order to bring on a battle with the army of Essex, pursued his march towards the capital with

great expedition. This alarmed the parliament so much, that they sent repeated expresses to their general, to stop the progress of the royal army. Essex obeyed with reluctance. He was very unwilling to begin a war, which threatened the destruction of his country; but at last determined to obey the orders of his masters. Though the two armies were not above twenty miles distant when the king left Shrewsbury, yet neither had intelligence of their approach, till they were within six miles of one another.

The king's army lay in the neighbourhood of Banbury, and that of the parliament at Keinton, in Warwickshire. In the night of the twenty-second of October, Charles received intelligence from prince Rupert, that the enemy was approaching; and early the next morning the king repaired to the top of Edge-hill, fully resolved to give them battle, and shewed himself as ready to expose his person as any private officer in the whole army. As both parties seemed equally forward for an engagement, the forenoon was spent in drawing up both armies, in which the king was the less expeditious, as some of his foot were not yet come up, and his situation was such, that he could not be attacked without great disadvantage.

The right wing of the parliament's army was composed of a considerable body of troops, which lined some hedges; and two bodies of horse, drawn up near the town of Keinton. The left wing was composed of a strong body of foot and a thousand horse, commanded by Ramfay, a Scotch officer; and the center, which was designed as a body of reserve, by Sir William Balfour, under the earl of Bedford, general of the horse. Essex himself resolved to charge in person at the head of a regiment of foot.

The right wing of the royal army was commanded by prince Rupert, the left by general Wilmot, and the center by Sir John Biron. The king intended to have scattered some proclamations among the parliament army, offering his pardon to such officers and soldiers as should join his forces; but this prudent measure was neglected; and the old earl of Lindsey was so affected at the heat and animosity of the young officers, that he declared, “ he did not look upon himself as a general, but would die as a private colonel, with a pike in his hand, at the head of his own regiment.”

Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a body of horse to serve against the rebels in Ireland, had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, and was now posted in the left wing; but he no sooner perceived prince Rupert advancing, than ordering his troop to discharge their pistols in the ground, he joined the royal detachment. This incident, together with the furious charge of the prince, struck the whole left wing with consternation; they gave a very disorderly fire, and were broken, routed, and driven off the field by prince Rupert, who pursued them above two miles, forgetting that he carried with him the flower of the royal army, and thereby exposed the king and the remaining part of his forces to the most imminent danger. The right wing of the parliament's army had no better success. Chafed from their ground by lord Wilmot and Sir Robert Aston, they also took to flight. The action had hitherto been chiefly among the horse, the foot on both sides were pretty entire, and fought with great courage. The forces of Essex made their chief efforts against the king's standard, which was carried by Sir Edward Verney, and bravely defended by the royalists; but their principal attack was against the division commanded by Sir William Stapleton. It was here the error committed in drawing up the king's forces was perceived. For though the body of reserve under Sir John Biron had now advanced and joined in the attack against the artillery of Essex, and were on the point of taking it; yet Balfour's reserve was still entire, and advanced to the relief of the artillery just at the time when Stapleton was going to abandon it.



Had prince Rupert, or general Wilmot, returned at this critical moment, the victory had been complete, and perhaps a final period put to the civil war; but both these commanders were at a great distance, and the dispute was now very unfavourable to the king. For Balfour's division charged him in flank and rear with so much fury, that the earl of Lindsey, fighting on foot at the head of his regiment, was mortally wounded, the royal standard was taken, and some of the king's cannon nailed up.

Charles, attended by his two sons, was, during this furious engagement, in the center of his own foot, but a little removed from the hottest part of the service; but upon Balfour's breaking in, his person was in the most imminent danger, and he sent the two princes back to the hill, which they reached with some difficulty. The duke of Richmond, the earl of Dorset, and several other noblemen, kept by his person; and it was here that Charles had the first opportunity of shewing his personal courage. For drawing his sword, and advancing to attack the enemy, his soldiers were so animated by the example of their king, that they returned to the charge with more fury than ever; the royal standard was retaken, and the enemy in their turn obliged to give ground. Rupert at the head of his horse, now returned from the unseasonable pursuit, and the battle assumed all the appearances of beginning afresh. The prince saw with astonishment, that every thing bore the appearance of a defeat instead of a victory; but his troops were satisfied with carnage, and could not be prevailed upon to renew the attack. The two armies faced each other for some time, but neither of them shewed courage sufficient for a new battle. All night they lay upon their arms; and the next morning perceived themselves in sight of each other; but neither general nor soldier shewed any disposition to renew the fight. Essex first drew off his forces, and retired to Warwick. The king returned to his former quarters. The loss was greatest on the side of the parliament; and near five thousand men were found dead on the field of battle. On the king's side the earl of Lindsey, lord Aubigny, and Sir Edmund Verney, the king's standard-bearer, were slain in the action; and the lord Willoughby, Sir Thomas Lunsford, Sir William Vavafor, and Sir Edward Stradling taken prisoners. Among the parliamentarians, the lord St. John, and colonel Essex, one of their best officers, were killed, and Sir William Essex, father to the colonel of the same name, was taken prisoner. The coach of the earl of Essex, with some of his papers and his waggons, fell into the hands of the royalists.

Such was the issue of the battle of Keinton or Edge-hill, the first action of consequence that happened between the contending parties; and though neither could boast of any remarkable advantage, it occasioned a general consternation in the kingdom. A civil war was known in England only by reading or tradition; the inhabitants were not yet habituated to consider one another as enemies in the field, nor to think it their duty to plunge their swords in the breasts of their friends, their neighbours, their relations, their brothers, and their parents; for such are the horrors entailed upon civil war. Both parties therefore shuddered at dipping their hands in the blood of their countrymen; but when the first dreadful effay was over, all ties of nature and duty were forgotten; all relations, however tender, disappeared; they wanted in floods of cruelty, and sported upon the wrecks of their country. The dispositions of both parties were so violent, that it was almost impossible for any man to remain neuter, without exposing himself and his family to inevitable ruin. Many had joined the parliament merely from a received opinion, that the king was utterly incapable of making even a shew of resistance, and must be obliged, without effusion of blood, to comply with their demands. But when they saw him joined by those, who had lately appeared at the head of the

most forward opposers of whatever was usurped, or even doubtful in the prerogative; when they saw him surrounded by a splendid court, and retain all the forms of laws and justice; when they saw the noblest blood in England offered to be shed in his defence, and his own person exposed at the head of the army with as much appearance of resolution, as that of a common soldier of fortune; they began to imagine they had been too hasty in their choice, and to repent of their precipitate engagements; but they had gone too far to retract, and were obliged to stand or fall by the party they had embraced; thinking that the king, whatever professions he might make, never could pardon the provocations he had received.

When prince Rupert first attacked the left wing of the parliamentary army, and put the whole division to flight, some of fugitives flying to a great distance from the field of battle, carried the news of a total defeat, and struck the whole city and parliament with terror and dismay. Even Lenthall, the speaker of the house of commons, advised the members to be early in their application to the king for a general peace. A few days after this panic was dissipated by the arrival of a more just account: and then the parliament pretended to have gained a complete victory. But this was flying from one extreme to the other; for though the principal advantage the king could boast was that of the surrender of Banbury, yet he was undoubtedly the victor, because the earl of Essex first drew off his army, and left him master of the field of battle.

Charles, after refreshing his troops, and placing a garrison in Banbury, continued his march to Oxford, the only place in his dominions at his devotion. But as the weather still continued favourable, the royal army was not suffered to remain idle. One Martin had been appointed governor of Reading by the parliament, who had considerably augmented the fortifications of the town. A party of horse was therefore detached to make an attempt upon the place, which was thought of great importance. At their approach both the governor and garrison were seized with a panic, and fled with the utmost precipitation to London, so that the royal detachment entered the town without opposition. This remarkable success induced Charles to march his whole army to Reading; and to form the design of approaching the capital itself.

Alarmed at the king's progress, and the consequences that might ensue if his army should reach the city, the commons sent an express to the earl of Essex, ordering him to march with the utmost expedition to London. He obeyed the order, and was received by both houses as a conqueror; presented by the parliament with five thousand pounds, the house declaring, "that they were infinitely obliged to the said earl, for the great and acceptable service he had done the commonwealth, and that they should be ready on all occasions to express the due sense they have of his merit, by assisting and protecting him, and all others under his command, with their lives and fortunes, to the utmost of their power; that this should remain upon record in both houses of parliament for a mark of honour to his person, name and family, and for a monument of his singular virtue to all posterity."

But notwithstanding this compliment to Essex, several of the most powerful persons in the parliament were dissatisfied with the great powers with which he was invested; and were very desirous of preventing any farther effusion of human blood, if an equitable accommodation could be obtained. They were persuaded that the king would have no objection to enter into a treaty with the parliament, if he could procure the safety of his friends, who had in a manner been proscribed by both houses. But in this perhaps they were mistaken. All the prisons, several of the halls, and other large houses in London, were filled with those the parliament termed delinquents, among whom were some of the aldermen.



aldermen both above and below the chair, and many of the richest citizens. These commitments had been made with all the insolence of power; and the goods, money, and houses of the delinquents, had been seized, in as arbitrary a manner as any act of authority ever committed by the king. The delinquents were not only punished before conviction, but upon the slightest suspicions. These arbitrary proceedings could not fail of alarming every person of sense and reflection; and peace now appeared to be a very desirable object. The parliament had discharged many suspected officers and foldiers, who not having an opportunity of joining the royal army, continued in the neighbourhood of London, and were perpetually forming cabals against the parliament. As it was impossible to prevent their correspondence with the king's friends, Charles conceived great hopes of their assistance; and this motive induced him to continue his march towards the capital. Previous to his leaving Reading, he sent a proclamation of pardon to the cities of London and Westminster; but this the parliament ordered the sheriffs to repress; the most effectual method they could have taken to render it universally known. At the same time, Sir Peter Killigrew was sent with a petition to his majesty, for fixing some place near London, where he might reside, while the negotiations for a peace were carrying on. Charles shewed great readiness to embrace the offer, named Windsor as the place for carrying on the conferences, and desired that the parliament's garrison might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that castle.

In the mean time, Essex ordered six thousand of his army to march to Kingston, that they might be in readiness to advance to Hounslow, to stop the progress of the royal army, provided they continued their march towards London; and sent several of his best regiments to Brentford, where they threw up some works, while another strong detachment filed off towards Acton.

Killigrew having received his majesty's answer, immediately set out for London; but on their reaching Brentford, and finding it full of soldiers, he strongly represented to Essex, that he feared his advancing so far from the city might prove an obstacle to the peace; but Essex took no notice of it. He, however, on his arrival at Westminster, prevailed with the parliament to write a letter to the king, intimating their desire that a cessation of arms should take place between the two armies. The active prince Rupert was perpetually scouring the country at the head of his cavaliers. He well knew that the secret intention of Charles was, if possible, to march to London; and foresaw it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to effect it, if Essex had time sufficient to complete his dispositions. It is sufficiently evident, that the commons themselves never meant, that their petition for peace should imply a cessation of arms; because they thought it necessary to make the cessation a separate act, which they had dispatched to Charles by Sir Peter Killigrew. While that gentleman was posting with it to the king's head quarters, then at Colebrook, prince Rupert attacked the parliament's regiments and works at Brentford with the utmost fury; and notwithstanding they made a noble resistance, they were all cut off, wounded, or taken prisoners, and the prince remained master of the town. In the heat of this action, Killigrew arrived, with the letter for a cessation of arms in his pocket, and immediately informed Essex of the purport of his message. Essex would not suffer him to proceed any farther, and made the necessary dispositions for acting on the defensive, till he could receive reinforcements from London.

Charles now moved with his whole army to Brentford; while the city marched its trained bands in excellent order, to join the earl of Essex, who now determined to fight the royal army. The parliamentary forces amounted to twenty-four thousand fighting men, besides detachments consisting of eight

thousand more; which might have been recalled in a few hours. Essex was likewise possessed of a complete train of artillery, which he drew up in a lane between Turnham Green and Hammer-smith. His van consisted of Stapleton's and Goodwyn's regiments of horse. His main body and reserve were composed of his infantry, intermixed with the city trained bands. His cavalry formed the wings, the left extending towards the Thames, and the right towards Acton. A council of war being held, it was proposed by some of the officers, that the party lying at Kingston should advance towards Hounslow; that two of the best regiments of horse should disembark off towards Acton; and that, upon a signal given, Essex, at the head of the main body, should advance in front; by which means the king's army would be attacked at one and the same time in front, flank, and rear. But none of the principal officers were for putting the success of the war upon the issue of a single battle; because if they gained the victory, the constitution must be destroyed; if they were defeated, both themselves, their friends, the city of London; and the cause of liberty itself, must be left to the mercy of an incensed sovereign, and a furious army. Essex, however, thought that some art was necessary in order to support his design of not coming to a general engagement. It was urged, that the intended detachments would so greatly weaken the center of the army, that the king might easily force his passage, and get between them and London, before either the flank or rear of his army could be attacked, especially as it was known with what irresistible fury prince Rupert charged at the head of his cavaliers. It was therefore resolved not to venture a battle; that the three thousand men lying at Kingston should immediately march to London, where their appearance was highly necessary to allay a strong ferment that now appeared in favour of his majesty; and that the detachment at Acton should rejoin the main body. Both armies continued to face each other for some time, and several small skirmishes happened between the advanced parties, but nothing material occurred. At last they both retired, the king to Colebrook, and Essex to London.

Soon after, the parliament sent the following message to the king; for the principal men in the city, weary of supporting the enormous expence of the army, were very desirous of an accommodation.

"May it please your majesty,

"It is humbly desired, by both houses of parliament, that your majesty will be pleased to return to your parliament, with your royal, not your martial attendants; to the end that religion, laws, and liberties, may be settled and secured by their advice; finding, by a late and sad accident, that your majesty is environed by some such counselors, as rather persuade a desperate division, than a joining and good agreement with your parliament and people: and we shall be ready to give your majesty assurances of such security as may be for your honour, and the safety of your royal person."

Besides this message, petitions were now drawing up by the cities of London and Westminster for a peace, which so greatly alarmed the violent party in the house of commons, that they were ordered to be discontinued. These disorders, and the difficulties to which the commons were now reduced for raising the necessary supplies, encouraged Charles, in answer to their late address, to tell them, "That he hoped all his good subjects would look upon that message with indignation, as intended; by the contrivers of it, to treat him with contempt; and designed, by that malignant party, of whom he had so often complained, as a wall of separation between his majesty and his people: that he had often told them the reasons that induced him to leave his capital, from which indeed he was driven; and had often complained, that the greater part of his peers, and of the members of the house of commons, could not,



with safety to their persons, fit and vote freely among them; but were debarred, by violent and artful practices, of those privileges which their birthrights, and the trust reposed in them by their constituents, justly gave them: that the whole kingdom knew an army was raised, under pretence of orders of both houses, (an usurpation never before heard of in any age) which army had pursued his majesty in his own kingdom; given him battle at Kienton; and now these rebels being recruited, and possessed of London, he was courteously invited to return to his parliament, that is, into the power of that army.

“That since the traitorous endeavours of these desperate men could not snatch the crown from his head, it being defended by the providence of God, and the affections and loyalty of his good subjects, they had requested him to deliver it up, and put his own life, together with the lives, liberties, and fortunes of all his good subjects, into their merciless hands: that he thought proper to give no other answer to that part of their petition; but as he imputed not that affront to both his houses of parliament, nor to the major part of those who were then present there, but to that dangerous party which his majesty and the kingdom must detest, so he would not take advantage of it: that if they would really pursue the course their petition delivered at Colebrook pointed out, he would perform all he then promised; whereby the hearts of his distressed subjects might be raised by the hopes of peace, without which neither religion, the laws, nor the liberties of the kingdom, could be settled and secured.”

A negotiation was, however, opened at Oxford; and the earl of Northumberland, with four members of the lower house, repaired thither as commissioners. In this treaty the king strenuously insisted on the re-establishment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the restoration of his constitutional prerogative. The parliament still required new concessions, and a farther abridgment of legal authority, as a more effectual remedy to their fears and jealousies. Finding the king supported by more forces, and a greater party than they had ever imagined, they seemingly abated somewhat of the exorbitant conditions they had formerly claimed; but their demands were still too great for an equal treaty. Besides other articles, to which a complete victory alone could entitle them, they required the king, in express terms, to abolish episcopacy; a demand which they had only insinuated before; and desired that all other ecclesiastical controversies should be determined by their assembly of divines. They also desired the king to acquiesce in their settlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire authority of the sword. And in answer to the king's proposal, that his magazines, towns, forts, and ships, should be restored to him; the parliament required, that they should be put into such hands as they could confide in. And having now, in the eye of the law, been guilty of treason in levying war against their sovereign, their fears and jealousies must, on that account, have multiplied extremely, and have rendered their personal safety still more incompatible with the authority of the monarch. The conferences therefore proceeded no farther than the first demand, and the parliament's commissioners returned suddenly to London.

Besides the military operations between the principal armies, which lay in the heart of England, each county, each town, and almost each family, was divided within itself; and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. The two noblemen in the north, on whom Charles principally relied, were the earls of Newcastle and Cumberland. The latter soon resigned his command, but the former associated with the northern counties, where the inhabitants were well disposed to join the royal party; and on account of their being situated near the borders of Scotland, were much better provided with arms than the other parts of the kingdom. Newcastle therefore soon raised an army of eight thousand men, but

so pompously divided, and subdivided into regiments, squadrons, and companies, that it appeared to consist of thrice the number. The chief adherents to the parliament, among whom were the lord Fairfax, and his son Sir Thomas Fairfax, were proclaimed traitors. Lord Fairfax had received a commission to command the parliament's forces in Yorkshire; but perceiving the people in general were prepossessed in favour of the king, he was obliged to act only on the defensive. He attempted to prevent the earl of Newcastle from passing the river Tees, but his detachment was overpowered, and Newcastle marched directly to York; where he was received in triumph by Sir Thomas Glemham, the deputy governor. During these transactions, the queen and Goring landed at Burlington-bay, with a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, and some money. The king's affairs in the north were now in a prosperous condition. He had a strong garrison in Newcastle. The regiments that were raised against him in Richmondshire and Cleveland had disbanded of themselves. The earl of Newcastle had garrisoned Newark, in Nottinghamshire. A detachment from his army, under the command of Mr. Cavendish, had made themselves masters of Grantham, in Lincolnshire, and taken three hundred prisoners, with all their arms and ammunition.

A family difference had, for some time, subsisted between the houses of Huntingdon and Stamford; and colonel Hastings, a younger brother of the former, had opposed with success, in Leicestershire, the lord Grey, son to the earl of Stamford. The city of Litchfield itself was without fortifications; but the close, built by one of its bishops, was capable of making a good defence, and had been seized for the king by a party of loyalists. Lord Broke, one of the most zealous parliamentarians in England, was ordered to attack this strong retreat. He accordingly advanced to Litchfield, at the head of a considerable detachment, and entered the city without opposition, the king's party retiring into the close. While Broke was concerting the proper dispositions for besieging the place, he was killed by a musket-ball, and by his death the parliament lost one of the most inveterate enemies Charles had in the nation. This event inspired his soldiers with a desire to revenge the death of their leader. They soon made themselves masters of the place, and took the whole party prisoners. The earl of Northampton, who commanded the garrison of Banbury, was advancing to the relief of Litchfield; but in his march threw himself into Stafford, in order to prevent the town from being fortified by Sir John Gell, one of the parliament's generals. Gell abandoned the place at his approach; but being joined by Sir William Breton, he advanced against Stafford. Northampton, who knew nothing of the junction, marched immediately out of the town, in order to fight Gell. The contest was very sharp; and though the royalists were far inferior in number, Gell's cavalry were totally routed, but the brave earl of Northampton lost his life in the action. This misfortune too greatly intimidated his forces, though they had greatly the advantage, that they retreated to Stafford. The parliamentarians lost a considerable number of men, and eight pieces of cannon.

But the most memorable actions of valour, during the winter season, were performed in the west. Sir Ralph Hopton, at the head of a small troop, being obliged to retire into Cornwall, before the earl of Bedford, who commanded a superior army in Devonshire, he was joined by the militia, and the whole country reduced to peace and obedience under the king. But the loyalists were not contented with the advantages they had gained in Cornwall; they were desirous of carrying the war into Devonshire, and reducing that county also to subjection. Pursuant to this resolution, Sir Bevil Granville, the most popular man in that county, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Stanning, Arundel and Trevannion, undertook, at their own expence, to raise an army for the king;



king; and their great interest in Cornwall soon enabled them to effect their purpose. Hopton had been as forward as any man in the parliament for opposing the king's measures; but being persuaded of his majesty's good intentions; and seeing no end of opposition but in rebellion, he joined the royal party, and received a commission from the marquis of Hertford, to act for Charles in the western counties. Hopton had served many years abroad with great applause; and was therefore complimented with the principal command of the army. Their success was so rapid, that the parliament was alarmed, and sent orders to Ruthven, governor of Plymouth, to march with all the forces of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and reduce the whole county of Cornwall to obedience. He obeyed the order; and was soon after followed by the earl of Stamford, with a considerable reinforcement. Ruthven having entered Cornwall by means of some bridges thrown over the Tamar, he marched with the utmost expedition, in order to bring on an action with the royalists before he was joined by Stamford's forces, and obtain alone the honour of that victory which he looked for with assurance. The royalists were equally impatient to bring the affair to a decision, before Ruthven's army received so considerable a reinforcement. The battle was fought on Braddock down, and victory declared for the royalists, though greatly inferior in numbers. Hopton had made a very artful disposition for the engagement. He concealed two field-pieces behind his ranks, which opened at every discharge. These pieces did great execution among the enemy, and soon put them into disorder. The advantage was immediately perceived by Hopton, who led his forces to the charge, and obtained a complete victory. The rebels lost above two thousand five hundred men, together with all their artillery and baggage. Ruthven, with a few broken troops, the poor remains of his army, fled to Saltash; but that town being taken by Hopton, he escaped with some difficulty, and almost alone, into Plymouth. The earl of Stamford, informed of Ruthven's defeat, retired to Tavistock with great precipitation. But he was soon after obliged to abandon that town by Sir John Berkeley, who took possession of Tavistock for the king.

A.D. 1643. But notwithstanding these advantages, the royalists were greatly distressed for want both of money and ammunition; and this obliged them to conclude a neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire. But as soon as the spring advanced, the commons disapproved of the treaty, and the war recommenced, with the appearance of every disadvantage to the royal party. Stamford, who commanded the parliament's army, was at the head of a body of near seven thousand men, well supplied with money, provisions and ammunition. Desirous of retrieving the honour he had lost when driven from Tavistock, he advanced against the royalists, who were not half his number, and oppressed by every kind of necessity. Despair, blended with their natural valour, now determined them to make one noble effort against the enemy. Stamford was encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton; and it was determined to attack him, in four divisions, by five in the morning, on the sixteenth of May. One of the divisions was commanded by lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton; another by Sir Bevil Granville and Sir John Berkeley; a third by Stanning and Trevannion; a fourth by Basset and Godolphin. The royal forces pressed, with the utmost valour, four ways up the hill, and were as obstinately opposed by their enemies. For some time the battle continued doubtful, till word was brought to the chief officers of the royal forces, that all their ammunition was spent, except four barrels of powder. This defect they determined to supply with valour, but at the same time to conceal it from the soldiers. Orders were therefore given to advance, without firing, to the top of the hill, where they would be on equal ground with the enemy. The courage of the officers

was so well seconded by the soldiers, that the royalists continually gained ground. Major-general Chidley, who commanded the parliament's forces, for Stamford kept at a distance, did every thing becoming a good officer; and when he saw his men recoil before the royalists, he advanced in person at the head of a strong detachment of pikes, and piercing into the thickest of the enemy, was overpowered; and taken prisoner. This incident determined the fate of the battle. His men began to give ground apace; so that the four parties of royalists approaching nearer and nearer, as they ascended the hill, they at last met together on the plain at the top, where they signalized their victory with mutual shouts and congratulations.

The parliament were now sufficiently alarmed by this series of success in the west; and the king ordered the marquis of Hertford, who had raised about three thousand forces in Wales, to join the Cornish loyalists, and push their conquests still farther in the western counties. In his march he attempted to surprize Cirencester, but failed in the attempt, through some unavoidable accidents of the roads and weather. But as that town was of the utmost advantage to the king, prince Rupert undertook that service; and marching with the utmost expedition, took the place by storm, cutting to pieces a whole regiment of the parliament's forces, taking eleven hundred prisoners; about four thousand stands of arms; the enemy's whole magazine, and a very valuable booty.

But the advantages gained by the royal party in the west were in some measure balanced by the success of the parliamentary army commanded by the earl of Essex, who had now taken the field, and laid siege to Reading. His army consisted of twenty thousand men. The town was but indifferently fortified, and defended by a garrison of three thousand foot and three hundred horse, commanded by Sir Richard Aston and colonel Fielding. The largeness of the place, the weakness of the fortifications, and particularly the great consumption of powder necessary for making a vigorous defence, and with which Charles was very ill provided, had occasioned a motion in the royal council for abandoning the place; and removing the magazines to Oxford: but before this could be effected, the town was invested by the enemy. The approaches, however, were carried on with so little judgment, that it was plain the place would not have been taken, had the fortifications been properly constructed. The enemy, however, enjoyed great advantages from the situation of the place, their cannon playing directly into the town, by which means several of the garrison were killed; and Sir Richard Aston dangerously wounded. The disabling of this able commander was of the utmost importance, as the king was now advancing, at the head of his army, to relieve the town. For while he was on his march, the garrison, under Fielding, who had now succeeded to the command, after killing a great number of the enemy in their sallies, thought proper to capitulate, by which the town was delivered up to the parliament's army. By the articles of the capitulation, the whole garrison were to march out with the honours of war, and be at full liberty to join the royal army; but all deserters were to be given up to the enemy. The last condition was thought so ignominious and prejudicial to the king's affairs, that Fielding was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to lose his head for granting it. Charles, however, afterwards remitted his sentence.

But though Essex had succeeded in his enterprize, and though his army, during the siege, had been fully supplied with every necessary from London; yet the hardships which the soldiers suffered from the inclemency of the weather, had weakened them to such a degree, that they were no longer capable of undertaking any new enterprize: so that no action happened, for some time, between the two armies, though encamped in the neighbourhood of each other. Essex at last made a motion towards Oxford, and fixed his head-quarters at Thame, on the borders of Buckinghamshire,



hamshire, in order to over-awe that county, which now began to arm in favour of the king. Colonel Urrey, a Scots officer, had been preferred to the command he held under Essex, on the pressing instances of the commons; but not thinking the post he enjoyed adequate to his merit, he threw up his commission; and presenting himself in his regimentals before prince Rupert, offered to conduct a detachment of the royal army to a place where they might, with great ease, beat up the enemy's quarters. Rupert readily embraced the proposal, and Urrey performed the service with great courage and success, killing and taking prisoners a whole regiment of the parliament's horse, besides dispersing other detached parties, and returned to Oxford with a large body, and a considerable number of prisoners. Animated by this success, he proposed a still more daring attempt to prince Rupert, that of surprising the enemy's head-quarters; offering, at the same time, that the prince should enjoy all the honour of the enterprise, while he himself served as a volunteer. Nothing could be more agreeable to the daring spirit of prince Rupert than expeditions of this kind. He embraced the offer with great avidity; and putting himself at the head of a small detachment of horse, marched with so much expedition, that he surprised and cut in pieces two of the enemy's regiments, one of horse and the other of foot, quartered at Wickham, together with another very considerable party lying at some distance. The strength of the prince's detachment rendered it highly imprudent to make any farther attempt, as the enemy was, by this time, sufficiently alarmed; and he accordingly began his march back to the royal army. But Essex, who was now informed of the success that had attended Rupert, and exasperated at so daring an insult, sent a party of his horse to intercept his retreat, at a bridge which the royalists were obliged to pass. The troops designed for this expedition were seen by Rupert, as he was marching over a plain called Chalgravefield, towards a lane which led to the bridge. He immediately perceived the disadvantage of being attacked in the defile, gave immediate orders for his forces to halt, and drew up his party on the plain. Ashamed of having been discovered, the parliament's forces advanced against the prince with great intrepidity; but being unable to support the furious charge of Rupert, they were all cut off, or taken prisoners, before the earl of Essex could bring up the infantry to their assistance, and Rupert returned with his prisoners to Oxford. The famous Hambden, who commanded a regiment of foot in the neighbourhood, had joined the party sent to intercept Rupert, as a volunteer, and rushed into the thickest of the battle. One of the prisoners, after the action was over, informed Rupert, that he was confident Mr. Hambden was wounded; for he saw him, contrary to his usual custom, ride off the field before the battle was over; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning on his horse's neck. The soldier was not mistaken: news arrived the next day, that he had received a brace of pistol bullets in his shoulder, and that the bone was shattered. He languished eight days, and then paid the debt of nature, sincerely lamented even by his enemies. He was, doubtless, one of the greatest men that age produced. His prodigious abilities, his unfulfilled virtues, his unshaken integrity, have been justly celebrated by writers of all parties. But he had unhappily imbibed the most violent prejudices against Charles, and esteemed him as a prince wholly unworthy of any trust or confidence from his people. But surely an attempt to annihilate monarchy, to subvert the ancient constitution of his country, and to spread the horrors of a civil war over every part of the kingdom, was carrying opposition to a very blameable extreme; especially when there was the greatest reason to believe, that his antipathy to the king was not founded upon truth; and that the arbitrary proceedings of that prince proceeded rather from necessity, and a natural desire of supporting

the prerogative which had been transmitted to him from his ancestors, than from any ambitious designs of eradicating the liberties of the people. Perhaps Hambden himself never intended to carry opposition to this dreadful height. It is more than probable, that he, as well as many others in the opposition, never imagined that the king could have found so many resources; and that he must have been obliged, even before the sword of civil discord had made any progress in depopulating the kingdom, to submit to the conditions offered by the parliament. Perceiving himself deceived in the resistance he imagined Charles could make, he endeavoured to repair the dreadful consequences of his mistake, by pushing on the war with more vigour and spirit than ever. He well knew that a decisive victory only could now protect his party from the indignation of an enraged sovereign; and was therefore desirous of pursuing, with the utmost intrepidity, the only measures that could restore peace to his country. When the king was informed of Hambden's misfortune, he was so sensibly affected with the fate of that great man, though one of his capital enemies, that he made an offer of his own surgeons to attend him; but it was too late. Before the messenger arrived, Hambden had been seized with a violent fever, and was past all hopes of recovery.

While the two principal armies continued in their quarters near the city of Oxford, Sir William Waller was sent, at the head of a large body of forces, into the west, with orders to incorporate among his troops the poor remains of the parliament's army that had escaped from the battle of Stratton. Waller was a man of great spirit and fortune: he had already displayed his great abilities as a commander, by reducing Portsmouth, and defeating lord Herbert. His great reputation brought in vast numbers of volunteers, and he advanced into the west with the utmost celerity. But before he reached the place of action, prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford, had joined Hopton with a considerable reinforcement, so that the army of the royalists now amounted to near seven thousand men. They were well provided with artillery, and other necessities, and greatly elated with their late success. But the disposition of the western forces, which had chiefly been disciplined by Hopton, were very different from the troops under prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford. They were very regular and tractable in their quarters; they paid punctually for every thing, as far as their money would extend, and treated those who did not join them with great humanity and tenderness. They never levied money upon the inhabitants but with apparent reluctance, and with promises to repay it as soon as the circumstances of the times would permit. This abstinence was blended with the utmost courage, and a consciousness of their being the chief supports of the royal cause in that part of the kingdom. Maurice ridiculed this behaviour; and his troops having been accustomed to live at free-quarters, looked upon the sobriety and regular conduct of the others as a reproach to themselves. It was fortunate for Charles, that notwithstanding this difference in the disposition of his soldiers, all of them were united in the common principle of supporting the crown; and their reputation was very great, even with the parliamentary party.

It is therefore no wonder that they made a very rapid progress, Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstons castle made no resistance, and gentlemen of known fidelity to the king were appointed governors. Sir William Waller had now reached Bath, where he continued some time, recruiting his army; and frequent skirmishes happened between the two parties, which generally terminated in favour of the royalists. At last the two armies met at Lansdown near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event. The gallant Sir Bevil Granville fell in the action, and Hopton



was greatly hurt by the blowing up of some powder. After this engagement the royalists marched to the eastward, in order to join the king at Oxford: but Waller hung on their rear, and greatly infested their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced with additional troops which flocked to him from all quarters, he soon so greatly surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of an action. It was therefore resolved, that prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford, should proceed with the cavalry, and, after procuring a reinforcement from the king, hasten back to the relief of their friends in the Devizes. Waller was confident of taking this whole body of infantry, now abandoned by their principal support, that in a letter he wrote to the parliament, he informed them that the work was done, and that he would inform them, by the next post, of the number and quality of the prisoners. But the king, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which the western army was reduced, had prepared a strong body of horse, and immediately dispatched them under the command of lord Wilmot. Waller, instead of endeavouring to prevent the junction of this reinforcement with the foot in the Devizes, which he might easily have done by continuing the blockade of the place, drew off his troops, thinking himself sure of the victory, and that a decisive action would totally ruin the king's affairs. He was mistaken. The infantry, relieved from despair, advanced with the greatest alacrity to join Wilmot, and a general action succeeded on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes. After a short but sharp conflict, Waller's army was totally defeated, few of them escaping either death or captivity. Waller himself, with the poor remains of his numerous army, fled to Bristol, and carried thither the first news of his own defeat. The royalists became masters of the whole train of artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the parliament's army, with so inconsiderable a loss on their side, that it hardly deserves to be mentioned.

This event together with the late success of prince Rupert, and the death of Hambden, so discouraged Essex, that quitting Thame and Aylesbury, where he had hitherto lain, he retreated to London, at the head of a broken and disheartened army, which, but a few months before, he had led into the field in so flourishing a condition. In the mean time the forces that had defeated Waller, reduced Bath, and then marched to form the siege of Bristol, in conjunction with the troops under prince Rupert. Bristol was considered as one of the principal places possessed by the parliament: it was very rich, and garrisoned by two thousand five hundred foot, a regiment of horse, and another of dragoons. Nathaniel Fiennes, son to lord Say, commanded the forces, and many of the citizens took up arms, and joined the garrison. The fortifications were, however, incomplete and irregular, which induced prince Rupert to resolve to storm the city. Accordingly the assault was begun in four different places, and after a desperate engagement, the suburbs were taken. But still the garrison were masters of the town, and the entrance was rendered more difficult by the ruins of the houses that were demolished in the late attempt; as well as by the loss sustained by the royalists. It was even proposed not to make any farther attempt, when, to the great joy of the whole army, the besieged beat a parley. The articles of the capitulation were soon settled, by which the garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, and colours. The most wealthy inhabitants of Bristol, fearing the city would fall into the hands of the loyalists, embarked the greatest part of their wealth on board their ships, in order to send it to London; but prince Rupert, informed of their design, seized the ships, and by that means became master of a very rich booty.

The taking of Bristol was of great importance to

Charles, though his loss was very considerable. Near five hundred excellent foldiers perished in the assault, among whom were several officers of note. The king, however, to shew that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, published a manifesto, in which he renewed his protestation lately made with such solemnity at the head of his army, and declared his earnest desire of concluding a peace; upon the re-establishment of the constitution, offering to grant a general pardon, and bury all that was past in eternal oblivion. But the factious inhabitants of London were so far from thinking, that the king's late successes gave him a title to talk of peace; that they ran into greater violences than ever. Sir William Waller was now returned to the capital; and by his spirited harangues kept alive that enthusiasm, which a turn of fortune seemed to have depressed. The leaders of the house of commons secretly promoted these furious dispositions of the people, though they pretended they were very desirous of peace. The lords made no secret that they were determined to send propositions to the king, and his majesty's late manifesto, occasioned by his successes in the west, was represented even by some considerable members among the commons, as a mark of royal clemency, and a proper basis for a treaty. On the fifth of August the lords sent down to the commons the following propositions to be transmitted to the king:

1. "That both armies be immediately disbanded, and his majesty be intreated to return to his parliament, upon such security as should be thought satisfactory."

2. "That religion might be settled by the advice of a general synod of divines, in such a manner as his majesty, with the consent of both houses of parliament, should appoint."

3. "That the militia both by sea and land, should be settled by a bill, and the militia, forts, and ships of the kingdom, put into such hands as the king should appoint with the approbation of both houses of parliament; his majesty's revenue be absolutely and totally restored to him: only deducting such part as had been expended for the maintenance of his children."

4. "That all the members of both houses, who had been expelled only for absenting themselves, should be restored to their seats."

5. "That all delinquents before the year 1641, should be delivered up to the justice of parliament, and a general pardon for all others, on both sides, granted."

6. "That an act of oblivion should be past for all former acts of hostility."

The commons took immediately these propositions into consideration, and the article relative to the king's revenue, was agreed to; but it being late on Saturday night when this resolution passed, the house was adjourned till Monday morning, when all the members in and about London attended, and, there is the greatest reason to believe, that had the parliament been left to themselves, they would have laid a sure foundation for the salutary work of peace. But this was prevented by the leaders of the faction, who had hitherto rendered abortive every attempt for putting a period to the miseries of civil discord. The two houses were surrounded by the populace, who in a very clamorous and threatening manner, demanded that no terms of accommodation should be accepted. In the midst of this confusion, Mr. Hollis produced a letter from Essex, informing the house, that the king's forces had taken Doncaster and Weymouth. But this was far from discouraging the faction; the tumults continued to increase, till the lords, in a conference with the commons, plainly told them, that unless care was taken to suppress the violent proceedings of the populace, they must and will adjourn their house, till they could meet and deliberate with freedom, and without danger to their persons. An order was accordingly sent to Pennington, the factious lord-mayor, ordering him to suppress these tumults,



mults. But many of the members, thinking their lives in danger, had retired from the house, and the propositions for a peace were rejected by a majority of seven. They now listened to no proposal from the lords that tended to put a period to the horrors of a civil war, and appointed committees to sit in every hall of the city, to receive subscriptions for raising men and horses for the defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties. The lords were highly exasperated at these proceedings, especially as they saw, that notwithstanding the late order, no care was taken to suppress the tumults; and that a party of the trained bands were suffered to attack and murder several women who had loudly clamoured for peace. The earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Clare, Holland and Portland, with the lords Conway and Lovelace, left the house and retired to the king, who received them with favour.

During these transactions in the parliament, it was proposed in council, that the royal army should march directly to London, where every thing was in confusion, and where it was hoped, either by an insurrection, by victory, or by treaty, a speedy end might be put to the civil disorders, which now threatened the kingdom with destruction. Had this motion been carried, in all probability, the consternation of the party at the approach of the royal army would have been fatal to their cause; but it was thought by the majority of the council, that the great number and force of the London militia would render the attempt too dangerous. Gloucester, lying within twenty miles of the army, offered an easier, and at the same time, a very important conquest. It was the only garrison now possessed by the parliament in those parts. Should the undertaking be successful, the advantages would be very great; the whole course of the Severn would be under his majesty's command; the rich malecontent counties in the west, being deprived of all assistance, might be obliged to pay high contributions; as an atonement for their disaffection; an open communication would be preserved between Wales and these new conquests; and one half of the kingdom being entirely free from the influence of the parliament, might be united into a compact body, give the king a great superiority, and be employed with success in reducing the rest of England to obedience. These reasons induced the king to embrace a resolution that proved fatal to the royal party.

The garrison of Gloucester, consisting of about fifteen hundred regular troops, besides the citizens who took up arms on this occasion, was commanded by one Massey, an intrepid soldier of fortune; but his not being infected with the enthusiasm of the age, induced Charles to think that he would soon listen to terms of accommodation. He was deceived; Massey was resolute to preserve an entire fidelity to his masters, and though no enthusiast himself, he well knew how to employ, to great advantage, that fanatical spirit, with which his whole garrison, and the greater part of the inhabitants, were infected. The king sent a summons to the governor to surrender, giving him two hours to return an answer; but before half the time was expired, two citizens appeared at the head quarters, dressed in the most uncouth manner, while their countenances displayed all the marks of that enthusiastic ardour which had been so fatal to the peace of the three kingdoms. Without being asked the purport of their message, without exhibiting the least appearance of duty or good manners, they said, in a pert, shrill, undimmed accent, that they brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester; and, after making several insolent and seditious replies to some questions that were asked them, they delivered the following answer in writing: "We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and soldiers, within the garrison of Gloucester, unto his majesty's gracious message, return this humble answer: That we do keep this city, according to our oaths and

"allegiance; to and for the use of his majesty and his royal posterity: and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty signified by both houses of parliament; and are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city accordingly." All negotiations were now at an end, and the siege was pushed with great intrepidity. Sir William Vavasour lay, with his Welsh forces, on the west and north-west sides of the town; Ruthven, earl of Brentford, was posted on the south; and Sir Jacob Ashley on the east, where the king himself had his head quarters.

It is impossible to express the consternation that seized the inhabitants of London, when the news arrived that Gloucester was invested. The whole city was in confusion, and the people thought they saw the royal army already thundering at their gates. Had even a party of the king's forces appeared in this moment of distraction, the consequences might have been fatal to the whole party. But the siege of Gloucester demanded the king's whole attention, and in a few days the citizens recovered from their consternation. But the arbitrary proceedings of the parliament exasperated many who had before joined them; and a combination was formed in London, which required all the abilities of the leaders to suppress.

Edmond Waller, so well known for his poetical writings, was a person of very considerable fortune, and equally remarkable for his talents and elegance of manners. He was a member of the lower house, and had heartily joined in the measures that had been pursued for reducing the prerogative of the crown within proper bounds; but seeing no end of the encroachments of the commons, he exerted all his powers to stop the career of faction, and used the utmost boldness in his speeches in blaming the violent counsels by which the members were governed. But finding all his eloquence in the house was exerted in vain, he determined, if possible, to form a party in the city, that might oblige the parliament to accept of reasonable conditions, and restore peace to the nation. All the eminent persons in and about London had formed the same design, and highly approved the sentiments of Waller, the charms of whose conversation, joined to his character of courage and integrity, had procured him many friends. These all joined in wishing that some expedient could be found for stopping the impetuous career of the parliament, and bringing about a peace on equal terms. Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins, had for some time entertained the same sentiments; and informed Waller, that the same desire of peace among all men of sense and moderation prevailed in the city. It was therefore thought very easy to form a strong combination, for refusing, by mutual concert, the illegal taxes imposed upon the people by the parliament, without the royal assent. Pleased with the idea of restoring peace to their country, by obliging the parliament to accept of reasonable terms of accommodation, they applied themselves assiduously to form lists of persons whom they conceived would join them in their design; and soon had the pleasure of seeing them contain a very considerable and very respectable number. But, unfortunately for them, a servant belonging to Tomkins, who had imbibed the fanatical spirit of the times, overheard their conversation; and informed Pym of their design. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner, were immediately seized, and tried by a court-martial. They were all found guilty, and Tomkins and Chaloner suffered death on gibbets erected before their own doors; but the sentence of Waller was respited, and he afterwards obtained a pardon on paying a fine of ten thousand pounds. The following vow and covenant were also taken as a test by the lords and commons, and likewise imposed on their army, and upon all persons who lived within their quarters.



"I, A. B. in humility and reverence of the divine Majesty, declare my hearty sorrow for my own sins, and the sins of this nation, which have deserved the calamities and judgments which now lie upon it; and my true intention is, by God's grace, to endeavour the amendment of my own ways; and I do farther, in the presence of Almighty God, declare, vow, and covenant, that, in order to the security and preservation of the true reformed protestant religion, and liberty of the subject, I will not consent to the laying down of arms, so long as the papists, now in open war against the parliament, shall, by force of arms, be protected from the justice thereof; and that I do abhor and detest the said wicked and traitorous design lately discovered; and that I never gave, or will give, my assent to the execution thereof; but will, according to my power and vocation, oppose and resist the same, and all other of the like nature: and in case any other similar design shall come to my knowledge, I will make such timely discovery, as I shall conceive will be most conducive to the prevention thereof: and whereas I do, in my conscience, believe, that the forces raised by the two houses of parliament, are raised and continued for their just defence, and for the defence of the true protestant religion, and liberty of the subject, against the forces raised by the king; I will, according to my power and vocation, assist the forces raised and continued by both houses of parliament, against the forces raised by the king without their consent; and will likewise assist all other persons, that shall take this oath, in what they shall do in pursuance thereof; and will not, directly or indirectly, adhere to, or willingly assist, the forces raised by the king, without the consent of both houses of parliament: and this vow and covenant I make, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as I shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed."

The framing of this solemn vow and covenant was one of the last services which Pym did for his party. He died soon after, and lived not to see the dreadful scenes that soon succeeded, together with the destruction of that very faction he had so long and so strenuously supported. Those oaths and covenants were the last, and indeed the most successful efforts of the commons. Nor were they contented with taking the oath themselves; they sent the following instructions for administering it to the people in every part of the kingdom.

1. "That a sufficient number of copies of the vow and covenant be sent down to the deputy-lieutenants and committees of parliament in the different counties, and that a certificate be required from them of the day on which they were received.

2. "That the said deputy lieutenants do, in six days at farthest, disperse the said copies to every parish church and chapel in their respective counties, to the ministers, church-wardens, or other persons, as the deputy-lieutenants shall appoint to receive the same.

3. "That the ministers of the several churches or chapels shall give public notice upon the first Lord's day after their receipt of such copies, what day the said vow and covenant shall be taken, in their several parishes; the time not to exceed the seventh day after such notice.

4. "That before the day so appointed, the constables of every place, within the said parishes, shall deliver to the ministers the names, fairly written, of all men, above the age of fifteen, residing in their several towns or villages; and the church-wardens of every parish shall, before the day so appointed, provide a register-book, in the beginning of which the vow and covenant shall be fairly written; wherein every man, after he hath taken that vow and covenant, shall write his name, or set his mark to his name written by some other person.

5. "That this vow and covenant shall be taken by all men in the church, within the several parishes where they reside, in presence of the ministers, church-wardens, fidesmen, and constables of the said parish, or two of them at least, jointly with the minister: the parties standing up, and either audibly pronouncing all the words of the same; or else after some person hath solemnly read over the whole, and taken it in their sight and hearing, they shall declare their assent to the same.

6. "That if any residing in the parish do not come and take the said vow and covenant on the day first appointed, then the ministers shall appoint another day, at no great distance: and the church-wardens are to go to the houses where they reside, and give them personal notice; and if they be not at home, to leave notice with some person in the house of the day appointed for their taking it: if they refuse it, they may be returned as obstinate.

7. "The ministers of the several parishes shall, within twenty days after their receipt of the vow and covenant, make a true certificate of the names of all such as, in their parishes, do not take it, to such person as shall be appointed for that purpose; who shall speedily return them to the deputy-lieutenants, or committees of parliament in that county, or any three of them; together with the names of all such ministers as do not send in their certificates within the twenty days; and of these the deputy-lieutenants, or committees, are to make duplicates, keeping one part with them, and sending the other sealed to the clerk of the house of commons.

8. "That the deputy-lieutenants and committees of parliament do immediately disarm, or cause to be disarmed, all such as shall refuse to take the said vow and covenant; and if it can be proved, that they had them in their custody any arms which they did not deliver up, they shall be immediately committed to prison.

9. "That no soldiers enlisted shall receive any part from the state, till they have, in the presence of their commander, and some minister, taken the vow and covenant."

During these transactions in parliament, the siege of Gloucester was carried on with great fury; and Massie, ambitious of saving the place, and having under his command a garrison ready to sacrifice their lives in support of their religion; had hitherto maintained his post with such courage and capacity, that he had greatly retarded all the advances of the royalists. By sudden and frequent sallies, he infected them in their trenches, and often gained considerable advantages. He disputed every inch of ground; and elated with former successes, refreshed the vigour and alacrity of their courage. But notwithstanding all his intrepidity, he saw his garrison reduced to the last extremity, and failed not, from time to time, to inform the parliament, that unless he was speedily relieved, he must, from extreme want of provisions and ammunition, be obliged to surrender.

It was now necessary for the commons to exert their whole power and authority, in order to repair their losses, and put themselves in a posture of defence. They well knew, that if Gloucester fell into the king's hands, it would be very difficult to support themselves against a victorious army; especially as they had very lately found, that very great dissensions prevailed among the people, even in the capital itself. They applied themselves particularly to recruit the army of Essex, and render it capable of facing the royalists. They excited their preachers to renew their declamations against the cause supported by his majesty; and even had recourse to the expedient of impressing men into their service, though they had so loudly exclaimed against that practice when exercised by the king, and even very lately abolished it by a bill for which they had so strenuously contended. They also prevailed upon the city to send four regiments of its militia to the relief of Gloucester, an event expected with the utmost anxiety.



An army of fourteen thousand men being at last raised and properly equipped, Essex put himself at their head, and marched with the utmost expedition through Bedford and Leicester. He was greatly inferior to the royalists in cavalry; and prince Rupert had been detached, at the head of a flying party to harass him in his march; but Essex, by the mere force of conduct and discipline eluded all the efforts of Rupert, and passed over those open champaign counties, without any material loss. On his approaching the city, the king was obliged to raise the siege, so that Essex entered Gloucester without opposition. He found on his arrival, that the garrison was reduced to the utmost extremity, and that had his march been deferred one day longer, and the royalists made another attack, the garrison must have submitted, for they had only one barrel of powder remaining, and their provisions were wholly consumed. The country people supplied both the army and garrison with plenty of necessaries, which they had carefully concealed from the royalists, pretending that their stock was entirely exhausted.

There is great reason to believe that Charles intended to give Essex battle if he returned by the same rout, and for that purpose continued for some time at Sudley-castle, and thence removed to Evesham. But Essex wisely declined an engagement in an open country where the king's cavalry under so intrepid a leader must have a decisive advantage. He lay five days at Tewkesbury, which was his first stage after leaving Gloucester; and seemed, by some preparations, to continue his rout to Worcester. But by a forced march during the night he reached Cirencester, and obtained the double advantage of passing unmolested through an open country, and of surprizing a convoy of provisions, escorted by three hundred royalists. Essex now directed his march towards London, through the northern parts of Wiltshire, where he thought the king's horse could act only with the least advantage. But by the indefatigable activity of prince Rupert, his rear was attacked at Awborn-chase, with so much success, that great numbers of his soldiers fell in the action. At last he reached Newbury; but was surprized to find, that the king, by forced marches had arrived before him, and was already in possession of the place. An action was now unavoidable, and the necessary preparations were made for the approaching conflict by the leaders of both armies.

The battle was fought with desperate valour and a steady bravery on both sides. Essex's horse were several times broke by the king's, but his infantry stood firm; and besides keeping up a continued fire, presented an invincible barrier of pikes against the furious attacks of prince Rupert, and those gallant troops of gentry who chiefly composed the royal cavalry. The London militia on this occasion behaved with remarkable valour; and tho' taken so lately from their ordinary occupations, equalled the most veteran soldiers. They had been trained by Skippon, and the enthusiasm with which they were inspired, rendered them strangers to fear. The engagement continued in all its fury till night put an end to the slaughter, and left the event undecided. Essex, who had done more than he intended, renewed not the action, but pursued his march towards London, which he reached in safety. His rear indeed was once put into confusion by the king's cavalry, but no material consequences ensued; Rupert with all his intrepidity could not stop the army of Essex, so as to bring on a second engagement. The king followed the parliamentary army, and took possession of Reading, where he established a garrison.

The loss sustained on both sides in the battle of Newbury was not so great as might have been expected from the length of the action, which began at six in the morning and continued till night: not more than two thousand men being slain in the field of battle. Among those who fell on the part of the royal-

ists were the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, two noblemen of great worth and abilities. But what rendered the loss irreparable, was the death of Lucius Cary, lord viscount Falkland, secretary of state. He was one of the most learned persons of his age, and stood foremost in the list of patriots; while he was persuaded that the prerogatives of the crown incroached on the liberties of the subject. But when the royal power was confined within bounds; when the liberty of a subject had nothing to fear from the hand of authority, he embraced the defence of those limited powers which were still left to monarchy, and without which he was persuaded the English constitution could not subsist. He was, however, penetrated with the miseries of his country, and dreaded the success of his own party almost as much as that of the parliament. Persuaded that an advantageous peace could only be attained when the forces of both parties were nearly balanced, he was very desirous of opening a negotiation and settling the articles of a lasting peace on the solid basis of the English constitution. On the morning of the battle in which he fell, he had taken some care in dressing himself, and told his acquaintance that his motives for doing it were, his being unwilling the enemy should find his body in a slovenly indecent situation. "I am weary of the times," added he, "and foresee much misery to my country; but believe I shall be out of it ere night." He fell in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

Tho' the royal forces in the north were greatly superior to those of the parliament, yet they did not make that progress which might have been expected. The popularity of the earl, now erected marquis of Newcastle, was very great in the north; but he was opposed by two men, who about this time began to render themselves remarkable for their valour and military conduct. These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son to the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. The former had obtained some advantages over the royalists, especially at Wakefield; and the latter obtained a victory at Gainborough, over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action. Cromwell by a painful observance of the duties of the field, and a remarkable zeal for the cause, was daily rising in preferment. He had never seen any foreign service, and if we believe his contemporaries, his courage was not natural, but acquired by experience and reason. As he was a consummate judge of human nature, he began now to put in practice his favourite scheme, that of inspiring all whom he commanded, with an enthusiasm, that might more than balance all the sentiments of honour, loyalty and duty in the other party. He succeeded, and the regiment he commanded became famous for a ferocious courage, founded on fanaticism, that nothing could withstand. But notwithstanding the great abilities of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell, the advantages were on the side of the royal party in the north. They gained a complete victory over Fairfax at Atherton Moor, and dispersed his whole army. But the fortress of Hull greatly prevented the progress of the royalists, and it was determined to besiege the town. Newcastle accordingly set down before it with an army of fifteen thousand men. Hotham was no longer governor; both he and his son had entered into a correspondence with the royalists, and had fallen victims to the severity of the parliament. Sir Thomas Fairfax now commanded in that town, and by his military conduct and valour rendered all the attempts of Newcastle abortive, and he was obliged to raise the siege.

The successes of both armies being thus nearly equal, no prospect of peace appeared unless the Scots could be engaged to join in the war, it being concluded that their weight must turn the scale of the party they favoured. The commons had been early in their applications to the Scottish leaders; they had sent Pickering as their agent in Scotland, to carry on the negotiations. He represented the great danger that must attend the form of religion established in their country, if the royal party prevailed; and con-



jured them to succour their distressed brethren in England. The marquis, now duke of Hamilton, and the earl of Montrose had waited upon the queen at York, and laid before her the danger that threatened the kingdom from the negotiation of Pickering. Hamilton was for temporizing, but Montrose was of very different sentiments, and urged the necessity of having recourse to more violent methods, in order effectually to prevent the Scottish parliament from joining with the commons of England. But prepossessed in favour of Hamilton, Charles intrusted him and his friends with the affairs of Scotland; and at the same time earnestly requested that they would use their utmost endeavours to prevent the Scottish court from engaging in any negotiation with the committees which he understood the English parliament intended to send into that kingdom. If the duke of Hamilton and his brother the earl of Lanerk were sincere in their attachment they undertook more than they were able to perform. A parliament or convention of the states was called, tho' expressly against the king's consent. This measure was indeed chiefly effected by the Scots commissioners, who after concluding the late treaty in England, had entered into a close correspondence with the leaders of the parliament at London. The negotiation had indeed been carried on with so much secrecy, that when it was first mentioned in the house of commons, it created a general consternation. There is something extremely shocking in the idea of calling in a foreign enemy, but the desperate state of their affairs rendered it necessary. The earl of Rutland and the lord Grey of Warke, were named as commissioners for the house of lords; but the former had interest sufficient to get himself excused, and the latter, tho' considered as an unshaken friend to the cause of the parliament, so resolutely declined the service; that he was sent to the tower for his disobedience. Sir William Armin, and Sir Henry Vane the Younger, at last undertook the service, and were assisted by the same fanatical divines, who promised to bring over to their interest the Scottish clergy, on whose assistance the success of the negotiation in a great measure depended. Montrose sent timely information to the king, of the intrigues of the English parliament; and offered, on receiving a commission for that purpose, to declare the convention of the states, traitors to their country. Had this been done immediately, the attempts of the commons would, in all probability, have been rendered abortive; but the king listened so much to the counsels of Hamilton, that Montrose and his friends were neglected till affairs became desperate, and it was then too late. Hamilton indeed pretended, that he had done every thing in his power to prevent the Scots from agreeing with the English commissioners; but that all his endeavours were in vain. The truth is, a large arrear was still owing by the English parliament to the Scottish covenanters, and this must have been lost if the former had been ruined. The Scotch forces in Ireland had done nothing to answer the great expectations conceived of them; and tho' their general, the earl of Leven, had engaged they should never join the king, yet as the parliament was unable to supply Leven with money, it is hard to say what courses the soldiers might follow when pinched by necessity. Leven and his forces were therefore recalled from Ireland in order to prevent their inslitting in that kingdom, and passing over into England. Add to this, that the great spirit of Montrose, his virtuous popularity, his numerous dependents, and the inflexibility of his principles, rendered him now so formidable, not only to the covenanters, who were directed by Argyle, but also to the moderate party headed by the duke of Hamilton, that a coalition took place between these two parties against Montrose and the royalists. It hapened to the Scots, as to a people wanton with liberty, who having nothing to wish for, had a thousand things to fear. Hamilton, with all his moderation, made no secret of his disliking the revival of what he called hierarchical tyran-

hy in Scotland, and consequently he was united with the covenanters in the main principle of opposition to Charles. For tho' the true motives of it were ambition, and an inordinate desire of possessing the revenues of the church, yet religion was the avowed pretence. The English commissioners improved all the jealousies the Scots entertained with regard to the king's intentions. They laid before the convention the steps they had already taken for an entire uniformity of ecclesiastical government between the two kingdoms; they invited him to send members to the assembly of divines, then sitting at Westminster, for introducing a farther reformation of religion, and offered to proceed as far as the low condition of their affairs would admit, in discharging the arrears due to the Scottish army. But at the same time, they mentioned the necessity of securing all those invaluable blessings by the Scots preventing the ruin of the English parliament, which could only be effected by immediately raising an army for their assistance.

The prosperous condition of the royal affairs in England, added to the inviolable fidelity used by Charles in his concessions to the Scots, must have rendered abortive this rebellious proposition, had not some of the king's best friends been intimidated by a charge sent down against them by the English parliament, for holding a correspondence with the queen. Their letters had been intercepted by Fairfax, who forwarded them to London, whence they were sent to Scotland by the parliament. At the same time the king's friends were disunited among themselves. The duke of Hamilton and his brother, the earl of Lanerk finding they had been deceived by the covenanters, would willingly have joined Montrose and the declared royalists; but that nobleman now considered them as the worst of traitors. He imputed all the ascendancy the king's enemies had obtained in Scotland, to their counsels, and rejected, with indignation, all advances towards an accommodation. It is certain the Scots in general were at this time well affected to his majesty's person; nor did Montrose over-rate his own abilities, when he made an offer to the queen of taking the field against those noblemen who had voted for calling a convention of the states without the king's permission. His enemies were so sensible of this, that they offered to give him the second command in their armies, a proposal which he artfully eluded; and notwithstanding all the provocations he had received preserved an unshaken loyalty. Recourse was had to the same principles which had been before successful, that of undermining the civil authority by means of religion. They perceived unsurmountable difficulties should they make their first attack upon the state; but they knew that treason would find a ready admission thro' the doors of the church.

The assembly of divines in Scotland was sitting when the English commissioners arrived; and perhaps never were there seen together such a number of men so grossly ignorant, and so impiously arrogant, tho' dignified with a sacred function, and concealed under the disguise of public zeal. The episcopal clergy, who had a principal share in the government when the alteration in religion took place, had either been sequestered, or enjoyed very little credit with the covenanters, and every vacancy that happened had been filled with the weakest and most violent men their country produced. Henderson, their moderator, in any other company of clergymen would have made but a contemptible figure, while Rutherford, Gillespie, and the other leading members of the assembly, by their writings and deportment, rendered it justly a question whether they were more fit for the discipline of a school, or that of a mad-house. Tho' Argyle, Loudon and other great men, who had done so much for public liberty, had industriously encouraged this ignorance and frenzy in their teachers, they now began to feel the inconveniences of both. The weakest minds are susceptible of ambition; the lust of power is common to the wise and the foolish. The enthusiastic teachers were soon sensible of their



own importance; and the torrent of zeal they poured out against popery, prelacy, and the like unmeaning words, grew more ungovernable, and swept before it all considerations of duty, loyalty, national independence, and public safety. When the English commissioners presented their letters and credentials from the Westminster divines, they were received as angels speaking from heaven; and without consulting any thing but their own frantic zeal, they proposed that a new league and covenant should be taken by the subjects of both kingdoms. Not contented with the establishment of presbyterian discipline in their own country, they indulged an ardent passion for propagating, by every method, that mode of religion in the neighbouring kingdoms. Persuaded, in the fervency of their zeal, that, by supernatural assistance, they should be enabled to carry their triumphant covenant to the gates of Rome itself, their joy was unbounded when a prospect opened of rendering it prevalent in England.

Vane, who in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any person, even of that age so famous in active talents, framed this solemn league and covenant, which effaced all the former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. By this instrument they solemnly engaged themselves to pursue the universal extirpation of popery and prelacy in England, "as well as in Scotland, lest they should be partakers of other men's sins;" and undertook to pursue to extremity all incendiaries and malignants; terms which they extended as far, and to whom they pleased: and vowed an eternal adherence to a firm peace and union between the two kingdoms. They also vowed to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but, by the artifice of Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be reformed, according to the word of God, and the examples of the purest churches. The Scots zealots, indeed, deemed this expression entirely free from ambiguity; they regarded their own model as the only one which corresponded, in any degree, to such a description. Guthrie, afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, was the only member in the assembly of divines that perceived the ambiguity, or, at least, that had the courage to hint at what afterwards happened, namely, the danger that an independent party might afterwards root out presbytery, as well as prelacy; unless the assembly declared, in express terms, what plan of church-government they intended both nations should follow. His speech, however reasonable in itself, served only to draw upon him an enormous load of public reproach; and the work of the zealots was hurried on so fast, that the new solemn league and covenant was voted unanimously.

The convention of the states applauded the piety of the assembly; and, in the height of their zeal, ordered every one to swear to this covenant, under the penalties of being punished as enemies to religion, his majesty's honour, and the peace of his kingdoms; of having their goods and estates confiscated; of being rendered incapable of enjoying any benefit or office within the kingdom; of being cited before the next parliament, as enemies to religion, the king, and the state; and of receiving what farther punishment his majesty and the parliament should inflict upon them.

The natural result of this covenant was a treaty with the English parliament; by which the Scots engaged to raise an army of sixteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. Desirous that the sword should carry conviction to all refractory minds, they prepared themselves, with great alacrity, to their military enterprises. Their levies were soon completed. The hopes of good pay and warm quarters, added to a favourable disposition for the cause, induced numbers to enlist; so that their army was ready, by the

end of the year, to enter England, under their old general the earl of Leven.

Perceiving the tempest that was gathering in the north, Charles endeavoured to secure himself by every expedient in his power. Ireland seemed to promise assistance. He accordingly concluded a cessation of arms with the papists; and the duke of Ormond sent over considerable bodies of his forces to England, by which means the royal army was greatly augmented. The success of prince Maurice in the west also tended to raise the spirits of the king's party. He had formed the siege of Exeter, which was defended by the earl of Stamford, who was soon obliged to surrender the city. This was an important acquisition; but Maurice was so pleased with his new conquest, and the daily additions he received of men and money from the neighbouring counties, that he stayed too long at Exeter, without sending any assistance to colonel Digby, who had besieged Plymouth, a place of great importance. The royalists were, indeed, for some time, persuaded, that the town would be delivered up to him, by Sir Alexander Carew, the governor; but the design was discovered, and Carew sent prisoner to London. Digby, however, made himself master of mount Stamford, and had certainly taken Plymouth, had prince Maurice come in time to his assistance. But the prince, deceived by the negotiation with Carew, instead of marching to Plymouth, led his forces to Dartmouth, and, after a tedious siege, reduced the town. He then marched to Plymouth, and joined Digby; but it was now too late. The garrison, before his arrival, had received a reinforcement of six hundred men from Portsmouth, under the command of an intrepid and experienced officer, who made so noble a defence, that prince Maurice, after sustaining a considerable loss, was obliged to raise the siege.

It is impossible, in a general history, to enumerate all the warlike operations of this busy year. A war extended over the whole kingdom, left hardly room for any man to continue neuter, however agreeable to his wishes. Every county became a scene of horror and of blood. Not only forts and castles, but also the seats of the nobility and gentry, sustained long sieges. Each action, each siege, and almost each skirmish, did honour to some particular family; though, in such a multitude, many particulars that well deserved to be transmitted to posterity, are forgotten, and swept away among the refuse of things. But upon the whole, notwithstanding the exploits of Essex, Cromwell and Fairfax, the affairs of the king were in a much better situation than they were at the close of the preceding campaign. Lord Clarendon tells us, that he had now five armies in the field. The principality of Wales, an inconsiderable part of it excepted, was at his devotion. Plymouth, Poole, and Lyme, were the only places of strength in the western counties possessed by the parliament. Hull was the only considerable place they held in Yorkshire; and Nantwich, in Cheshire. But, on the other hand, the parliament had received infinite encouragement. The earl of Essex had distinguished himself, by his military talents, above either his rivals or his enemies. He was entirely possessed of the affections of his own soldiers, and therefore capable of executing the most dangerous service. The earl of Manchester was the idol of the associated counties, and even many of the royalists held him in great esteem. Though almost a stranger himself to the military science, yet Cromwell, perhaps the best soldier of the age, served under him with so much success, that the scale of war where he fought was greatly turned in favour of the parliament. The conduct, courage, and reputation of the elder and the younger Fairfax, did honour to the cause they had embraced. They lost no credit when vanquished, nor committed any acts of cruelty when victorious. This moderation prevented many in the north, who favoured the royal cause, from exerting themselves with



with that vigour they would otherwise have done. Sir William Waller continued still the idol of the London populace, though his actions, since the battle of Lanedown, deserved very little applause. Many other officers distinguished themselves in supporting the same cause, and the parliament prudently rewarded even their miscarriages, when they were assured of their good intentions; and that they had done every thing in their power to deserve success.

But the eyes of all parties were now principally turned towards Scotland, it being chiefly from that kingdom they expected deliverance or feared destruction. It is almost incredible with what severity the divines in that kingdom proceeded against all who refused their covenant. Those preachers and professors of the gospel of peace, issued the most pre-emptory orders for seizing the goods, collecting the rents, and apprehending the persons of the royalists. Nor were they contented even with this unjust severity, dictated by their fanatical strain of devotion, they gave a commission to the soldiers in general, to put to death all who refused to take the covenant, and made any resistance to their being sent to prison. So shamefully were the precepts of the most benevolent religion wrested to serve the purposes of fanaticism and ambition!

There still remained in the English parliament some members, who, though they had been induced either by private ambition or by their zeal for civil liberty, to concur with the majority, still retained an attachment to the hierarchy, and to the ancient modes of worship. But in the present danger, which threatened their cause, all scruples were laid aside; and the covenant, by whose means alone they could expect to obtain so considerable a reinforcement as an accession of the whole Scottish nation, was received without opposition. The parliament therefore having first subscribed it themselves, ordered it to be received by all who acknowledged their authority. This caused great rejoicings among the Scots. They highly applauded themselves in being the happy instruments of extending their mode of worship, and dissipating that profound darkness in which they fancied, all the neighbouring nations were involved. Happy people, said the zealots, you will no longer suffer those badges of popery, the surplice, the tippet, and the corner-cap, to defile your characters.

The French ambassador had offered the mediation of his master to put an end to the horrors of civil discord, by concluding a lasting peace. Before the parliament had acquired the assistance of the Scots, they appeared to listen to his proposals; but he was now given to understand that his offers were rejected. They were, however, still distressed for money: they had sent a large sum to Scotland to put that army in motion, and the city seemed not forward to supply their wants. Essex relapsed into his former indifference, and seemed very desirous of putting an end to the war. He was far from being pleased with the steps taken by the parliament for introducing a foreign army, which must greatly increase the distresses of his country, already much too great; especially as his own troops were in great want of necessities. He therefore sent a message to both houses, acquainting them, that if his army, which lay at St. Alban's, was not speedily supplied, he must throw up his commission. Fairfax and lord Gray made similar complaints; and displayed, in pathetic language, the distresses of their troops. Answers were immediately dispatched, promising them relief, as soon as the necessary supplies could be raised: but they rejected every offer for putting an end to the war; and as a finishing blow to all terms of accommodation, formal preparations were made for the trial of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 1644. The unfortunate primate still continued in prison, and had been for some time deprived of his estate and goods by the violence of the commons. Though it is certain that no subject had more

largely contributed to the errors of government, yet his enemies, however keen and artful in their resentments, found insurmountable difficulties in forming a charge which could amount to high treason. His firmness had not forsaken him in his confinement; he still continued his opposition to the parliament, and obstinately refused to collate a person to a living, when recommended to him by the faction. But still his case was very different from that of the judges, because it was next to impossible to convict him legally of what he had said and recommended at the council-board, in which his chief crimes consisted. This did not, however, prevent the faction from treating him with the utmost severity. His books and papers were seized by an order from both houses, and his famous diary printed and published. But notwithstanding all the violence of his prosecutors, the articles against Laud were very defective, and they were obliged to have recourse to the same method used before in the case of Strafford, that of accumulated treason; though it was confessed, that no article, singly considered, amounted to treason. The charge against him, when properly reduced, consisted of three general heads: 1. "A traitorous endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government." 2. "A traitorous endeavour to subvert God's true religion as by law established, and to set up popish superstition and idolatry in its stead." 3. "An attempt to subvert the rights of parliament, and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings." The most trifling allegations were brought to support this general charge. The most bitter speeches were made against him, and some of them delivered in the coarsest expressions. But notwithstanding all the spirit exerted against the primate, the lords proceeded very slowly in his trial; while he defended himself with so much vigour, reason and eloquence, that the prosecution was for some time at a stand. His ruin was, however, determined, and every expedient was to be tried to complete it. The populace were no sooner informed, that it was doubtful whether the lords would find him guilty, than petitions were signed by a great number of citizens, for bringing him and the bishop of Ely to justice. This produced so great a ferment, that the earl of Pembroke, a violent enemy to Laud, intimated to them, that if they delayed any longer to give the satisfaction expected by the commons, the citizens would assemble and demand justice, as they did in the case of Strafford. Mr. Strode, one of the managers of the prosecution against the archbishop, threw out a menace of the same kind, at the bar of the house of lords; but upon their resenting it, he declared he had not done it in consequence of any commission from the commons, and that he meant not any affront to the peers. The lords were satisfied with this apology, and he was dismissed without censure. The lords were, however, greatly intimidated, and the greater number attended not the service of the house. The primate's enemies took advantage of this session, and when no more than fourteen peers were in the house, Laud was voted guilty of endeavouring to subvert the laws, overthrow the protestant religion, and lay aside the use of parliaments. But none of these articles, nor even all of them conjoined, were found by the judges to amount to high treason by any known established law of the land; and the lords declared themselves of the same opinion in a conference with the commons. Disappointed in their expectations of capitally convicting Laud, his enemies appointed a fast to be held, in order to rouse the spirit of the populace. A petition against delinquents was presented to the lower house, and every symptom of a dangerous convulsion appeared. The commons were, however, obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and pass an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. But notwithstanding the low condition into which the house of peers had fallen, there appeared some



some intention of rejecting this ordinance, and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguish, by threats of new tumults, the small remains of liberty possessed by the upper house. Apprehensive of the dangerous consequences that might follow their attending their duty, and determined not to vote against the dictates of their consciences, only seven peers were in the house when the important question was decided.

The primate, who had long expected the fatal sentence, sunk not under its terrors. His fears dissipated in proportion as the fatal hour, that was to put a period to his mortal existence, approached. "No man (said he) can be more willing to send me out of life, than I am desirous to go." He behaved upon the scaffold with great firmness and decency, laid his head on the block with calmness and resignation, and it was severed from his body by one blow of the executioner.

Laud had enjoyed many sad hours of leisure during his imprisonment, to reflect, that the measure he had dealt to others was meted out to himself. He was an eminent instance that a great scholar may be a weak man, and a favourite minister a poor politician; that mistaken zeal is sometimes as fatal to the cause it would support, as premeditated treachery; and that nothing can more irritate the people of England, than to see religion affecting to hold the reins of government, and government actuated by the caprices of ecclesiastical authority. However mistaken, he was doubtless sincere, and actuated by religious motives in all his pursuits. It was this that supported him in the dreadful hour of trial, and rendered his last moments remarkably tranquil and composed. He suffered in the seventy-second year of his age.

While preparations were making for opening the campaign, the king summoned the members of both houses who adhered to his interest to meet at Oxford. He hoped, by this measure, to avail himself of the name of a parliament, so passionately cherished by the English nation. The house of peers was so full, that though many lords were employed in different parts of the kingdom, it contained more than double the number of members that voted at Westminster. But the house of commons did not amount to above one hundred and fifty, not more than half the other house of commons. The session was opened by a speech from the king, and the assembly, in order to enable him to recruit his army with more success, granted him the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, to be levied by way of loan upon the subject. The king accordingly circulated privy-seals, countersigned by the speakers of both houses, requiring the loan of particular sums from such persons as lived within the places subject to his authority.

As the king, in all his offers for peace, required nothing more than the re-establishment of the laws and constitution, and the same rights which had even been enjoyed by his predecessors, every discourse of peace, and every discussion of the terms on which that blessing could be obtained, tended greatly to promote his interest; especially as he offered, in order to facilitate so valuable an end, to pass an universal act of oblivion, and to grant a toleration or indulgence to tender consciences. On the other hand, the parliament studiously avoided, as much as possible, all advances towards negotiation; because the terms on which they were willing to conclude a peace, were of too exorbitant a nature for a general discussion. They were unwilling to expose to the eyes of the public their pretensions, though they well knew their partizans were blinded with the thickest veil of religious prejudices. Sensible of their advantages, the parliament at Oxford wrote the following letter to the earl of Essex, the only channel by which it could be conveyed to the commons at Westminster; Charles having declared that they were no longer a free parliament, and consequently entitled to no authority.

"My lord,

"His majesty having, by his proclamation, summoned all the members of both houses of parliament to attend him at Oxford; we whose names are underwritten, are here met and assembled, in obedience to his majesty's commands. His majesty was pleased to invite us, in the same proclamation, by these gracious expressions, that his subjects should see how willing he was to receive advice, for the preservation of the religion, laws, and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to restore it to its former peace and security (his chief and only end) from those whom they had trusted, though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed. This most gracious invitation hath not only been made unto us, but seconded and heightened by such unquestionable demonstrations of the deep and princely sense which possesses his royal heart of the miseries and calamities of his poor subjects, in this unnatural war, and of his most entire and passionate affections to redeem them from that sad and deplorable condition, by all ways possible, consistent either with his honour, or with the future safety of the kingdom, that as it were impiety to question the sincerity of them, so were it great want of duty and faithfulness in us (his majesty having declared, that he called us to be witnesses of his actions, and privy to his intentions) should we not testify, and witness to all the world the assurance we have of the piety and sincerity of both. We being entirely satisfied of this truth, cannot but confess, that, amidst our highest affections, in the deep and piercing sense of the present miseries and desolations of our country, and those further dangers threatened from Scotland, we are at length erected into some chearful and comfortable thoughts, that possibly we may yet (by God's mercy, if his justice have not determined this nation, for its sins, to total ruin and desolation) hope to be the happy instruments of our country's redemption from the miseries of war, and restitution to the blessings of peace.

"And we being desirous to believe your lordship, however engaged, a person likely to be sensibly touched with these considerations, have thought fit to invite you to that part in this blessed work, which is only capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoy up the kingdom from ruin; that is, by conjuring you, by all the obligations that have power upon honour, conscience, or public piety; that laying to heart, as we do, the inward bleeding condition of your country, and the outward more menacing destruction by a foreign nation, upon the very point of invading it, you will co-operate with us to its preservation, by truly representing to, and faithfully and industriously promoting with those by whom you are trusted, this following most sincere, and most earnest desire of ours; that, they joining with us in a right sense of the past, present, and more threatening calamities of this deplorable kingdom, some persons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed upon, to treat of such a peace, as may yet redeem it from the brink of desolation.

"This address we should not have made, but that his majesty's summons, by which we are met, most graciously proclaiming pardon to all without exception, is evidence enough, that his mercy and clemency can transcend all former provocations; and that he had not only made us witnesses of his princely intentions, but honoured us also with the name of being security for them. God Almighty direct your lordship, and those to whom you shall present these our most real desires, in such a course as may produce that happy peace, and settlement of the present distractions, which is so heartily desired and prayed for by us, and which may make us,

Yours, &c."

This letter was subscribed by the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen, and sent by a trumpeter to the earl of Essex. But that

nobleman,



nobleman, however disgusted with the furious measures of the parliament, and however desirous of a reasonable peace, was still more resolute to preserve an honourable fidelity to the trust reposed in him. He therefore, in his answer to the earl of Forth, the king's general, observed, that as the paper sent him neither contained any address to the two houses of parliament, nor any acknowledgment of their authority, he could not communicate it to them.

Desirous, however, of making another attempt for bringing about a peace, Charles determined to have recourse to the parliament at Westminster. A safe conduct was accordingly demanded from Essex for two persons to treat upon an accommodation. Essex readily complied, and the king accordingly sent the following message for concluding a treaty of peace.

“ Out of our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, and our unwearied desires to apply remedies, which, by the blessing of God, may recover it from utter ruin; by the advice of the lords and commons of parliament, assembled at Oxford, we do propose and desire, that a convenient number of fit persons may be appointed and authorised by you, to meet, with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate, with an equal number of fit persons, whom we shall appoint and authorise, to treat of the ways and means to settle the present distractions of this our kingdom, and to procure a happy peace; and particularly how all the members of both houses may securely meet in a free and full convention of parliament, there to treat, consult, and agree upon such things as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed protestant religion, with due consideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender consciences; to the settling and maintaining our just rights and prerogatives; of the rights and privileges of parliament; the laws of the land; the liberty and property of the subject; and all other expedients that may conduce to the blessed end of a firm and lasting peace, both in church and state, and a perfect understanding between us and our people; wherein no endeavours of ours shall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the ways of peace.

“ To the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster.”

The commons were very unwilling to open any negotiation for a peace; and, at the same time, thought it would be imprudent to lay aside the proposal, lest the people should imagine they were determined to reject every offer for an accommodation. After long debates in the upper house, the peers sent the following paper to the commons: “ That the lords have observed in this letter from his majesty, among other things, that what is proposed in it is by the advice of the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Oxford, the very same title given to this parliament; which puts them at Oxford on an equality with us, though they are persons who have, contrary to their duty, deserted the parliament, and have contributed to the maintenance of the war against it, and therefore are, and may be justly excluded.

“ Their lordships further observe, that though there are in the letter some general words, for religion, ease of tender consciences, his majesty's just prerogatives, rights and privileges of parliament, laws of the land, and liberty and property of the subjects; yet the only expedient offered for these ends is to treat, how the members of both houses may securely meet in a full and free convocation of parliament; whereof no other conclusion can be made, than that this is not a full and free convention of parliament; and that to make a full and free convention, the presence of those at Oxford is necessary.

“ Their lordships therefore offer it to the house of commons, to desire their concurrence herein, that a letter may be written, in very plain and humble language, to his majesty; representing to him, among

other things, that the continuance of this parliament here is established by a law passed by himself; in which (as in all other laws of the kingdom) he is sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our allegiance; that we must in duty, and are bound and resolved, with our lives and fortunes, to defend and preserve the just rights and full powers of this parliament; that as we have used all means for a just and safe peace, so we will never be wanting to do our utmost for the procuring of it; and as the only means by which we can hope to effect so desirable an end, we do humbly and earnestly desire his majesty to come to his parliament by such a day as shall be named; and that if he will not, we must use such means, and make such provision for the present and future preservation of religion and of the kingdom, as, in the wisdom of the two houses, shall be thought fit and necessary.

“ Their lordships desire, that this letter may be speedily dispatched; and also, that a declaration to the kingdom upon this, and the former letter from Oxford, be drawn up and published, to undeceive the people of the artifices they contain, under the pretence of peace, to set up another parliament; and that if the house of commons approve thereof, it may be referred to the committee of the two kingdoms, to prepare both for the two houses.”

The commons were of the same opinion with the lords; and a letter was accordingly dispatched to the king at Oxford, refusing to open any negotiation, unless he would acknowledge them to be the only parliament: and the king, who knew what small hopes there appeared of any accommodation, refused to abandon the pretensions he had assumed, nor acknowledge the two houses at Westminster more openly for a free parliament.

The great sums of money that had been sent from England to Scotland, and the flattering assurances the Scots had received, that they should now be entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen, had the desired effect; and the Scottish army marched for England with great alacrity. But notwithstanding all these advantages, the rebellion in that country was far from being general. Some of the greatest men were so thoroughly convinced of the good intentions of Charles, that they refused to accept of any command raised against the royal party in England. But the clergy and populace were of a very different opinion; they made no scruple of rushing into the field without provocation, and in a quarrel in which they had no concern. Had they known their true interests, they ought rather to have joined the opposite party, as the surest means of establishing the liberties and privileges they enjoyed on a solid foundation. The Scottish army was in excellent order, and consisted of eighteen thousand foot, three thousand horse, and six hundred dragoons, all of them commanded by their own countrymen. A committee of the English, as well as their own parliament, attended them as field deputies, and they entered England on the nineteenth of January. They passed the Tyne on a bridge of boats, and summoned the town of Newcastle, which had been fortified by the care and vigilance of Sir Thomas Glenham, to surrender. They did not, however, make any attempt upon the place, because the marquis of Newcastle lay at Durham with an army of fourteen thousand men. Nor did they continue idle; they made themselves masters of the castles of Wark and Morpeth; and fortified a small sea-port town called Blyth, for the conveniency of receiving provisions. They were, however, soon reduced, by a great want of forage and other necessities; and the expedition would probably have been rendered abortive, had not the marquis been obliged to march back to the defence of York.

Colonel Bellasis, whom he had left with a considerable body of troops, was totally routed at Selby by Sir Thomas Fairfax. This misfortune obliged Newcastle to abandon Durham. Afraid of being



inclosed between two armies, he retreated to York; and the Scottish general having joined Fairfax, they blocked up that city. But as the combined forces were not numerous enough to invest so large a place divided by a river, they contented themselves with preventing any reinforcement of troops from joining the marquis. Some time before Newcastle's retreat, another party of the parliament's forces, under the command of Meldrum, had besieged Newark, a place of the utmost importance to the royalists, as it kept open a communication between the king's southern and northern quarters. Prince Rupert was, therefore, ordered to attempt the relief of that fortress. Rupert was at Chester when he received the order, but assembling immediately his troops, which amounted to about seven thousand men, he advanced with such expedition to Newark, that he surprized Meldrum's army, and after killing about five hundred men, he disarmed the rest, and seized all their cannon, carriages, and baggage. This defeat struck terror into the garrisons of the neighbouring towns, and Gainborough, Lincoln, Slyford, and several other places were abandoned by the parliament's forces. The prince also relieved Latham-house, which had been besieged by a body of two thousand men, and gallantly defended for eighteen weeks, by the counts of Derby. He took Bolton by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and marched to Liverpool, which made no resistance. His army was now increased to ten thousand men, full of spirits, and flushed with victory.

While the prince continued at Liverpool, the earl of Manchester made himself master of Lincoln, and joined the Scots and the army of Fairfax before York. That city, though vigorously defended by Newcastle at the head of his army, was soon reduced to extremities; and the parliament's generals after enduring the hardships of a winter's campaign, and suffering great losses from skirmishes with the enemy, flattered themselves that all their labours would now be crowned with success. But they were soon alarmed with the news that prince Rupert was approaching. That intrepid general, having joined Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's cavalry, hastened to the relief of York, at the head of an army of twenty thousand men. The combined army immediately raised the siege, and retreated to Marston-moor, in order to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert, informed of their intention, approached the city by another quarter, and interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces with those of Newcastle. The marquis endeavoured to persuade him, that, having so successfully effected his purpose, he ought to be contented with the present advantage, and leave the enemy, now much diminished by their losses, and discouraged by their ill success, to dissolve by those mutual dissensions, which had taken place among them. Had Rupert listened to this advice, he had, in all probability, triumphed over the enemy without striking a blow. The Scots had found themselves greatly disappointed during their march, in which they thought to have met with little or no resistance. They had expected the plunder of the richest counties in England, and their generals thought of nothing less than of making the English officers serve under them. In all these particulars they were deceived, and their rough, vexatious manners, rendered them excessively odious to the English commanders. Their avarice was insatiable, and all their words and conduct shewed that good pay and the hopes of plunder, were the chief motives that excited them to undertake the expedition. When these failed, and when they found that the money granted by the parliament was not so punctually paid as it had been liberally voted, they began to talk of returning to their own country to defend it against the attempts of Montrose, who was then in arms, and acting under the king's commission. They would infallibly have carried this design

into execution, had it not been for the hopes of an engagement, when they flattered themselves of acquiring riches by plundering the baggage of the enemy. But when prince Rupert reached York, by taking a different rout, they became more sullen than ever. Manchester, Fairfax and Cromwell, were, by no means, fond of their company, while this morose, discontented humour prevailed; they would have thought it less dishonourable to have submitted to a generous enemy, than to be insulted by their own needy mercenaries. Newcastle was no stranger to these divisions among them, and urged the propriety of continuing quiet in their quarters and suffer their enemies to perish by their own dissensions. But these arguments were urged in vain; fighting was the element of prince Rupert. He entertained the most invincible contempt of the Scots; and he had a few days before received a letter from the king, containing little less than a positive command to fight them upon almost any terms, even after he had relieved York. But the greatest misfortune was a misunderstanding between the prince and the marquis of Newcastle, whose characters agreed only in personal courage, and a strong attachment to the king's service. The marquis loved fighting; but hated the fatigues of war; the prince loved both. The marquis had served the king with his person and fortune, the prince with his person only. The marquis trusted greatly to King, his lieutenant-general; the prince surveyed and directed every thing in his own person. The marquis was fond of state and ceremony; the prince despised both; and each was jealous of the great merits of the other, with regard to the favour of the sovereign, who equally loved and honoured them both.

When Rupert entered York, he took upon himself the command of the whole army, and told the marquis, that he intended the next day, the second of July, to draw out the garrison and give battle to the enemy. The officers who could use the greatest freedom with the prince, used every argument in their power to dissuade him from this resolution; but all their attempts were in vain; the prince continued fixed to his purpose; and the marquis, that he might not incur the least imputation of fear, submitted to the order; but at the same time resolved to serve under the prince in no other capacity, than that of captain of his own troop of horse.

The enemy, not imagining the prince would hazard a battle in his situation, were filing off towards Tadcaster, Cawood, and Selby, in order to cover the east-riding of Yorkshire; and render it more difficult for the royalists to obtain supplies, when they were agreeably surprized to perceive, that the prince, by the dispositions he was making, intended to fight them. They immediately recalled all their advanced parties, and formed the line of battle. While these dispositions were making in the parliamentary army, the garrison of York were so discontented at the behaviour of the prince towards their favourite general, that it was with the utmost difficulty the marquis and general King persuaded them to march out of the city and join the royal army. This junction being completed, the prince formed his line of battle. He himself commanded the right wing, which consisted of five thousand horse. The generals Goring and Potter, commanded the main body; and Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Henry, the left wing: the whole army consisted of seventeen thousand foot, nine thousand horse, and a train of twenty-five pieces of cannon. The parliamentary army were, at least, equal to that of the prince in number. Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, commanded the right wing, in which the Scottish cavalry was posted. His father, the lord Fairfax, and general Leven, commanded the main body; and the earl of Manchester, assisted by Cromwell, the left wing. Before the battle began the marquis of Newcastle and his friends again desired the prince to suspend the action; assuring



ing him, that they hourly expected a reinforcement of three thousand men from the north, and that Montrose was actually on his march, at the head of an army, to join them from Scotland. But the prince was deaf to every argument: he would listen to nothing but that of fighting the enemy immediately. The battle was begun by prince Rupert, who charged, with his usual fury, the left wing of the parliamentary army, where Cromwell conducted the choicest troops, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the most rigid discipline. This body stood firm, and charged in their turn with so much impetuosity, that the cavalry of the royalists gave way; and the infantry that stood next to them, was also borne down, and put to flight. Newcastle's regiment, alone, resolute to conquer or perish, obstinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the same order in which they had first been ranged. Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, also broke through the royalists; and transported by the fury of pursuit, soon reached their victorious friends, who were also in pursuit of the enemy. But this indiscreet impetuosity had nearly proved fatal to the parliamentary army. Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded in the right wing, perceiving that the tempest was past, restored order to his broken troops, and made so furious an attack on the parliamentary cavalry, that they were thrown into disorder, pushed upon their own infantry, and the whole wing put to flight. Animated with this success, the royalists flattered themselves that the difficulty was over, and were on the point of seizing the carriages and baggage of the enemy, when Cromwell appeared in his return from pursuing the broken forces of the other wing. Both parties seemed astonished when they perceived that another battle must be fought before the victory, which each thought their own, could be obtained. The charge was again renewed with its former fury, and the balance of victory for some time suspended: but after the utmost efforts of courage by both armies, the parliamentary forces prevailed. Rupert's whole army was pushed off the field of battle, and his train of artillery taken by the enemy. About four thousand of the royalists were slain, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners, among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, and several other persons of note. Not above three hundred soldiers fell on the parliament's side, among whom were a Scotch lord, and a lieutenant-colonel.

Enraged to find all his successful labours rendered abortive by one act of fatal temerity, the marquis of Newcastle determined to pass over to the continent, and abandon a party where he met with such unworthy treatment. Munificent and generous in his expences; polite and elegant in his taste; courteous and humane in his behaviour; the marquis had brought a great accession of friends and of credit to the cause he embraced: but he was now lost to the royal party. He repaired immediately to Scarborough with a few friends, where he found a vessel ready to sail, and which landed him safely in France. He continued abroad till the restoration; and, tho' reduced to necessity, he scorned to acknowledge the usurped authority of those who assumed the government of England, and enjoyed his opulent fortune.

The resolution of Rupert, was equally precipitate. For though the cavalry of the royalists was, in a manner, still entire, and though the greater part of the infantry had escaped into York, he determined to abandon that city, and march his army towards Oxford, which was still in the king's possession. Rupert had no sooner left the city of York, than it was besieged by the parliament's army. Glenham, who commanded the garrison, made a brave defence, but was at last obliged to capitulate on honourable terms. Lord Fairfax was made governor, and a thousand horse were sent into Lancashire to join the parliamentary forces in that quarter, and watch the motions of prince Rupert.

The king's forces, in the southern quarters, wore also a melancholy aspect in the beginning of the year; but they were conducted with greater abilities and greater success. Apprehensive that the parliamentary forces would attempt the siege of Oxford, Charles sent the queen to Exeter, where he hoped she might be delivered, unmolested, of the child, of which she was now pregnant, and also escape easily into France if pressed by the forces of the enemy. Essex and Waller, who commanded the two armies of the parliament, received orders to join their forces and march towards Oxford; and if they found the king continue in that city to besiege it, and by one decisive blow put an end to the war. Charles ordered a rendezvous of his forces at Marlborough; and after proroguing his parliament at Oxford, came in person to the camp, and reviewed his army, which consisted of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse. As soon as the armies under Essex and Waller began their march towards Oxford, Charles drew his garrison out of Reading, and demolished the fortifications; the place being in no condition to stand a siege, if attacked by so powerful a force. It is not easy to say what might have been the consequence had the junction, between the forces of Essex and Waller been effected, as they amounted to upwards of twenty thousand men; but these two generals hated each other so heartily, that they always found means to evade the orders of the parliament. Essex took possession of Abingdon, the place being unaccountably abandoned by the king's forces. Waller, at the same time, marched his forces to Farnham, so that nothing hindered the two armies from joining: for the royalists, having abandoned Reading and Abingdon, the parliamentary army became masters of Berkshire, and the king was obliged to retreat to the northward of Oxford. It was now thought that the condition of Charles was desperate; for Essex having gained the pass of Anslow-bridge, and Waller that of Newbridge, their armies were between him and Oxford, the only place of strength he was possessed of in the southern quarters. Charles retreated to Worcester, and it was expected at London, that the king must either deliver himself up to Essex, or throw himself into the hands of the parliament. Possibly this might have been the case, had a good understanding prevailed between the parliament's generals; but their dissensions gave Charles an opportunity of gaining two days' march of Essex, who now ordered Waller to pursue him; and took upon himself to prosecute the western expedition, originally assigned to the other. Waller complained loudly of Essex for usurping his command, and produced his orders from the parliament; but Essex was absolute, and threatened to try Waller by a court martial; if he refused to obey.

Charles had now refreshed his army at Worcester; but fearing to be shut up in that city by Waller, who had now reached Evesham, retired with his army to Bewdley, and directed his course towards Shrewsbury. Waller, who expected a large reinforcement, marched forwards, extending his quarters by degrees along the east side of the Severn; till he placed himself between the king's army and Shrewsbury. This was the very thing the king desired; for returning upon his own foot-steps he reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, marched, in his turn, in quest of Waller.

After several marches and counter-marches, the two armies faced each other at Cropedy-bridge, near Banbury, but the Cherwell ran between them. On the twenty-ninth of June, Waller, who had now received considerable reinforcements, drew up his army in order of battle, but in so advantageous a situation, that Charles made a feint of marching towards Daventry, leaving a party of cavalry to guard Cropedy-bridge. This motion drew Waller from his advantageous post; and perceiving that the king's



van was at a considerable distance from their rear, he attacked the party at Cropedy-bridge, at the head of fifteen hundred horse, a thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon. The post was soon abandoned by the royalists; but his detachment had no sooner passed the bridge, with an intention to fall upon the rear of the king's army, than they were attacked, repulsed, and pursued with considerable loss. Stunned and dispirited by this blow, the army of Waller melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march to the westward against Essex, who had obliged prince Maurice to raise the siege of Lyme, and made himself master of Weymouth and Taunton.

Charles received so many reinforcements during his march, that he now appeared in the field with an army superior to that of the enemy. Prince Maurice hovered round the camp of Essex, with a flying army of four thousand horse and foot, cut off his convoys, and perpetually harassed his rear during his march. Essex was now greatly distressed, and knew not what course to pursue: he was incapable of fighting the royal army, and had no place of strength whither he might retreat till he received reinforcements. A council of war was called, when lord Roberts proposed their marching into Cornwall. He observed, that the greater part of the inhabitants of that county was well affected to the parliament, and would join their army as soon as the troops appeared among them; that there was the greatest reason to think the king would not attempt to follow them into Cornwall, because he must by that means be exposed to the danger of putting himself between two fires, as it was more than probable Sir William Waller would soon be in a condition to follow him, and harass his rear. These reasons had the desired effect, and a resolution was taken of marching directly into Cornwall.

The king followed the parliament's army, and it was proposed, in a council of war, to attack Essex in his camp; but Sir Richard Granville being daily expected from the western parts of Cornwall with a considerable body of forces, it was thought more expedient to cut off his provisions, and force him to surrender at discretion. Essex informed the parliament of his danger, and desired that a body of troops might be sent to fall upon the king's rear. General Middleton received a commission to execute that service, but he came too late. The army of Essex, cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of success, was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed upon them on one side; prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third; and Sir Jacob Ashley on a fourth. Essex, Roberts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour, with his horse, passed the king's guards in a thick fog, and got safe to the garrisons of his own party. Skippon, who commanded the foot, had no method of escaping; he was therefore obliged to capitulate; by which it was agreed, that they should deliver up their arms, artillery, baggage and ammunition. This was accordingly performed; and the soldiers being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were dismissed.

Charles acquired great reputation, even among his enemies, for his conduct in this campaign; and indeed it must be owned, that it fell little short of the best generals of that age. After his affairs were, in all appearance, desperate, he had reduced two strong armies of his enemies, commanded by their best officers, to the very situation which he himself had dreaded but a few weeks before. He triumphed over those very persons whom it was thought almost impossible for him to escape. Middleton attempted to intercept the king's provisions, and was, in some attempts, successful; but Sir Francis Doddington watched him so narrowly, that, after many bloody skirmishes, he was obliged to retire to Sherborne.

But notwithstanding these successes in the west,

the king's affairs were in great disorder, both in the midland counties and the north. He therefore staid no longer than was necessary to recruit and refresh his army, after their long and tedious marches. When he reached Chard, in Somersetshire, he published a proclamation, wherein he declared, that he was so desirous of restoring the public tranquillity, that he was determined to march to the neighbourhood of London, in order to open a negotiation with the parliament, and invited all his loyal subjects to assist him in procuring so desirable an end. On the ninth of October, he received a petition from the gentlemen and freeholders of Somersetshire, for liberty to wait upon his majesty nearer London, to become petitioners to the parliament, and request them to embrace his majesty's offers of peace; adding, that if their petition was refused, they would spend their lives and fortunes in his majesty's defence.

During the king's stay in the west, colonel Gage, one of the royal officers in Oxford, undertook the difficult service of relieving Basing-house, belonging to the marquis of Winchester, which colonel Norton, at the head of a large detachment of the parliament's forces, had besieged upwards of three months. Gage had above forty miles to march from Oxford, and his route lay near the garrisons of Abingdon and Reading. He, however, performed the task with great applause; for though his party was not strong enough to raise the siege, yet he found means to throw into the house a large convoy of ammunition and provisions. He afterwards returned to Oxford without suffering any loss. The town of Banbury, and the castle of Dennington, were both relieved; and the king's army, after driving Waller out of Andover, marched unmolested to Newbury.

The parliament were alarmed; and it was determined to oppose the king with very numerous forces. They had now armed anew the subdued forces of Essex, and ordered Manchester and Cromwell to march with their recruited troops from the eastern association. All these forces, joining with those of Waller and Middleton, formed an army far superior to that of the king, and advanced to give him battle. Newbury was a second time the scene of the bloody animosities between the English. In this battle both parties were guilty of overights. The king quitted his advantageous situation, and drew his army out into Speen-field, situated between Newbury and Dennington-castle, thinking that he could there be attacked only in front. But in a council of war held at Cheveley, it was resolved, that Waller, assisted by the London brigade, and the forces of Essex, should take possession of Speen-hill; that the earl of Manchester should advance to Shaw; that the former should begin the attack, and the latter, on a signal given, force the pass at Shaw, by which the king's dispositions must be broken. This was, however, a very dangerous service, as Charles was in possession not only of Dennington, near which Skippon, who commanded Waller's infantry, must pass, but also of Doleman-house, which was fortified, and flanked Manchester's forces. Waller, however, with the officers under him, acted with great intrepidity and success. They made a large circuit to avoid the fire of Dennington-castle, but their rear suffered very considerably by a fallly made from the garrison. After escaping this danger, they attacked the king's troops about three in the afternoon on the twenty-seventh of October, and not only drove them from their works, but also took nine pieces of cannon. In this attack the soldiers of Essex, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge the disgrace at Lestithiel, charged with the utmost fury, and some of the cannon they recovered, being the same they had lost in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. But the earl of Manchester had not the same success in attacking the passage at Shaw: for though he passed the Kennet on the left, and seemed at first to have the advantage; yet Goring, putting himself at the



head of Cleveland's brigade, drove him back with great slaughter; and another person attempting to take Doleman-house, was obliged to retire with considerable loss; and night coming on before the action on that side could be renewed, put an end to the battle.

This was one of the most obstinate engagements that happened during the whole course of the civil war. Both sides had committed oversights; and both endeavoured to repair them by performing wonders; and the field must have been more bloody, had not darkness intervened; and stopped the slaughter. Charles, however, feared that a second engagement would be fatal to his army, and determined to avoid it. He therefore left his baggage and cannon in Dennington-castle, and immediately retreated to Wallingford, and thence to Oxford. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by prince Rupert, at the head of a considerable body of cavalry, and a good train of artillery. Strengthened by this reinforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed in the siege of Dennington-castle. Essex, detained by sickness, had not joined the army since his misfortune in Cornwall. Manchester, who commanded in his absence, though his forces were much superior to those of the king, declined an engagement, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of Cromwell, who conjured him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of putting an end to the war. The king, therefore, carried off his artillery from Dennington-castle, in the face of the enemy, and by that means sufficiently repaired the honour that had been lost by his retreat from the battle of Newbury. But this was not all the advantage Charles gained by this action; it excited animosities between Manchester and Cromwell, equal, at least, to those that before subsisted between Essex and Waller, and which had proved so favourable to his majesty. The battle of Newbury put an end to the campaign, and both armies were soon after distributed into winter quarters.

But though the military operations were over for a season, the contests between the different generals increased when they repaired to London: the whole city and parliament were agitated by their mutual reproaches and accusations. These, indeed, owed their rise to a party, which had been some time formed in the parliament, but which the dread of the royal power had hitherto suppressed. The great success of the parliament's armies now called them into action. This party were called independents, a sect hitherto blended with the presbyterians, and acquired distinction only from the destruction of monarchy. Enthusiasts by system, infatuated with the idea of religious perfection, and believing that they were all supernaturally inspired, they would admit of neither rites, nor bishops, nor ministers. They pretended that the holy spirit, by its inward communications, placed both poor and rich upon a level, and made the ignorant equal to the learned. They hated royalty no less than hierarchy. The object of the puritans was to restrain, theirs to annihilate the prerogative; and adding a profound policy to their absurd reveries, they executed what others thought impossible. Cromwell, who was at the head of the independents, had a capacity adapted to the greatest enterprizes, the ardour of an enthusiast, the daring spirit of the leader of a party, the dissimulation of a hypocrite, the talents of a general, and the genius and address of a statesman. He declaimed, with great violence, in the house of commons, against the conduct of Manchester, whom he accused of not pushing the war with the necessary vigour; especially of neglecting, at Dennington-castle, the opportunity of totally defeating the royal army. "I shewed him evidently (said Cromwell) how this success might be obtained; and only desired leave, with my own brigade of horse, to charge the king's army in their retreat; leaving it in the earl's choice, if he thought proper, to remain neuter,

with the rest of the forces: but notwithstanding all my importunity, he positively and obstinately refused his consent; and gave no other reason but that, if we met with a defeat, there was an end of our pretensions; we should all be rebels, and traitors, and be executed and forfeited by the law."

These harsh censures provoked Manchester, who, in his turn, accused Cromwell with seditious speeches, which tended to ruin the parliament. He told the house, that a scheme having been proposed; which it seemed improbable the parliament would agree to, Cromwell insisted upon it, and said; "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army, which will give law both to king and parliament." This discourse (continued Manchester) made the greater impression upon me, because I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of very deep designs; and he has even ventured to tell me, that it never would be well with England till I was Mr. Montague, and there was not a lord or peer in the kingdom. The sharpness of these disputes alarmed the independents; they perceived that they must now carry their scheme into execution, or abandon all thoughts of effecting it; and accordingly they formed the resolution of new-modelling the army. Their maxim was, that he who draws his sword against the king should throw away the scabbard. They were for decisive actions, and officers that would hesitate at no enterprize. They were, indeed, far inferior in number, both in the parliament and in the kingdom, to the presbyterian party, but they had address sufficient, in the end, to carry their design into execution.

A solemn fast, by their influence, was voted, in order to implore the assistance of heaven. Some of the most furious preachers lamented the dissensions in parliament, and charged the members with interested views. They complained of the perfidious remissness of the leaders, who, instead of putting a speedy end to the war, fought only, by prolonging it, to enrich themselves with the substance of the people. They intreated the Lord to raise up men more worthy to be the instruments of his providence. The day following, these discourses were represented by the independent party in parliament, as the manifest inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The necessity of finding some remedy for these disorders was insisted on. The members were conjured to divest themselves of all personal interest and lucrative employments. Cromwell remarked, that since the commencement of the war, a number of able officers had been formed, who were capable of conducting the most dangerous expeditions; that the troops wanted a reform on a new plan, and the success would depend on the extirpation of abuses. These representations produced the desired effect. A committee was appointed to frame what was called the "Self-denying Ordinance," by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few officers, who were specified. This ordinance gave occasion to the most furious debates, and, for some time, rent both the parliament and city into factions. It was observed by the independent party, that the discipline of the army did not correspond to the merit of the officers; nor were there any hopes, till the present vices and disorders, which prevailed among the soldiers, were repressed by a new model; that the forces of the parliament would ever be attended with signal success in any undertaking. The presbyterians, on the contrary, represented, that besides the ingratitude of discarding, by fraud and subtlety, so many noble persons, by whom the parliament had been hitherto chiefly supported, they would find it extremely difficult to supply the place of men, now formed by experience to command and authority: that the rank alone, possessed by such as were members of either house, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders: that greater



confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain separate views from those embraced by the persons who employed them. But notwithstanding these reasons, which were urged with great force and eloquence, the bill passed both houses of parliament. Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, resigned their commissions, and received the thanks of parliament for their services. But at the time when the other officers resigned, care was taken to send Cromwell, at the head of a body of horse, to the relief of Taunton, besieged by the royalists, so that he kept both his commission and his seat in parliament, notwithstanding he had himself been one of the principal promoters of the Self-denying Ordinance.

A.D. 1645. Sir Thomas Fairfax was now appointed general, and it was voted to increase the army to twenty-two thousand men. Fairfax was equally eminent for courage and for humanity; but he was entirely governed by Cromwell, who was in fact the commander of the army. The new model was introduced with all the dispatch the importance of the cause required. Such officers only were appointed as the independents could confide in. A rigid discipline increased the religious fervor of the soldiers. Excited by the example, and the exhortations of their officers, who served them for ministers, they passed in prayer, in conference, and in spiritual lectures, all the time they could spare for amusement or repose. Their inflamed imagination raised them above the character of humanity. Dangers and death were nothing to men in a state of spiritual ecstasy; they seemed the avenues to heaven. In the royal army, on the contrary, there was nothing but licentiousness and disorder. The soldier instead of pay, subsisted by committing every species of robbery. The officer ridiculed the enthusiasm of the parliamentarians, without reflecting on the effects it would produce. This contrast indicated the most fatal events; nor were these at a considerable distance.

While Fairfax and Cromwell were employed in new modelling the army, the negotiations for a peace were carrying on between the king and parliament, but with very little hopes of success. The conferences were opened at Uxbridge; Charles having retracted his former declaration, that the two houses at Westminster were not a free parliament. But it soon appeared that peace was still at a considerable distance; the demands of the parliament amounting to nothing less than a total abolition of monarchy. The cessation of arms with the Irish was to be declared null and void; and after the catholics in that kingdom should be subdued, the parliament was to nominate the governor and magistrates of that kingdom. It was required that the whole military power should be given up to the parliament for seven years; and that afterwards, instead of returning to the king, it should be regulated by a bill. The parliament were not contented with a toleration in religion, they demanded a total abolition of episcopacy, and a subscription to the covenant throughout the kingdom. Even the principal officers of the crown, and the judges, were to be nominated by the parliament, and the power of making war and peace was wholly to depend upon their determinations. Charles offered that the militia should be intrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners nominated either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or the one half by him and the other by the parliament. And after the expiration of that term, he insisted, that he should be again reinstated in his constitutional authority over the militia. With regard to religion Charles agreed, that indulgence should be granted to tender consciences, in respect to ceremonies; that the bishops should exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent and council of such presbyters as should be chosen by the clergy of each diocese; that they should reside constantly in their di-

ocese, and be obliged to preach every Sunday; that pluralities should be abolished; that abuses of every kind in the ecclesiastical courts should be redressed; and that a hundred thousand pounds should be levied from the bishops' estates and the chapter lands, for payment of the debts contracted by the parliament.

With regard to the affairs in Ireland Charles was willing to make any concessions, that did not tend to the prejudice of his protestant subjects. And it must be owned, that notwithstanding the unpopular conduct of the king with regard to his granting the cessation to the Irish rebels, he was more defensible than the parliament. The charge against him consisted "in his having encouraged the two houses, to undertake the war, and his subjects to contribute money for carrying it on, and even putting it out of his power to treat with or pardon the rebels, without the consent of the parliament, by which means the rebels had been reduced to the last extremity, when the king granted them a cessation, and had sent for some of the best regiments employed against them in Ireland to make war against his parliament." But it was well known that the war in that kingdom had been shamefully neglected by the parliament, and that the army had been so ill paid, that the soldiers were ready to disband; that the face of the country lay uncultivated; that the officers of the army through mere want were ready to join the enemy, or to return to England; that no more than one hundred and seventy barrels of powder remained in the magazine of Dublin for the supply of the army, and that the forces in general were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions; that all the representations of the king's subjects had been disregarded and unanswered by the parliament; that the money raised for the support of Ireland, had been employed in England against the king; and, that the house of commons had plainly told the protestant governors of Ireland, that they must expect no farther supply from England, unless they would exchange the native commodities of Ireland for the stores that should be sent them; a thing impossible to be done, all the commodities of that kingdom being in the hands of the rebels. Add to this, that the English parliament were themselves reduced to such necessities for money, that the agents of the protestant army in Ireland, were told, by one of the principal members of the Irish committee, that if five hundred pounds would save Ireland, it could not be advanced. Of four hundred thousand pounds raised for the support of the army, near one half had been employed in maintaining the civil war in England; and of all the troops raised for that service not more than six regiments of foot, and a thousand horse had actually landed in Ireland from England, all the rest having been employed against the king; great part of the Scottish forces had also been recalled and sent into England on the same service. Though these were undeniable facts, and tho' Sir Philip Percival, who had suffered greatly in the king's service, justified the cessation, by the strongest arguments of necessity; yet the king's commissioners found the prejudices of the public extremely strong both against the cessation, and the peace which was then negotiating at Oxford. The king's commissioners were not, however, intimidated; they spoke with such force upon the subject, that the parliamentary commissioners were greatly disappointed in their hopes of exposing the king: they were even apprehensive of having the odium of not supporting the Irish war, thrown upon themselves; it being certain that Charles had in his hands the most convincing evidences of the facts advanced by his commissioners. The votes of the parliament had, indeed, been very pathetic with regard to the cruelty of the Irish rebels, and the miseries suffered by the protestants in that kingdom; but hardly any thing had been done conformable to these resolutions. It is not sufficient to weep over the miseries of a distressed people, without affording them the necessary assistance. But what rendered it impossible to conclude the treaty was a farther demand made by the parliament,



parliament, by which the king was to except from the general pardon, forty of the most considerable of his English subjects, and nineteen of his Scots, together with all popish recusants in both kingdoms, who had carried arms in his defence. It was also demanded that forty-eight more, with all the members who had sat in either house at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the king's party, should be rendered incapable of any office; be forbid the exercise of their profession, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their estates to the parliament.

The negotiation at Uxbridge being broken off, each party prepared to decide the important contest by the sword. On the third of April, Fairfax repaired to the rendezvous of his troops at Windsor, where, by the great care and assiduity of Skippon, his serjeant-major, he found the army in excellent condition. Cromwell, having joined him from Salisbury, was dispatched with a party of horse into Oxfordshire, to prevent the junction of a large body of cavalry, detached from prince Rupert's army in Worcestershire, with the king's forces, quartered in the neighbourhood of Oxford. He was fortunate enough to meet, at Islip-bridge, five of the best regiments in the royal army, commanded by the earl of Northampton, and gained a complete victory, took two hundred men prisoners, and four hundred horses. He then summoned and took Blechingdon-house, commanded by colonel Windebank, who was afterwards shot at Oxford, for delivering up the place. His next attempt was against another party of the royalists posted at Brampton-bush, under the command of Sir William Vaughan, whom he defeated and took prisoner, with two hundred of his men and several officers.

Taunton was still besieged by the royalists, and the garrison was now reduced to such extremity, that they had, for some time, subsisted on the most nauseous food. It was defended by colonel Blake, and attacked by Goring and Sir Richard Granville: but the latter being wounded, his command was given to Sir John Berkeley, whom the troops refused to obey; and a difference happening between general Goring and the council in the west, the siege was raised at the approach of the parliamentary army.

Cromwell, after his successful encounters with the royalists, summoned Farringdon-house to surrender. But colonel Bruges, who commanded the garrison, instead of complying with the demand, sallied out at the head of his troops, and Cromwell was defeated, though he had been joined by a strong party of foot from Abingdon, under the command of major-general Brown. In the mean time prince Rupert defeated Mafsey, governor of Gloucester, and joined the king at Oxford. Soon after Goring defeated a body of Cromwell's horse, and brought his forces to the royal camp. The king's army now consisted of above six thousand horse and five thousand foot, and it was expected that the latter would, in a few days, be double their number.

Fairfax had, by orders of the parliament, advanced to the relief of Taunton, and it was now imagined that his forces were so fatigued by long marches, that it would be easy for the king, whose army consisted chiefly of horse, to overtake him before he could join Cromwell, and force him to a battle. Had this advice been followed, it is more than probable Fairfax had been defeated, which would have proved decisive in the king's favour; but unfortunately for Charles it was neglected, and Goring was detached with a squadron of horse to watch his motions. He was met by Cromwell at Redcot-bridge, but had the good fortune to defeat that able general.

By this time the king had taken the field at the head of his army, and directed his march towards Warwickshire, in order to relieve Chester, which had been for some time besieged by Brereton; but on the approach of the royal army, he drew off his forces, and retired toward Lancashire. Charles therefore

changed his rout, and determined to attack the town of Leicester, which was very strong and defended by a good garrison: but by the remarkable bravery of his troops, the place was carried by storm, and the governor, with all his garrison, consisting of fifteen hundred men, were made prisoners of war. Could the king have restrained the excesses of his soldiers, this acquisition would have proved of the utmost importance; but the disorders they committed after they were masters of the town, did more prejudice to his affairs, than all the plunder they acquired, tho' it was very rich, did him service. Besides the prisoners, he took about a thousand horses, fourteen pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition and military stores.

The parliament was greatly alarmed at the loss of Leicester. They pressed the Scots to quicken their march to the southward; and Fairfax, being now joined by Cromwell and Brown, was ordered to block up Oxford. But those measures were greatly embarrassed by the backwardness of the Scots, who had retreated into Westmoreland, and by the bad condition of Fairfax's army, after its fatiguing march into the west. Fairfax, however, obeyed his orders, and sat down before Oxford on the twenty-third of May; though he was apprehensive the king would soon return, and shut him up between his army and the town, which was strong and well garrisoned. On receiving advice that the king was marching to relieve Oxford, Fairfax was ordered to leave the command of the blockade to general Brown, and watch the motions of the royal army; it being strongly suspected, that instead of marching to Oxford, the king intended to fall upon the associated counties. It soon appeared that this opinion was well founded; and orders were immediately dispatched for raising the blockade of Oxford, and giving the king battle, if he continued to advance. Colonel Vermuyden, who had been sent to join the Scots, finding they were retreated into Westmoreland, returned to the southward, and put himself between the royal army and the associated counties. Borsfallow-house had been, for some time, besieged by Skippon, but made so brave a defence, that he was obliged to draw off his forces. He joined Fairfax on the sixth of June, and the next day the whole army reached Sherington, in order to defend the associated counties; certain advices having been received that the king had directed his march towards Northampton. The parliament at Westminster were very uneasy, not from the success of Charles; but from the reproaches of the expelled members, who beheld the progress of the king with infinite pleasure. For Goring had now cooped up Welden, who had been detached by Fairfax to Taunton, between his army and the walls of that place; and advice was every hour expected that both Welden and the town had surrendered. Charles had, however, seen his error, and repented his having sent Goring into the west; but he still had it in his power to rejoin him, or to retire either to Leicester or Worcester, where he might have recruited and refreshed his army, while that of the parliament was harassed with fatiguing marches.

But instead of pursuing any of these prudent measures, a fatal resolution was taken to fight Fairfax. This was principally owing to the ungovernable ardor of prince Rupert, who excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full, by urging the many difficulties under which the royalists laboured, and from which they could be relieved by nothing but a victory. The king's forces lay about Daventry, in Northamptonshire, where he waited five days in expectation of engaging Fairfax, of whose marches he was totally ignorant. At last certain advice arrived, that the parliament's general, who had now been joined by all his parties, was advanced to Wooton, and that his head quarters was within six miles of that of the king. It was not even now too late for Charles to decline an engagement



ment without any injury to his reputation: He might have taken possession of a strong camp upon Borough-hill, where the forces of Fairfax could not have attacked him, and where he might have waited till joined by a party of twelve hundred horse, detached into Leicestershire; or even till Goring returned from his expedition against Welden's army. But these advantages were neglected, and the royal army advanced against that of the parliament.

The forces, which on both sides were nearly equal, were drawn up in Naseby field, the spot on which the bloody contest between the king and his parliament was decided. The right wing of the royalists was commanded by prince Rupert, the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the main body by the king in person. In the parliament's army, Cromwell commanded the right wing, Ireton, his son-in-law, the left, and Fairfax, assisted by Skippon, the main body. The parliament's army had the advantage of the ground and situation: their front extended somewhat farther than the king's; and a party of their dragoons possessed themselves of some hedges, which flanked prince Rupert's horse. The charge was begun by prince Rupert, with his usual celerity and usual success. Ireton made a stout resistance; and even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, still maintained the combat till he was taken prisoner; but all his courage was not sufficient to support the dreadful charge of the prince; his whole wing was broke, and pursued with the most precipitate fury, by that violent commander. He was even so inconsiderate, as to lose time in summoning and attacking the artillery of the parliament, which had been left with a strong guard of infantry. The king led on his main body with great intrepidity, and with all the conduct of a prudent general. The contest was here very sharp, Fairfax and Skippon nobly supporting the great reputation they had acquired. The latter being dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to leave the field; but he declared he would continue there as long as any soldier would stand his ground. But notwithstanding all the intrepidity of these two generals, the infantry in the center was broke; and Fairfax's own regiment, commanded by Sir Charles Doyley, was the only body of foot that kept their ground. Fairfax, however, with great presence of mind, brought up the reserve, and renewed the combat. In the mean time, Cromwell attacked the left wing of the royal army with such intrepidity, that they could not support the charge; they were broken, and pursued about a quarter of a mile, when Cromwell, who improved by his prudence the advantage he had gained by his valour, detached a party to prevent their rallying, while he himself turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment only maintained its order unbroken, though twice desperately assailed by Fairfax. But the third attempt proved decisive: Doyley charged them in front, while Fairfax attacked them in the rear. The gallant regiment was now broken, and partly dispersed. Sensible, when it was too late, of his error, prince Rupert abandoned his fruitless attempt upon the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, whose infantry was now totally defeated. Charles did all in his power to animate this body of cavalry to exert that valour they had already displayed; he called aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But they saw too evidently the disadvantages under which they laboured, to obey even the command of their sovereign. The king was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. He retreated first to Leicester, and then to Litchfield.

The number of the slain in the parliament's army was greater than that in the king's; they lost a thousand men, he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax took four hundred officers and five thousand men prisoners. He also took twelve pieces of cannon, two mortars, eight thousand arms, forty barrels of powder, and a hundred colours, together with the

king's equipages and cabinet, in which were copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published. In a word, this victory was at once the greatest and most complete of any gained by the parliament during the whole course of the civil war.

But though this defeat was dreadful, it was the infatuation of Charles in following the worst councils, that rendered it decisive. He had still a fine body of two thousand horse, and a thousand foot, in Wales, under general Gerrard. Goring was at the head of an army before Taunton, little inferior to that the king had lost at Naseby, and the routed horse were every day coming in to some of the royal garrisons. But a flood of misfortunes were now to be poured on the head of this unfortunate prince: his enemies conquered his towns, garrisons, and armies, almost as fast as a traveller could pass from one to the other. The lord Loughborough surrendered Leicester to Fairfax, without stipulating any other condition, than that of obtaining quarter for himself and his garrison. But Fairfax being no stranger to the wretched condition of Taunton, sent a messenger to the parliament for instructions concerning his march into the west. In the mean time, he passed from Leicester to Lutterworth, and proceeded, without any interruption, to Dorchester. The miseries of civil discord had, for some time, been so severely felt by the inhabitants of the western counties, especially those of Devon, Dorset, and Wilts, that they had formed a scheme of neutrality, under the title of Club-men. Their declared intention was to resist either party who should attack them, and to mediate fair conditions between the king and his parliament. This association was now so strong, as to be formidable to both parties, who equally complained of their sufferings from the Club-men. Soon after Fairfax reached Dorchester, Mr. Hollis, a gentleman of Dorsetshire, with several other leaders of the Club-men, waited upon him with the following articles and requests. "That the associates provide arms, set watches, be quiet with those that excite no disturbance, seize all disorderly soldiers, and send them to the nearest garrisons: not to deny quarters and contributions proportioned to their abilities: till their petitions be delivered, not to favour either party, nor to protect any not associated. To request the renewal of a treaty, with a cessation of arms, and also that the garrisons in Dorset, Devon, and Wilts, be put into their hands, till the king and parliament agree about their disposal: that they be freed from all charges, except the maintenance of those garrisons: that all laws, not repealed, be in force, and executed by the ordinary officers: that all persons who desire it, might be at liberty to lay down their arms; and that others who have absented themselves from their houses may have free liberty to return." The general told them, that he greatly approved of their endeavours to bring about a peace; but not of the cessation of arms, or of disbanding the soldiers; but promised to protect them from being plundered, and required them to discontinue their meetings. Perhaps he would not have dismissed the leaders of the Club-men on such easy terms, had he not been very desirous of prosecuting his favourite scheme, the relief of Taunton, the parliament having consented to his leading the army into those parts, where the royalists were still powerful, and capable of making a gallant resistance.

But feuds and animosities had, for some time, prevailed among the officers, and threatened inevitable ruin to the royal party. Goring was capable of performing all that could be required from the bravest and vilest of mankind: his abilities were equal to his ambition, which soared above all his master could bestow. His abilities were sufficient to clothe vice with every advantage; his eloquence to delude caution into ruin. His heart, insensible either to the happiness or miseries of others, laid not a check on his career of wickedness. His profligacy,



his intemperance, his riots, his oversights, and his negligence, rendered it problematical for what end nature had bestowed her gifts on a person who disgraced them; and why fortune courted a man so ungrateful to her favours. The hopes of victory could not restrain him from debauchery, nor the fear of infamy deter him from treachery. His serving the royal party was not in him the result of principle, but of accident; and when opposed by the king's council, it caused him more pains to disappoint than it would have done to have executed the excellent dispositions laid down by himself for the service of his master. This was the true reason for his strange behaviour before Taunton. The ravages and barbarities of his soldiers had rendered him so disagreeable to the royal party in the west, that he knew they had done him ill offices with his master, and was resolved the service should suffer. He was accordingly so negligent in guarding the passages to Taunton, that the besieged received frequent relief from the adjacent country, and even his chief officers were suffered to have interviews with those of the enemy. This at once prolonged the siege, and discouraged the infantry so greatly, that they mouldered away; and when Fairfax advanced to relieve the place, Goring found himself under a necessity; wantonly occasioned by his own negligence, of raising the siege. He retired to Lamport, an open town in Somersetshire, where he was defeated by Fairfax, who killed three hundred of his men, and took fourteen hundred prisoners.

Fairfax now sat down before Bridgewater, a strong and important town in that country. The place was defended by colonel Windham, at the head of a garrison of two thousand six hundred men. For some time, the besieged made a stout resistance; but the outer town being taken by storm, Windham capitulated, and delivered up the place to Fairfax; by which the whole garrison were made prisoners of war. The taking of Bridgewater was a dreadful blow to the royalists, because it was considered as impregnable; and the king's friends had laid up in it, as a sure repository, their treasure and most valuable effects.

Charles was now retreated to Cardiff, in South Wales, where he had leisure to reflect on his fallen condition; and, perhaps, saw it more clearly, and felt it more sensibly, than any man of his party. But when he was the sport of fortune, he seemed regardless of her frowns. When his best friends, even those who had been most forward in advising war, now pressed him to accept of peace on almost any conditions, Charles declared himself of a different opinion. He admitted, indeed, that he had nothing but ruin to himself, his cause, and his family, before his eyes; but, at the same time, declared, that he would neither sacrifice his conscience, injure his successor, nor forsake his friends. He told prince Rupert, who was one of the party for peace, that if his case was to be viewed by a politician, it would appear next to frenzy for him to decline any terms; but as a king, a christian, and a gentleman, low as his fortunes were, he would grant no other terms than what he had offered at Uxbridge; and these he knew would not be accepted.

The Scots having taken Carlisle, which had, for eleven months, been bravely defended by Sir Thomas Glenham, marched to the southward, and sat down before Hereford; but they were so disgusted by the treatment they had received in England, that the siege advanced very slowly. They complained loudly of the want of money, provisions and artillery, which had been promised them by the parliament, but the promise had never been performed. Charles being therefore in no great pain with regard to the fate of Hereford, directed his course to the northward; and, after very fatiguing marches, reached Doncaster, where he was joined by a body of three thousand men; it being the peculiar fate of that prince to acquire more friends by his misfortunes than by

prosperity. It required, indeed, all his fortitude to support the shocks of ill fortune, by which he was every day assailed. The castles of Scarborough, Skipton, Sandal, and Pontefract, after making a noble opposition, were obliged to surrender to the parliament; but their garrisons joined the royal army.

The king was now very desirous of pushing forward into Scotland, to join Montrose, who, at the head of a handful of naked, half-armed highlanders, had cut in pieces several armies of regular veterans, commanded by officers of experience, and supported by the whole strength of the kingdom. The Scottish army before Hereford were alarmed at his success; and general Lesley, at the head of all the cavalry and dragoons, marched directly towards Scotland. Immediately after his departure, the earls of Leven and Callender, who commanded at the siege of Hereford, drew up a kind of manifesto, enumerating the difficulties and disappointments they had met with, and urging the necessity of saving their own country from the destruction with which it was threatened by Montrose. They accordingly raised the siege of Hereford, and began their march to the northward. Lesley, informed of the king's intention, marched with so much expedition, that he reached Rotherham, and secured the pass at Ferrybridge, before the king was informed of the route he had taken; while Pointz, one of the parliament's generals, took post, with a strong body of horse, in the neighbourhood of Worcester. It being now impossible for Charles to lead his army into Scotland, he directed his march towards the eastern associated counties, with so much success, that he took Huntingdon, defeated several parties of the enemy, and returned to Oxford with a considerable booty.

In the mean time, Fairfax made himself master of Bath and Sherborne-castle, and prepared for besieging Bristol; an enterprise, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the great reputation of prince Rupert the governor, was deemed of the last importance. But so strangely precarious in most men is the quality of military courage! a weaker defence was not made by any town during the whole war. The general expectations were here totally disappointed. The lines were no sooner taken by storm, than the prince capitulated, and delivered up the city to Fairfax. Charles, who, on receiving advice that Fairfax determined to besiege Bristol, had collected all his forces to relieve the city, was astonished at so unexpected an event, which was hardly less fatal to his party than the battle of Naseby. Exasperated at the behaviour of Rupert, he instantly recalled all his commissions, and sent him a safe conduct to pass over to the continent.

Every thing now portended the ruin of the royal party. The king marched to the relief of Chester, which was besieged by Jones, at the head of a strong detachment of the parliament's forces. Pointz followed him close; and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Chester, attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle. The action was very sharp, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists, till Jones fell upon their troops on the other side, and put them to flight, with the loss of six hundred slain, and a thousand prisoners. The king fled, with the remains of his broken army, to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter.

Fairfax and Cromwell, having now no powerful army to oppose them, divided their forces. Cromwell, at the head of four regiments, marched to the Devizes, and soon obliged the garrison to capitulate. Berkeley-castle was taken by colonel Rainborough, but the garrison, consisting of five hundred men, were suffered to march out without their arms. Cromwell's detachment being now strengthened by three regiments of horse, he marched to Winchester, and sat down before the castle, which was defended by lord Ogle, at the head of a numerous garrison;



but after a vigorous defence, he was obliged to capitulate on honourable conditions. Cromwell's next expedition was against Basing-house, which, under the brave marquis of Winchester, had already repelled so many desperate attacks of the enemy. But it could not resist the impetuosity of Cromwell; he took it sword in hand, put the garrison to the sword, and sent the marquis, with a few of the principal officers, prisoners to London. Langford-house also, four days after, shared the same fate.

The army of Fairfax was attended with the same rapid success. Tiverton was taken, the general laid siege to Exeter, and forced the royalists, with the prince of Wales at their head, to retreat behind the Tamar. Fairfax therefore became master of the whole country to that river, and extended his line to Tornefs, which he now took possession of. This success so greatly alarmed the royalists, who had formed the blockade of Plymouth, that they retired behind the Tamar in great disorder, leaving all their artillery and ammunition in the hands of the enemy.

A. D. 1646. Fairfax was now at liberty to pursue the design he had formed against Dartmouth, which, with the assistance of a squadron of the parliament's ships, under the command of admiral Batten, he took by storm on the eighteenth of January. One hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, a thousand prisoners, a hundred horses, with proportional arms and ammunition, with two small ships of war belonging to the king, fell into the hands of Fairfax. Among the prisoners were the earl of Newport, colonel Seymour, and a great number of inferior officers. Poudram-castle next fell into the hands of the victorious Fairfax, who now laid close siege to Exeter. Lord Hopton, who commanded the royal army, consisting of eight thousand men, advanced to relieve the place. The two armies met at Torrington, where Hopton was defeated, all his foot dispersed, and he himself, with his horse, obliged to retire into Cornwall, Fairfax pursued his victory with so much vigour, that he inclosed the royalists at Truro, and forced the whole army, consisting of five thousand men, chiefly cavalry, to surrender upon terms. The soldiers delivering up their horses and arms, were permitted to disband, and received twenty shillings each to carry them to their own houses. Such of the officers as desired it, were granted passes to retire beyond the seas: the others, having promised never more to bear arms against the parliament, received a free pardon, on paying compositions proportioned to their abilities. Fairfax now returned to the siege of Exeter, and, after making himself master of that city, which completed the conquest of the west, marched his victorious army to the middle of the kingdom, and fixed his quarters at Newbury. The prince of Wales had the good fortune to escape when the royal army was inclosed at Truro; and, pursuant to the repeated orders of his father, passed over into the isles of Sicilly, thence to Jersey, and afterwards to Paris, where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, when the earl of Essex commanded the parliament's forces in the west.

Not was Charles more successful in other parts of the kingdom. Hereford was taken by surprize; Chester surrendered: Lord Digby, who had attempted, at the head of twelve hundred horse, to force his way into Scotland, and join Montrose, was defeated at Sherburn in Yorkshire, by colonel Copeley; his whole force was dispersed, and he himself obliged to fly, first into the Isle of Man, and thence into Ireland. The town and castle of Chepstow were delivered up to the parliament; the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen were reduced by Laughren: Shelford and Wyverton houses were taken, and even the undaunted countess of Derby was obliged to surrender Latham-house. And, to put a final period to the hopes of the royalists, news arrived, that Montrose himself, after the most astonishing success, was totally defeated, and obliged to fly, with his broken forces into the mountains.

Such was in general the state of affairs when the inclemency of the season put an end to the rage of war. It would have been endless to have mentioned all the smaller actions and skirmishes, the sieges of castles, and the taking of houses, that happened during this whole campaign, so fatal to the royal party. The genius of Cromwell shone in its full lustre; he was the support of the independents, while his amazing success awakened the jealousy of the presbyterians. He flew from post to post with amazing expedition; the news of one conquest hardly arrived before another was finished; the shouts of victory in his troops were blended with the singing of psalms, and the consultations for battle and destruction were always preceded by the exercises of praying and preaching. That artful general always took care to keep the minds of his soldiers warm either by the heat of battle, or the force of enthusiasm: he was at once their martial and their spiritual leader. Every county was a bloody scene of action, and on almost every gentleman's estate, encounters happened, which exceeded in fury, those of any foreign war. The numbers that fell in the more distinguished battles were inconsiderable when compared with the total, that were slain in those lesser skirmishes. "To the work of the Lord diligently," was now become the watch-word of the independents, and implied, that no quarter ought to be given to the royalists, and that the war should be carried on without regarding the few decencies which had hitherto been preserved towards his majesty and the chief nobility of the kingdom.

The escape of the king from Newark to Oxford was, however, a great disappointment to the independents. Not that they had the least apprehension of his recovering any power that could renew their alarms; but they feared, what afterwards happened, that he would make another attempt to conclude a peace with the parliament. As soon as the king knew that the prince of Wales had made his escape, he demanded, from the two houses, a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, Mr. Ashburnham and Mr. Palmer, to repair with his propositions, to Westminster. The commons had for some time been employed in debating on the situation of public affairs. The presbyterians thought that matters had now exceeded the crisis they proposed, and perceived that both they and the parliament were on the point of receiving law from the independents and the army; and therefore, that it was more advisable for them to conclude a peace with his majesty, than become the dupes of that violent party. And as they had hitherto maintained a considerable majority in the house, they now determined to make use of it for settling the peace of the kingdom; but at the same time, they well knew that the utmost caution would be necessary to ensure success. They were aware that the independent party would derive great advantages from the London populace, if the commons gave any countenance to a treaty. It was therefore agreed to frame a set of articles which were to be sent to his majesty, and, after being approved by him, to have the sanction of an act of parliament. Those articles were founded on the demands before made at Uxbridge, but with an addition of the following particulars: "That their general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, should be created a baron, and have five thousand pounds a year settled on him for life: That lord Fairfax, his father, should be made an earl: That lieutenant-general Cromwell should be made a baron, and enjoy two thousand five hundred pounds a year: That the earls of Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, and Pembroke, be created dukes: That Denzil Hollis be made a baron, Sir William Waller a baron, and enjoy an annuity of two thousand five hundred pounds a year: That Sir Arthur Haslerig be made a baron, with two thousand pounds per annum: That Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Philip Stapleton, be created barons, and the latter enjoy two thousand pounds a year: That Sir William



Brereton have one thousand five hundred, and major general Skippon one thousand pounds per annum."

It was imagined by the presbyterian party, that their thus liberally providing for the friends of the independent party, as well as their own, would be a means of suppressing the violence of the faction; if it was possible to satiate the avarice and ambition of their leaders. They therefore gave no answer to the king's message, which alarmed Charles, who sent a very pathetic letter to the commons, but received no reply; the commons were busy in forming their propositions. In the mean time, the differences which every day increased between the parliament and the Scots, gave his majesty some hopes, that a rupture between them would be the consequence; which could not fail of being advantageous to his affairs.

After the defeat of Montrose in Scotland, all the foot, and part of the Scottish horse, were starving in England; nor did they receive one shilling but what they raised by contributions. It was, however, at last voted, that they should be paid thirty-one thousand pounds per month, provided they would return to the southward, and lay siege to Newark, which was likely, at that time, to prove the hottest service in England. But the answer of the Scots was so unsatisfactory, that they were required to give a positive and speedy answer; and, in the mean time, several strong resolutions were made by the parliament, if they refused to undertake the siege.

The marquis of Argyle was now at the head of those violent covenanters in Scotland, whose characters nearly resembled those of the independents in England. He had been defeated by Montrose, who had suffered his forces to live at free quarters on his estates. At the same time, he was hated by the Hamilton party, so that he was under a kind of necessity of opposing all offers of accommodation with the king. The duke of Hamilton, on the other hand, saw himself without abilities to serve his sovereign, unless he would grant all that was demanded of him with regard to religion. Besides these two, there was a third party in Scotland, consisting of the earls of Callender, Traquair, Morton, Roxborough, and several others, who cherished the genuine sentiments of public liberty, and sincerely wished that some method might be found for restoring Charles to all his just rights, both in England and Scotland, under proper restrictions and security; but they were at once too weak and too wise to attempt any thing themselves, unless properly assisted. There was, however, one principle, in which all the three parties agreed, that the return of their army into Scotland, before the large arrears due to the troops from the English parliament, must be attended with the ruin of their country, and the destruction of their civil liberty. They perceived it would be impossible to find subsistence for a small body of horse under Lesley; and had therefore sent the greater part of them back to England, reserving one regiment only.

Charles made another effort for negotiating a peace with the parliament, and desired to have a personal treaty with the two houses. He offered to come to London, on receiving a safe conduct for himself and his attendants, and to commit the trust of the militia to such persons against whom there could be no just exception. But they absolutely refused him access; and even issued orders for seizing his person, if he attempted to visit them. At last they told the king, that they were preparing some bills, and his passing them would be the surest indication of his desire of restoring peace to this distracted country. About this time, an action, which happened in Ireland, served to augment the calumnies that were propagated to the disadvantage of the king, and which he had always considered as the greatest misfortunes he had yet experienced.

Desirous of concluding a final peace with the Irish rebels, and of obtaining their assistance in England;

he commissioned Ormond, the lord-lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all the penal laws that had been enacted against the catholics. But as some agent was thought necessary to conduct the negotiation, lord Herbert, lately created earl of Glamorgan, was considered as a person proper for this undertaking, as he was a catholic, and allied to the best families in Ireland. Glamorgan was strictly enjoined not to conclude any thing with the rebels without the approbation of Ormond, and to consult him in every step of his negotiations. Had these instructions been carefully observed, the king had received the reinforcement he so greatly wanted; without giving his enemies the opportunity of loading him with reproaches. But bigotted to his own religion, and passionately desirous of serving his master effectually, he secretly, of himself, without communicating any part of the negotiation to Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, by which it was agreed, that the Irish should enjoy all the churches they had ever possessed since the beginning of their insurrection, on condition, that they should assist the king of England with a body of ten thousand men. Great secrecy was observed in concluding this treaty, and it was at last discovered by accident. The titular archbishop of Tuam being killed in a sally made by the garrison of Sligo, the articles of the treaty were found among his baggage; and several copies of them were sent over to the English parliament. Persuaded that this incident would excite the loudest clamour against the king, the lord-lieutenant and lord Digby committed Glamorgan to prison, charged him with high-treason for his temerity, and maintained that he had acted entirely without authority from his majesty. The king also disavowed the treaty, and declared that he had no authority to conclude any thing without the privity and approbation of the lord-lieutenant. The parliament, however, lost not so fair an opportunity of reviving the old clamour with regard to the king's desire of favouring the abominations of popery; and accused him of delivering the whole kingdom of Ireland to that hated sect.

The parliament, when they abolished episcopacy, did not immediately regulate the affairs of the church. At length that great work was finished, and a presbyterian government, with all its congregations and assemblies, was established. The elders of each parish joined with the ministers, were to preside in all spiritual matters, in that congregation; and the general assembly over those of the whole kingdom. That assembly of their clergy had already voted, that presbytery was of divine right; but the parliament refused their assent to that opinion, because they imagined it would be productive of a spiritual authority equal at least, if not superior, to that before enjoyed by the bishops. The clergy of all sects of christians, under pretence of keeping the sacraments from being profaned, had assumed the power of the keys, or the right of fulminating excommunications. The parliament thought proper to set limits to this power, which they considered as dangerous to liberty. They passed an ordinance, by which all the cases in excommunication should be used; they admitted appeals to be made to the parliament from all ecclesiastical courts; and appointed commissioners to take cognizance of such cases as fell not within their ordinance. The zealots were highly offended at the parliament; for intermixing so much civil with ecclesiastical authority; they considered it as a profanation of religion.

But what gave them the highest offence, was the propensity shewn by many of the members to allow a toleration to all religious sectaries. This excited an universal clamour among the presbyterians, who loudly exclaimed against what they termed a most scandalous measure. "What!" said they, "shall we make a Noah's ark of the church? make it a receptacle for all unclean beasts? We are obliged by the covenant to oppose heresy and schism. No political



"political reasons can counterbalance this duty." The dispute grew very warm between the presbyterians and independents; the former opposing, and the latter supporting the reasonableness of admitting a toleration in religion; and the king might have profited by it, if their hatred to him had not united those whom their religious opinions had divided.

The king was not displeased at these disputes in the parliament; but he soon perceived, that if it were possible for him to derive any advantage from the misunderstandings of his parliament, it would come too late. Fairfax was approaching, at the head of a powerful and victorious army, to besiege him in Oxford, whence it would be impossible for him, after the city was invested, to make his escape. He could not bear the thought of being made a captive, and led in triumph through the streets of his capital, amidst a prejudiced and insolent populace, and a rude, enthusiastic soldiery, who hated his person, and despised his dignity. The Scots army had now invested Newark, and seemed to open the only asylum to majesty in distress. He imagined that the Scots had not yet lost all attachment to their sovereign; and that, as zealous presbyterians, they would not willingly submit to the independents. Montreville, the French minister, desirous of serving the king, had solicited the Scots generals and commissioners to give protection to their distressed sovereign; and having received many general professions and promises, he transmitted these, possibly with some exaggeration, to the king, who now determined to throw himself into the arms of his Scottish subjects.

The utmost secrecy was, however, observed in this transaction; and that no interruption, sufficient to occasion a discovery, might happen, orders were given at every gate in Oxford to admit three persons to pass without being examined. These precautions being taken, Charles, attended only by Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, passed about midnight through that gate which leads to London. The king, in the dress of Ashburnham's servant, with a portmanteau behind him, passed through Henley, and Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained some thoughts of entering the capital, and throwing himself into the arms of the parliament; but this design appearing too dangerous, he pursued his first intention; and, after passing through many cross roads, reached the Scottish camp before Newark. The surprize of their generals and commissioners was prodigious: they pretended to do him homage, and paid him every external mark of respect; but were determined to make him a captive. They allotted him a guard, under pretence of protection and esteem, but in reality to secure his person.

Newark still made a noble defence against the Scots, who now applied to the king for orders to the governor to surrender the place. He readily obeyed, and the gates were opened to the enemy. Soon after the king's arrival, the Scots had informed the parliament of their being in possession of the king's person; but hearing that the commons intended to demand him, and that the army of Fairfax was already in motion towards their camp, they thought proper to retire towards the frontiers of their own kingdom, and encamped at Newcastle, a place of great strength. This motion was not disagreeable to Charles; he imagined it was taken merely for the protection of his person; and flattered himself, that by the junction of his friends with the Scots, he should be once more in a condition of facing the enemy, and, possibly, of restoring peace to his exhausted kingdoms.

But Charles well knew that the Scots would never heartily concur in promoting his interest, unless he could gain the favour of their ministers: he was therefore very attentive to their long and enthusiastic sermons, and seemed very desirous of their instructions. But he soon perceived that the covenanting zealots were by no means his friends. One of their preachers, after bitterly reproaching him, in the harshest terms, for his conduct, gave out that psalm,

which, in the English translation, begins, "Why boastest thou thyself, thou tyrant, that thou canst do mischief?" The king stood up, and called for that psalm which begins, "Have pity upon me, O Lord, for men go about to devour me." The good-natured audience shewed that they were penetrated with the sight of majesty in distress, and sung the psalm called for by the king. Pity, for once, triumphed over enthusiasm.

Charles was now required to issue orders to the governors of all his garrisons, to surrender the places they defended to the parliament. The king made no opposition: he perceived he could hope for no effectual assistance from the Scots, and knew that any farther opposition would only tend to exasperate still more the party that was formed against him: Fairfax carried those orders into execution; and granted the garrisons honourable terms: he even prevented, as far as in his power, any insults from being offered to the unfortunate royalists. The capital, with all the other forts garrisoned by the king's party in Ireland, were also delivered up to the parliament's officers: and Montrose, after experiencing a great variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms, and retired to the continent.

All opposition on the part of the royalists being now ceased, it was thought that no time should be lost in settling the distracted state of the kingdom. But this was not easy to be performed. The strength of the independent party in parliament was greatly increased, and the army was at the devotion of Cromwell; but both began to entertain jealousies of the Scots. It was therefore voted, "that there is no farther occasion for the Scottish army to continue in England. And, that one hundred thousand pounds be raised, and one moiety thereof paid to the Scots, on their delivering up all the towns they have garrisoned in England, except Berwick, and the other on their return to Scotland." At the same time, they ordered the Scots commissioners to deliver to the house an account of the arrears due to their army, that they might be discharged according to the treaty between the two kingdoms.

The proposals for establishing a peace were now laid before the king, and appeared to be such as might be expected by a captive entirely at the mercy of an inexorable conqueror. The parliament demanded, before any treaty was signed, that the king should give the royal assent to the following bills. "1. To recall all proclamations published against the parliament, and their actions. 2. To sign the covenant, and pass an act for its being taken by the whole kingdom. 3. An act to abolish the hierarchy. 4. To confirm the assembly. 5. An act for settling religion according to the plan established by both houses of parliament. 6. To confirm unity and uniformity in religion. 7. An act against jesuits, papists, &c. 8. An act for educating the children of papists in the protestant religion. 9. An act for penalties against catholics. 10. An act against saying mass in any place within the kingdom. 11. The same to be extended to Scotland, if the parliament of that kingdom think proper. 12. An act for the due observation of the Lord's day, against pluralities, non-residents, and for regulating the universities. 13. An act for vesting the militia in the parliament for twenty years; for empowering the commons to raise what money they thought necessary, and for confirming the privileges of London with regard to their own militia. 14. An act to render void all honours and titles conferred since the great seal was carried from the parliament, and that no peers be admitted but by consent of both houses. 15. An act to confirm the treaty between England and Scotland, and for appointing conservators of the peace. 16. An act to establish the declaration of both kingdoms, published on the thirtieth of June, 1643, with the qualifications of exception from pardon, with regard to several persons, both English and Scots, and the name of those rendered incapable of any office, and such



such as have deserted the parliament. 17. An act to render void the cessation concluded with the Irish rebels, for leaving the conduct of the war in that kingdom to the care of the parliament, and for settling religion there in the same manner as in England. 18. An act for vesting the government of the Tower and their own militia in the magistrates of London, and for confirming their charters. 19. A bill for confirming all grants and processes issued under the parliament's great seal, and for rendering void all those of any other."

Charles, though no stranger to the substance of these proposals, told the messengers, that as they tended to introduce such important innovations in the constitution, it was highly reasonable he should be allowed a proper time for deliberation. They replied, that he must give his answer in ten days. The king complained, that the terms made use of were not defined, and desired to know their meaning. The messengers told him they had no power to debate, and that he must give a positive answer. Upon this the king delivered a paper, in which he complained of the limited powers of the commissioners, and demanded permission to come to London and treat with his parliament in person. He added, that as he never could condescend to pass bills absolutely destructive of that just power with which he was entrusted by God and the laws of the kingdom, so he would cheerfully give his assent to such as were reasonable, and really tended to promote the peace and happiness of his subjects. He therefore conjured them as christians, and as men who desire to leave a good name behind them, that they would receive his answer in so favourable a manner, that the issues of blood may be stopped, and the dreadful distractions of this unhappy kingdom fully settled.

This paper was considered by the parliament's commissioners as no satisfactory answer, and they made some difficulty of receiving it. It, however, produced no effect; and the king was given to understand, that if he refused to comply with their demands, they would settle the kingdom by their own authority. But two difficulties still continued to be removed; to prevail upon the Scots to deliver up the king; and to settle the payment of the arrears of their army.

Both these particulars caused very long debates in the parliament. The Scots pretended, that as Charles was king of both nations, they were equally intitled with the English to vote on the question relative to the disposal of his person; and that where the titles of both are equal, and the subject indivisible, the present possessor was intitled to the preference. On the contrary, the English maintained, that as the king was in England, his person could not be disposed of by any foreign nation. But though they differed so widely with regard to the disposal of his majesty's person, they agreed in imposing on him such rigorous conditions, that Charles, notwithstanding his deplorable situation, refused to accept them. They did not, indeed, wish he should recover his freedom; they never intended to blend lenity and tyranny together in so inconsistent a manner. The Scots, however, determined not to deliver up the king to the English parliament, but keep him as a pledge for their arrears, which, in the present distracted state of the nation, they were unlikely to obtain by any other means. According to their own account, the sum amounted to no less than two millions; for as the parliament had paid them very little money, the contributions they had levied, and the price of their living at free quarters, were all the deductions to be made out of the whole pay due to them, ever since they first entered England. This sum was, however, considered as very exorbitant by the parliament; and the demand occasioned very long and severe debates. At length the Scottish commissioners agreed to accept of four hundred thousand pounds, in lieu of all demands; one half

to be paid immediately, and the other in less than a year.

As the delivering up the king's person was considered as the principal condition of this infamous bargain, the money was raised with great alacrity. The Scottish parliament had indeed voted, that the king should be protected, and his liberty be made one of the conditions of the treaty; but they were obliged to retract their resolution on the interposition of the general assembly, who declared, "that as Charles had refused to take the covenant when tendered to him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortune." This resolution, however, was not sufficient to disturb the tranquillity of the king's mind, so greatly had he profited in the school of adversity. He was playing at chess when he was informed of the final resolution of the Scots to deliver him into the hands of the English parliament; but he continued his game without interruption; nor could any person in company perceive that the letter he perused brought any advice of consequence.

The parliament had now surmounted every difficulty; the whole power of the nation was in their hands. Fairfax, the unhappy, the unwilling instrument of the miseries of his country, was now in London, and complimented by the parliament in terms which can with propriety be used only to the divine Being. Lenthall, the speaker of the house of commons, told him, that he was "the Almighty who came riding on the wings of the wind." Fairfax despised and detested such gross flattery; but he was not proof against the arts of Cromwell. The army was now modelled in such a manner, that they no longer considered themselves as the servants of the parliament, but rather as its masters; and Cromwell pointed out to Fairfax, with great justice and candour, the distractions that every where prevailed, both in church and state. Scarcely two divines could agree in a standard of faith, or two statesmen on the same scheme of measures necessary to be pursued. Hence he concluded, that the army was now the sole principle of unity, the center to which all lines must point. The soldiers, he said, were the chosen people of God, and had within them that unerring light of grace, which soared above all sublunary institutions, and corrected all human errors. He meant, however, only those soldiers under the command of Fairfax and himself; for there were besides two armies, one under Massey, governor of Gloucester; and the other under Mitton, in Wales. Massey's soldiers felt the infirmities of human nature; they were distressed with cold, hunger, and the want of every necessary comfort of life. They therefore presented several strong petitions to the parliament, enumerated their services, and asked that relief to which as servants, as men, and as christians, they were so justly entitled. But all their petitions and remonstrances were in vain; they were threatened with being sent to Ireland, and in the mean time suffered to live at free quarters, that the disbanding of them, which was now determined, might appear the less unpopular, though they were paid but a small part of their arrears.

The independents had strongly opposed the treaty with the Scots, and were for demanding the person of his majesty at the head of the army, and driving them out of the kingdom by force. Every vote, therefore, in their favour, was strenuously debated; but the presbyterians having, as yet, the majority, carried their point; and the measure for sending the Scots into their own country, by an amicable treaty, was adopted. This being settled, it was voted, that Holmby-house, in Northamptonshire, should be the place for receiving his majesty; and a committee of lords and commons, with a party of the army, were appointed to attend him thither from Newcastle; but, at the same time, they declared, that nothing should be done towards settling the peace, till the Scottish forces had passed the English borders. When



the English commissioners arrived in the Scottish camp, and were permitted to kiss the king's hands, he received them with the same grace and cheerfulness, as if they had travelled on no other errand, but that of paying their court to him. His majesty was allowed only nine servants to attend him; and though he was treated by the commissioners with all the external marks of respect, he was not suffered to have any intercourse with his friends. Some weeks before the king was delivered into the hands of the parliament's commissioners, the earl of Essex paid the debt of nature. This was a severe blow both to the king and presbyterian party. Sensible of the deplorable state of the nation, to which, from mistake rather than design, he had so greatly contributed, he determined to exert all his power to bring about a peace, and restore the tranquillity of the nation; but death put a final period to his design, deprived the presbyterians, or moderate party, of a popular leader, and so greatly lessened the power of the house of peers, that it was almost annihilated.

A. D. 1647. While the king continued at Holmby-house, the nation began to be very uneasy at the situation of public affairs. The house of commons had either by themselves, or their committees, diverted the ordinary course of laws, even in matters of private property; but they had often declared, that as soon as the necessity of the times would permit, the courts of judicature should resume their ancient functions. The lords did not fail to put them in mind of those declarations, but very little more was done than that of appointing some lawyers to go the circuits, and entering into a debate about the necessity of constituting new judges. A committee of the commons had sat, at Goldsmith's-hall, ever since the beginning of the civil war, with almost unlimited power; and to them was committed the care of the greater part of the landed estates in the kingdom, being sequestered for the adherence of their owners to the royal cause. The lords were of opinion, that the public distractions of the nation could not be composed, unless those severities were laid aside, and more lenient methods pursued; and began to exert themselves with regard to the committee at Goldsmith's-hall. But this was a power the commons were determined to support, and not to suffer their proceedings to be examined. They therefore made an apology in favour of their committee, and plainly told the lords, that many of their house had petitioned for, and obtained large sums from that committee; particularly the earl of Northumberland ten thousand pounds; the earl of Kent, and the lord Gray of Warke, four thousand pounds each; the lord Say two thousand pounds, and the earls of Lincoln, Denbigh, and Stamford, fifteen hundred pounds each.

But the greatest grievance consisted in the army, which, though there was not now the shadow of an enemy in the field, was still kept up to the great terror of the presbyterian party, who were therefore determined to take the first favourable opportunity of reducing that alarming instrument of the independents. The army had for some time been greatly neglected, and had presented many petitions to the parliament for their arrears, which were not only disregarded, but an order had been made by both houses, that no part of the army should be quartered within twenty-five miles of London.

In the mean time the nation laboured under every species of oppression. The public distractions had discouraged trade, manufactures, and agriculture in England, and the public now reflected, in all the bitterness of spirit, on the blessings of tranquillity they formerly enjoyed, and which they now saw no hopes of returning. The presbyterians were desirous of dismissing the army, even without rewarding them for their former services. Cromwell very justly opposed their design by observing, that the parliament had nothing to support the authority they had acquired but the army. On the twenty-seventh of

February a motion was made in the house with regard to the reduction of the forces, and carried by a majority of two only. It was then resolved to begin with reducing the cavalry, and it was determined that four thousand horse and one thousand dragoons would be sufficient for the service of the whole kingdom. They next proceeded to consider how the forces and garrisons of the kingdom should be disposed of and provided for; and the question was put, "whether there should be a number of foot kept up at the pay of the kingdom, more than will be sufficient for the keeping such garrisons as shall be continued." This question passed in the negative, notwithstanding the independents exerted all their interest to procure a larger number. It was soon after voted, "that three thousand horse, nine hundred foot, and twelve hundred dragoons, should be sent over to Ireland." But the most violent questions carried against the independents, were, "That no officer should command under Fairfax, above the degree of a colonel; and that no member of parliament should have the command of any garrison or fort in England." They next voted, "That such persons as shall be employed as officers in the garrisons, or forces that shall be kept up in the kingdom, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, shall conform to the establishment of the church, established by both houses of parliament."

These votes being directly levelled against the independents in the army, and who were the most active persons in it, it is no wonder that Cromwell and his party determined to attempt the independency of the army upon the ruins of the parliament. This was no difficult task for Cromwell to perform, by giving the officers a very unfavourable opinion of the house of lords, who were daily sending messages to the commons concerning the danger of the kingdom from the army. Manchester had indeed given the house a very unfavourable opinion of Cromwell's intentions, and the artful methods he made use of to gain an ascendancy over the army. The presbyterians in the army equally hated Cromwell, and had already voted, that the Scottish forces in Ireland should be sent back to their own country, and that the war in that kingdom should be prosecuted by the English forces only. This vote greatly alarmed the army; they well knew, that if they were once sent into Ireland, their petitions and remonstrances would have little weight: the parliament would leave them to earn a wretched subsistence with their swords in opposing the Irish rebels. The arrears due to the army were already very considerable, amounting to no less than three hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds. A petition was therefore presented to Sir Thomas Fairfax, by the officers of the army, in which they enumerated the hardships to which they must be reduced if their arrears were any longer deferred. Fairfax laid the petition before the parliament; but received only a harsh answer. The parliament even threatened to proceed against the promoters of the petition as enemies to the state and disturbers of the public peace.

As the army had certainly some reason for their petition, it is no wonder that the declaration of the parliament tended to increase rather than lessen the mutinous dispositions of the soldiers. They lamented, that they who had so long exposed themselves to every danger in order to establish the liberty of the subject, should themselves be deprived of the privileges of Englishmen, and even denied the privilege of representing their grievances. The commons, fearful of the consequences of exasperating the army, sent commissioners, at the head of whom were Cromwell and Ireton, to the head quarters at Saffron-Walden, to make proposals for entering into the Irish service. But instead of insisting, the generality absolutely rejected the terms, and desired an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions, of which, during the course of the war, they might have been guilty; together with satisfaction for arrears, freedom



freedom from pressing, relief for widows and maimed soldiers, and pay till disbanded. They expressed no dissatisfaction against Skippon, who was appointed to command the troops in Ireland, but discovered a much stronger desire of serving under Fairfax or Cromwell. The commissioners, who were in reality the sole cause of all the discontents in the army, failed not to foment the disorders they were sent to appease.

A military parliament, in opposition to that at Westminster, was immediately formed, consisting of two houses. The principal officers composed a council, or house of peers; while two private men, or inferior officers, chosen from each troop or company, under the title of agitators, formed the lower house. This establishment afforded an easy method for the leaders to augment the mutinous disposition of the army, without the least danger of being discovered. At the same time, the general humour that then prevailed in the nation for forming plans for imaginary republics, was, in some measure, gratified. Their first resolutions sufficiently indicated the consequences that would soon ensue from their deliberations. They voted, that the offers of the parliament were not satisfactory; that eight weeks pay (which was all, they said, the parliament promised) was but a small part of fifty-six weeks, which they pretended was their due; that no visible security was given for the remainder; and that having been declared public enemies by the commons, there was sufficient reason to fear, that unless the declaration was recalled, they might be hereafter prosecuted as such. Cromwell, in order to carry on his ambitious designs under the impenetrable veil of hypocrisy, had taken care to repair to London before these violent resolutions were taken, in order, as he pretended, to lay the increasing discontents of the army before the parliament.

Alarmed at these rebellious dispositions of the soldiers, the parliament determined to make one vigorous effort more, in order to support their authority. They voted, that all the troops that refused to insist for Ireland should be disbanded in their quarters. But this resolution was hardly passed by the commons, before the new parliament in the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to concert measures for supporting their common interests. A plan secretly suggested by Cromwell, decided the victory in their favour. Not a moment was to be lost; both the magistracy and the militia of London had declared for the parliament; some of the best officers in England, and even the general himself, were for supporting the same authority; the sources of money were almost exhausted, and the soldiers had no other alternative than that of subduing the parliament, or submitting implicitly to their authority.

The king was still at Holmby-house, and guarded by a party of soldiers under the command of colonel Graves, who was supposed to be in the interest of the commons. It was, however, determined to seize the king's person, and conduct him to the army. A party of five hundred horse, commanded by one Joice, originally a taylor, but now advanced to the rank of cornet, accordingly marched for Holmby-house. The guard made not the least opposition; Joice came into the king's presence, armed with pistols, and bluntly told his majesty he must go with him immediately. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army," replied Joice. The king asked by what authority he acted, and required to see his warrant. Joice pointed to one of the soldiers he had brought with him, tall, handsome and well accoutered. "Truly," said the king, smiling, "your warrant is written in very legible characters; it may be read without spelling." In the mean time the parliament's commissioners, perceiving the guard made no opposition, sent an officer to know who commanded the party upon duty. He was answered, "That they all commanded." The commissioners now came into the room, and asked Joice if he had any orders from

the parliament? He said, "No." "Have you any from the general?" "No." "By what authority do you act in this manner?" He pointed, as before, to the soldier. "We will write to the parliament," said they, "to know their pleasure." "You may if you please," replied Joice, "but in the mean time the king must immediately go with me." He added, that he had no design to insult the person of his majesty, but would conduct him with safety to their head quarters.

All resistance was in vain, and the king, after protracting the time as much as possible, stepped into his coach, and was carried to the army, who were then hastening to their rendezvous on Triplo-heath, near Cambridge.

Fairfax, who was totally a stranger to the whole transaction, knew not how to behave on this occasion. No body could be found who gave the orders, which were merely verbal; and while they were employed in tracing them to their source, Cromwell arrived from London and finished the debate. He justified the conduct of Joice, by asserting that Graves intended to carry his majesty to London the next day, where a treaty was intended to be signed between him and the parliament, and the poor soldiers left to shift for themselves; or perhaps be treated with greater severity. Fairfax was however far from being convinced of the propriety of Joice's conduct. He thought he had gone too far; but consented that the king should be carried back to Holmby-house, and reside there under a guard of his own officers and soldiers. But Whalley, a creature of Cromwell, being appointed to command the detachment, conducted his majesty to Newmarket, instead of Holmby-house.

The parliament were struck with astonishment when they were informed of this daring insult on their authority. The city was thrown into the utmost confusion; distraction seemed painted in every countenance. Many of the presbyterian members, terrified at the power of the army, either absented themselves from the house, or joined with the independents in passing such resolutions as might tend to allay the ferment raised among the soldiers. They voted that the army should receive their full demands, and that both officers and soldiers should receive a reasonable gratuity, besides their pay; but, at the same time, they voted, that the king should be conducted back to Holmby-house; while the lords pressed strongly that he should be carried to Oatlands. The army, however, put a negative upon both; and Joice openly avowed in the presence of the king, Fairfax and Cromwell, that what he had done was the sense of the whole soldiery, and that though he had undertaken to act in that manner without a written order from his commander, he had done no more than his duty. Both the council of officers, and house of agitators were wholly moved by the direction of Cromwell, who thus conveyed his will to the whole army. He had conducted himself in parliament with such profound dissimulation and refined hypocrisy, that he even deceived those, who had long made it a practice to deceive others. Whenever any intelligence of disorders in the army arrived, he appeared agitated in the most violent manner with the passions of grief and anger. He wept bitterly; he lamented the misfortunes of his country; he advised the most violent measures for suppressing the mutiny; and by giving these precipitate counsel, he at once seemed to prove his own sincerity, and inflamed those discontents of which he intended to make his own advantage. He appealed to heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him so odious in the army, that his life was exposed to the utmost danger while he continued among them. These asseverations produced the desired effect, and he had now, by his profound and artful conduct, attained a situation, where he could cover his enterprizes from the eye of the public; and by seeming either to obey the commands of his superior officer,



or yield to the motions of the soldiers, could, with ease and secrecy, pave the way to his future greatness.

When Fairfax drew up the whole army on Triploheath, the soldiers seemed more dissatisfied than ever; there was not one among them who was satisfied with the last votes of parliament. The presbyterian party were now sufficiently alarmed, and immediately applied to the city for protection. Their request was granted, and two regiments of militia marched to Westminster for that purpose. This imprudent measure served only to increase the ferment already too violent in the army. It was pretended that the parliament itself was under restraint; and that it was therefore necessary for them to march into the neighbourhood of the capital, in order to restore liberty to the members. Fairfax, who solemnly disclaimed all intentions of breaking with the parliament, was pleased with what he considered as an instance of the soldiers duty, and gave orders for the army to march towards London. Destitute at once of talents for cabal, and of penetration to discover the cabals of others, Fairfax had given his confidence entirely to Cromwell, who, by the most specious pretences, the appearance of an open sincerity, and a scrupulous conscience, imposed on the easy nature of this brave and virtuous general.

On the twelfth of June advice arrived in London, that the army had advanced to St. Albans. The city had already armed their militia, drawn out their artillery, posted their guards, and displayed the same warlike appearance as in the beginning of the war against the king. But the enemy they were now to encounter was of a very different kind; and they were so greatly terrified with the names of Fairfax and Cromwell at the head of a powerful and victorious army, that on their approach, the warlike order of the militia subsided; letters full of civility and professions of esteem passed between the magistrates and the general, who still continued to advance, notwithstanding repeated messages were sent by the parliament, enjoining the general not to lead his army nearer than within forty miles of London. The parliament now found it necessary to submit, and endeavour, by compliance, to stop the fury of the enraged army. Their first indication was their ordering the vote, which declared the military petitioners public enemies, to be erased from their journal-book.

The tyranny exercised by the parliament had rendered them very unpopular: from being once the idol of the nation, they were now become the object of general hatred and aversion. They experienced the measures they had so lately adopted in their usurpations upon the crown. The army rose every day in their demands. One claim was no sooner granted, than another still more enormous and exorbitant was made: they seemed determined never to be satisfied. At first they only pretended to petition the parliament for what concerned themselves as soldiers: they next insisted on a vindication of their character: they then thought it necessary that their enemies should be punished; and at last they claimed the right of modelling the government, and settling the nation. In these exorbitant demands, they preserved, in words, the utmost deference and respect to the parliament, while in actions they insulted them in the grossest manner. They did not pretend to accuse the whole assembly; their petitions were levelled against evil counsellors only, by whom they said it was seduced and betrayed.

On the sixteenth of June, they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army, and evil counsellors to the state, the following eleven members: Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, major-general Maffey, Mr. recorder Glyn, colonel Walter Long, colonel Edward Harley, and Mr. Anthony Nicholls. These members, who were the leaders of the presbyterian party, they insisted should be immediately sequestered from parliament,

and committed to prison. The commons replied, that a general charge was not sufficient for them to proceed to such extremities. It was answered, that such a charge was thought sufficient in the cases of Strafford and Laud. Such is, generally, the case of contending parties, in the alternate usurpations of authority; they indulge themselves in the same excesses they had condemned in their adversaries.

It was in vain for the accused members to appeal to the people; the parliament was no longer considered as the defender of laws, and the restorer of liberty. It had exercised a power more arbitrary than that which had given occasion to its enterprizes against the crown. The excise on liquors and provisions, with a great variety of other imposts, had alienated the minds of the people, who had before been wholly strangers to such burthens. Immense sums (which, according to some authors, amounted to forty millions) levied in five years, gave ample occasion for complaints, especially when compared with the small subsidies paid before the civil war. The commissioners, who were intrusted with the disposal of this money, gave no account of it. The episcopal clergy, cruelly persecuted, without any other cause than their adherence to the principles of the church of England, were become an object of pity rather than hatred. In the room of the courts of high-commission and star-chamber, abolished with so much justice and spirit, tribunals by no means less odious were established in every county.

The general charge against the eleven members was succeeded by a declaration signed by Fairfax and his officers, asserting their right of keeping their arms, till they saw the purposes for which they first took them up fully answered. The paper was drawn up in a very masterly manner, and contained the following demands: "That both houses be immediately purged of such ministers who ought not to have a seat in that assembly: that those persons who have abused the confidence of the parliament and army, and endangered the kingdom, may be speedily disabled from doing any farther mischief: that some interval of time may be appointed for the continuance of this, as well as of future parliaments, and that new elections be successively made according to the bill for triennial parliaments: that provision be made to prevent future parliaments from being dissolved at the king's pleasure, without their consent, but suffered to sit their proper time: that the right of the people to represent to the parliament their grievances, by way of petition, may be vindicated: that the discretionary powers given to country-committees during the war, may be taken away, as they are now no longer necessary: that the people may be satisfied with regard to disbursements of the money levied on the nation: that public justice being satisfied by a few examples of the most exceptionable persons, some course may be taken, by a general act of oblivion, that all apprehensions of a future war may be entirely removed."

Terrified at these demands of the army, the city of London sent a deputation to St. Albans, disclaiming any intention to raise forces for opposing the army. This timidity of the citizens greatly intimidated the presbyterian party, which now became contemptible in the eyes of the soldiers. The prosecution against the eleven commoners was pushed with great violence; and the members themselves, unwilling to give occasion to fresh discords, begged leave to retire from the house; and the army, for the present, seemed satisfied with this mark of submission.

Having thus completely subdued the parliament, and no signs of resistance appearing in the city, the army, at the desire of the commons, retired farther from the capital, and fixed their head-quarters at Reading, carrying the king with them. He had experienced much greater lenity since he had been with the army than before: he enjoyed not only his favourite diversions, but his favourite mode of worship,



ship, and the conversation of his favourite friends. His children were once allowed to visit him; and passed a few days at Caverham-house, where he resided. This interview was remarkably tender and affecting: no man ever loved his family more sincerely than Charles. Cromwell, who was present at this interview of the royal family, confessed he had never beheld so tender a scene.

The chiefs of the army seemed to pay their court to his majesty. Fairfax declared he intended to force the parliament to moderate their demands, and to restore him to his just rights. Cromwell and Ireton went still farther; they professed a respect, and even a veneration for his person; and actually imparted to him proposals, to which they promised to procure the agreement of the army, and to which he might assent with little or no violence to his conscience. All the agitators, except those infected with the principles of levelling, made the same professions, and were even friendly enough to put him upon his guard against those officers whose sincerity they suspected. The parliament, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, addressed him with far more respect than formerly: they even invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance to the settlement of the nation. Charles flattered himself, that the present scene of distractions, oppressions and terror, would induce the people to reflect on that ancient form of government, under which they and their ancestors had so long enjoyed happiness and tranquillity.

Courted by both parties, the king hoped he should soon be restored to his just rights, and once more hold the sceptre of his ancestors. The independents, however, seemed to be most in his interest. He had sufficiently experienced the rigour of the parliament: they pretended wholly to annihilate his authority: they had confined his person. In both these particulars he had received more indulgence from the army. None of his friends were excluded from his presence. And in the proposals sent him by the council or officers for the settlement of the nation, they insisted neither on the abolition of episcopacy, nor on the punishment of the royalists; two points to which the king had the greatest reluctance. They also insisted, that a period should be put to the present parliament; a measure which Charles had extremely at heart. He hoped, by gratifying a few particular men, to draw over the whole army to his interest. Accordingly he offered to invest Cromwell with the order of the garter, create him earl of Essex, and give him the command of the army. Ireton was to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland. But notwithstanding these favourable appearances, the king was still sensible that they were but ambiguous proofs of the army's affection to his person and cause; he feared they were only intended to procure the countenance of him and his friends to favour their designs in effectually humbling the parliament. On the other hand, he reflected, that the independents, being the professed patrons of the liberties of the people, could not surely act so contrary to their own principles, as to deny that liberty to their king. What they demanded for their own consciences, they could not, with the least appearance of reason, deny to his.

The militia of London had lately been put under the command of presbyterian officers, and the army now determined to place it in the hands of the independents. This, together with the unsettled state of public affairs, occasioned petitions to be sent to the parliament from all ranks and degrees of people. The garrisons in the country, being neglected and ill paid, began to mutiny, and send petitions to both houses for redress. The Welsh forces were actually in arms against the parliament. The northern army had imprisoned Pointz, their old, brave, and successful general. Many of the soldiers who had engaged to go to Ireland, retracted their promise, and offered their service to Fairfax. Those who had insisted under the parliament, amounting to several

thousands, held nightly meetings to consult the most proper measures to be pursued at this alarming crisis. These disorders were wholly occasioned by the army of Fairfax, who had engrossed to themselves all the money that had been raised. The people no longer paid any reverence to the parliament. Multitudes of young men and apprentices flocked to Westminster with petitions, some for the old committee of militia, and others against it; but all of them speaking in the strain of supreme authority, as if both the parliament and army had been their servants. The artful Cromwell enjoyed this storm; which he perceived would soon sweep before it all the obstacles that opposed his ambition. One day the mob of the independents; the next that of the presbyterians; prevailed. The parliament was no longer guided by those able men who could direct the tumult, and turn confusion to their own advantage; the populace were now masters, and the parliament had no will of its own.

It seemed, therefore, absolutely necessary for the army to march to London, as the parliament was entirely directed by a seditious multitude. Accordingly the troops began their march from Reading towards the capital. When they reached Hounslow-heath, they were drawn up, and exhibited a very formidable appearance. They were twenty thousand strong; and determined, without any regard to laws or liberty, to pursue whatever measures their generals should think proper. Here they were met by the speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lenthall, attended by eight peers, and about sixty commoners; who having secretly left the city, presented themselves, with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence exercised by the citizens, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with the greatest demonstrations of joy; the same respect was paid them as to the parliament of England; and the army, being provided with so plausible a pretence, advanced to chastise the rebellious city, and to reinstate the violated parliament in all their liberties and privileges.

On the thirtieth of July, the parliament met, pursuant to their prorogation; and it being now absolutely necessary for them either to resign their whole authority, or oppose the violent designs of the army, they resolved upon the latter. Accordingly they chose two new speakers, lord Hunston and Henry Pelham. Vigorous measures were immediately pursued. One of their first votes was to require the general not to advance nearer than thirty miles of London, or, if already advanced, to retire to that distance. They renewed their former orders for insisting troops, and appointed Massey their commander. They ordered the artillery to be drawn out, and the trained bands to man the lines. The whole city was in a ferment; every corner resounded with military preparations. But the terror of an universal pillage, and even massacre, had seized the timid inhabitants: confusion was painted in every countenance. When any intelligence arrived that the army halted, or seemed to make preparations for a retreat, the cry of "One and all!" ran with alacrity from street to street among the citizens. When news came of their advancing, the cry of "Treat and capitulate," was equally loud and vehement. All was uproar, confusion, and dismay.

Next day the lords and commons voted, "that his majesty be desired to come to London, and there treat with both houses of parliament and the commissioners of Scotland for a safe and honourable peace." But the affairs of the parliament were now in such confusion, that this vote, which was sent to Fairfax, was disregarded, and the army continued still to approach nearer to the capital. Rainborow having been detached over Kington-bridge, at the head of a strong party, presented himself before Southwark, and was gladly received by some soldiers quartered there for its defence, and who were resolved



not to separate their interests from those of the army. It was now absolutely necessary for the city to capitulate, though nothing better than the following dishonourable conditions could be obtained: "That they should desert the interest of the impeached members, recall their declaration lately published, relinquish their militia, deliver up all their forts and line of communication to the army, together with the Tower of London, and all the magazines of arms and military stores deposited in that fortress; disband all their forces, and drive all the reformadoes out of the line; withdraw all their guards from the houses of parliament, and receive within the lines such forces as the army shall think necessary; demolish their works, and suffer the whole army to march through the city."

These terms were complied with: the army marched in triumph through the city; but preserved the greatest order, decency, and the appearance of humility. The two speakers were conducted to Westminster, and took their seats without the least opposition. The eleven impeached members, being accused of exciting the late tumult, were expelled, and most of them retired beyond the seas. Seven peers were impeached: the lord mayor, one of the sheriffs, and three aldermen, sent to the Tower: several citizens and officers of the militia committed to prison; and every act of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the speakers. The lines of communication were levelled; the militia restored to the independents; and regiments were quartered in Whitehall and the Mews. Every thing being completed, the parliament and city entirely reduced to servitude; and the sword alone giving law to the state, a day was appointed for a solemn thanksgiving to God for the restoration of liberty.

The army now lay in the neighbourhood of Putney, greatly distressed for want of money, and threatening every moment to break into the city, and become their own pay-masters. Fairfax, who was still the tool of Cromwell, though his intentions were sincere with regard to the peace and happiness of his country, found the utmost difficulty in restraining the impatience of the soldiers, and the spirit of levelling which was now diffused among the troops, by means of the agitators. The general council of the army was now applied to in the same manner as the parliament had been formerly; nor did the commons venture to pass any vote of importance without knowing the sense of the officers. The presbyterian party, however, still gave the generals great uneasiness on the popular topic of sending relief to Ireland; and some votes passed for sending seven or eight regiments over to that distressed kingdom, which the officers of the army did not think prudent to oppose. Cromwell, however, found a pretence, from the want of money, to render the whole ineffectual for the present. Even that daring leader himself found some difficulty of rendering the resentment of the agitators abortive; he was obliged to chastise some of them with his own hand, and to order others to be tried by a court-martial.

The leaders of the army, who now, in reality, governed the nation, carried the king to Hampton Court, where he resided, for some time, with all the appearance of dignity and freedom. He possessed so remarkable an equanimity of temper, that, during all the variety of fortune which attended him, no change was perceived either in his countenance or behaviour. Though a prisoner in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he supported, towards all that approached him, the majesty of a monarch. His manner, which was not in itself popular or gracious, now appeared truly amiable, from its meekness and equality.

While the king continued at Hampton Court, the parliament again presented him with nearly the same conditions which they had offered him at Newcastle. The army also offered him propositions for a peace. Charles seemed to prefer the latter, and

desired the parliament to take the proposals of the army into consideration, and make them the foundation of the public settlement. The offers of the army were to the following purpose:

"That there be biennial parliaments, each to sit one hundred and twenty days, and after that time to be adjournable or dissolvable at the king's pleasure; that this biennial parliament may appoint committees to sit during the interval for such purposes as shall be thought necessary: that the king, with the advice of the council of state, may call a parliament extraordinary during the intervals, with proper limitations of meeting and dissolving: that the biennial parliament be never interrupted: that a better proportion be observed in elections; all counties to have a number of members proportional to the taxes they pay to the public: that no poor boroughs send any more representatives to parliament: that effectual provision be made for the freedom of elections; and that the parliament only have power to give directions for that purpose: that liberty be allowed for entering dissent in the house of commons; and no member be censured for what he shall say in parliament, but by the house itself: that the judicial power of the lords and commons be established without appeal, and the king rendered incapable of pardoning offenders condemned by them, without their consent: that the peers have no jurisdiction over the commons without the concurrence of that house, and the members judged only by those of their equals: that grand-jurymen be chosen by the several parts and divisions of each county respectively, and not left to the discretion of any under sheriff; and that these grand-jurymen at each assize present the names of persons to be made justices of the peace; and at the summer assizes, the names of three persons, out of whom the king shall chuse one for sheriff."

"That, for the future security of parliament and the militia in general, an act be passed for vesting in both houses, or persons whom they shall appoint, the power of the militia by land and sea, during ten years: that it shall not be exercised by the king, nor by any person appointed by him, during the said interval; nor afterwards, but by the advice of the parliament, council of state, or the parliamentary committees during the recess: that both houses raise and dispose of money for such forces as shall be thought necessary, for the payment of the public debts, and for the uses of the kingdom: that these ten years security may be rendered firmer, it shall be provided, that none who have carried arms against the parliament, during the late war, be capable of any office or trust during five years, without consent of parliament; nor sit as members thereof, till after the second biennial parliament."

"That, in order to restore peace to the kingdom of Ireland, commissioners for the admiralty, together with an admiral and vice-admiral, be appointed, with ample powers to execute fully these offices; and that sufficient pay be provided for the service: that the forces in pay be commanded by a lord-general: that commissioners be appointed to discipline the militia in every county; and also a council of state to superintend the powers given to these commissioners: that the said council have the same power with the king's privy-council, but not to make war or peace without consent of parliament: that this council of trusty and able persons do continue in office during their good behaviour, but not above seven years: that a sufficient pay be provided for the standing forces; the establishment to continue till two months after the meeting of the first biennial parliament."

"That an act be passed for disposing of the great offices of state for ten years by the lords and commons in parliament, and by the committees in the intervals, in submission to the approbation of the next parliament; and after the expiration of that term, they shall name three, out of whom the king shall appoint one, to fill up any vacancy."

"That



"That all the peers created since the great seal was carried to Oxford on the twenty-first of May, 1642, be disabled from sitting and voting in parliament."

"That an act be passed to annul all the acts, declarations, &c. against the parliament and their adherents; and to confirm the ordinances for indemnity."

"That an act be passed to make void all grants passed under the great seal, since the twenty-first of May, 1642; and to confirm and render those valid that passed under the great seal made by authority of parliament."

"That the treaties between England and Scotland be confirmed, and that conservators be appointed for preserving the peace between the two kingdoms."

"That the ordinance for taking away the court of wards and liveries be confirmed; but the king's revenue to be made up some other way, and the officers of those courts to have reparation."

"That an act be passed, declaring the cessation of arms in Ireland to be void, and leaving that war to the prosecution of the parliament."

"That a bill be passed for taking away all coercive power, authority and jurisdiction of bishops, and all other ecclesiastical officers, extending to civil penalties upon any, or to repeal all laws whereby the civil magistracy hath been, or is bound, upon any ecclesiastical censure, to proceed, ex officio, unto any civil penalties against any persons so censured."

"That all the penal laws, or clauses, enjoining the use of the common prayer, and for imposing penalties for not coming to church, be repealed; and that some provision be made for discovering of recusants."

"That the taking of the covenant be not enforced upon any person, and that all ordinances enjoining it be repealed."

"That these particulars being provided for, his majesty, his queen, and their royal issue, be restored to a condition of honour and freedom in this nation, without diminution of their personal rights, or farther limitation of the exercise of their power."

"That a certain number of persons, not exceeding five for the English, besides the Irish rebels, be referred to the judgment of the parliament; and that the grievances of the people, with regard to the abuses of lawyers, imprisonments for debts, regulations of assessments, and removing the disputes about tithes, asserting the people's rights in petitioning, and various other grievances, be redressed."

These offers of the army were certainly more reasonable, and better calculated to form a solid foundation for peace, than those of the parliament. But some event, or the ambitious designs of Cromwell, rendered the whole scheme abortive. Several writers have asserted, that the daring usurper really intended to make a private bargain with the king; a measure which carried the most plausible appearance, both with regard to his own safety and advancement; but that he found insuperable difficulties in reconciling to it the wild humours of the army. Others say, that a discovery made by Cromwell prevented his closing with the king, and determined him to pursue the ambitious scheme he had formed of becoming himself the despotic master of the whole kingdom.

In the memoirs of lord Broghill we meet with the following story, which deserves some attention, as it agrees very well with the character of Cromwell. It is related in the following manner, by Mr. Maurice, chaplain to Roger, earl of Orrery. "Lord Orrery, in the time of his greatness with Cromwell, just after he had so seasonably relieved him in great distress at Clonwell, riding out at Youghall one day with him and Ireton, they fell into discourse about the king's death. Cromwell thereupon said more than once, that if the king had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty servants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a mind to have closed with him,

but, upon something that happened, fell off from that design. Orrery, finding them in good humour, and being alone with them, asked, if he might presume to desire to know, why they would once have closed with his majesty, and why they did not? Cromwell very freely told him he would satisfy him in both his queries. The reason, said he, why we would have closed with the king was this: we found that the Scotch and presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were like to agree with him, and leave us in the lurch. For this reason we thought it best to prevent them, by offering first to come in upon reasonable conditions: but while our thoughts were taken up with this subject, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bedchamber acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that very day; that he could not possibly learn what it was, but we might discover it, if we could but intercept a letter sent from the king to the queen, wherein he informed her of his resolution; that this letter was sown up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head, about ten o'clock that night, to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, though some in Dover did. We were at Windsor, continued Cromwell, when we received this letter, and immediately upon the receipt of it, Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow with us, and go in troopers habits to that inn. We did so, and leaving our man at the gate of the inn, (which had a wicket only open to let persons in and out) to watch and give us notice when any man came in with a saddle, we went into a drinking-stall. We there continued drinking canss of beer, till about ten o'clock, when our centinel at the gate gave us notice, that the man with the saddle was come. We rose up presently, and just as the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with drawn swords, and told him, we were to search all that went in or out there; but as he looked like an honest man, we would only search his saddle and so dismiss him. The saddle was ungirt; we carried it into the stall where we had been drinking, and ripping open one of the skirts, we there found the letter we wanted. Having thus got it into our hands, we delivered the man (whom we had left with our centinel) his saddle, told him he was an honest fellow, and bid him go about his business; which he did, pursuing his journey without more ado, and ignorant of the harm he had suffered. We found in the letter, that his majesty acquainted the queen, that he was courted by both factions, the Scots presbyterians and the army; and that those who bade the fairest for him, should have him: but yet he thought he should close with the Scots sooner than with the other. Upon this we returned to Windsor; and finding we were not likely to obtain good terms from the king, we from that time vowed his destruction."

Whether this story be true or false, it is certain that the behaviour of the officers of the army was about that time greatly altered towards his majesty. Cromwell indeed pretended, that he was obliged to act in a very different manner from what he had hitherto done. He said that the agitators had rendered him odious to the army, and had represented him as a traitor; who, for the sake of private interest, was ready to betray the cause of God to the great enemy of piety and religion. At the same time he pretended that desperate projects were formed, and that he, feared all the authority of the officers would not be sufficient to prevent these violent enthusiasts from executing their bloody purpose.

Charles was now sufficiently alarmed, and justly concluded, that if these assertions were true, it would be unsafe for him to stay any longer at Hampton court; if they were not true, they could be thrown



but for no other reason than that of making him a close prisoner. At all events therefore he determined to attempt his escape before he was deprived of the few remains of liberty he still enjoyed. He was confirmed in this resolution by the looks, the gestures, and the expressions that dropt from the officers and soldiers at Hampton-court, as he walked about the gardens and village. He understood that this alteration was owing to his not embracing the army's propositions without reserve, and his not excluding the Scots and parliament from the negotiation.

Determined to take this imprudent step, and without forming any rational scheme for the disposal of his person, Charles effected his escape from Hampton-court in a dark stormy night with more ease than could have been expected. He had no other attendants in his flight than Sir John Berkley, Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Legg, all gentlemen of his bed-chamber. The difficulties they encountered on the way, and in passing through the forest in a dismal night, must have discouraged any person, but one in Charles's situation, who thought no danger so dreadful as that he had escaped. Early in the morning he reached Tichfield, a seat belonging to the earl of Southampton, where the countess dowager resided, a woman of great honour, to whom the king knew he might safely intrust his person. But he could not hope to continue long concealed at Tichfield: and it was not easy to determine what measure it was most prudent to embrace. Hammond, a creature of Cromwell's, and who had married a daughter of the famous Hamden, was governor of the Isle of Wight, which lay in the neighbourhood of Tichfield. Very little surely could be expected from a man devoted to the chiefs of the army, yet, because he was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, it was thought proper to have recourse to him in this alarming exigence. Ashburnham and Berkley were accordingly dispatched, with orders not to inform Hammond where the king was concealed, unless he would promise not to deliver him up to any person whatever; or if he could not protect him, to restore him to his liberty. The very nature of the negotiation itself sufficiently demonstrates that the king was under the greatest anxiety of mind when he sent his servants into the Isle of Wight: for what security could be expected from Hammond? or how could Carisbrook-castle, weak and unprovided with military stores, be sufficient to defend the person of his majesty against the joint efforts of the parliament and army? Notwithstanding this, had Ashburnham, who alone was acquainted with Hammond, acted conformable to the instructions he had received, he might, at least, have escaped the snare-into which he fell. But without exacting any promise from Hammond, he treacherously, or at least imprudently, brought the governor to Tichfield; and Charles, distracted and amazed at this wrong step of his servant, passed over with Hammond to the Isle of Wight, and was received at Carisbrook-castle with great appearances of respect.

The king's departure from Hampton-court was not discovered for near an hour after; when some persons entering his chamber, found on the table several letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had attended him. The parliament was confounded with the news of the king's escape, and voted it high-treason, and death without mercy, in any one to conceal his person. But they were soon relieved from their terror, by letters from Hammond; on the receipt of which it was resolved, that the king should be confined in Carisbrook-castle, and none of his friends or adherents be either suffered to visit him, or even continue on the island.

The king being thus in a place of safety, and the parliament incapable of resisting the army, Cromwell applied himself seriously to quell the disorders among the troops, which had been at first artfully fomented by himself, but which were now risen to a height

that seemed to threaten the destruction of all order and government. The members of the republic established in the army, thought themselves fully qualified to settle the kingdom, and various schemes for that purpose were every day debated by these military legislators. It was on all hands determined to abolish royalty, and set nobility aside: all ranks of men were to be levelled, and an universal equality of property, as well as of power, was to be introduced among mankind. They said that the saints were the salt of the earth; that an entire equality had place among the elect; and that the most common centinel, if enlightened by the holy spirit, was entitled to the same respect as the greatest commander, and equally capable of executing all the offices of government. Cromwell found it was high time to put a period to those enthusiastic opinions, which would otherwise destroy his whole ambitious scheme of power. He accordingly issued orders that the meetings of the agitators should be discontinued. But they did not, in this respect, chuse to pay an implicit obedience to their general. They had tasted the sweets of power, and were unwilling to resign it. They secretly continued their meetings, and made no difficulty of asserting, that their own officers, as well as the church and state, stood in need of a reformation. Several of the regiments were so heated with these enthusiastic ideas, that they joined in presenting seditious remonstrances to their general: they even appointed separate places of rendezvous; and every thing seemed to threaten an universal anarchy and confusion. The resolution of Cromwell only was able to put a stop to this alarming appearance of the commencement of the most dreadful disorders. He chose the time of a review for striking terror into the levellers; and as soon as the troops were drawn up in order, Cromwell seized the ring-leaders in the presence of their companions; held a council of war upon the spot; and caused one of the mutineers to be shot directly. Struck with terror at the boldness of the action, the rest of the levellers threw down the symbols of sedition, which they had carried before them, returned immediately to their duty, and readily submitted to the usual discipline.

While Cromwell was employed in quelling the disorders of the army, a committee of lords and commons, with the earl of Denbigh at their head, was sent to the king with four bills, to which he was desired to give the royal assent. The first was for settling the militia of the kingdom; the second for recalling all declarations, oaths and proclamations against the parliament, and their adherents; the third for disabling those lords, created since the great seal was carried to Oxford, from sitting and voting in the house of peers; and the fourth for giving power to both houses of parliament to adjourn themselves as they may think proper. The king was required to give his answer in four days; but the Scottish commissioners presented a strong remonstrance against the four bills, and insisted on a personal treaty with his majesty at London. This occasioned great uneasiness to the independents at Westminster, and several spirited papers passed between them. The Scots reproached the English parliament with having broken all the fundamental articles of the agreement between the two kingdoms. This breach gave great pleasure to the king, and the Scots were indeed now so well disposed to serve him, that they offered, if he would make his escape to Berwick, to support him with the whole force of their kingdom. Whether this quarrel induced Charles to flatter himself that the parliament would be obliged to offer him more reasonable conditions, or whether he hoped that the army would insist upon more equitable terms, is uncertain, but the king thought proper to reject the bills.

Cromwell having reduced the agitators to obedience, now determined to carry the ambitious scheme he had formed into execution. He did not however think proper to intrust the whole of his design to any but Ireton, and two or three particular favourites.

From



From the suggestion of Ireton, Cromwell called at Windsor a secret council of the chief officers of the army, in order to deliberate of the most proper methods for settling the kingdom; and the future disposal of the king's person. Before the council began, Cromwell poured out devout prayers; when the minds of the members were sufficiently elevated by enthusiastic raptures, the conferences were begun, and the black design of bringing the king to justice; and punishing their sovereign, under the sanction of a judicial sentence, was first proposed, and resolved to be carried into execution.

A. D. 1648. When the committee from the Isle of Wight reported to the house, that the king had absolutely refused to pass their bills, insisting, that all the terms on both sides should be adjusted; before any concessions should be insisted on; the republican party took fire at this refusal: they openly inveighed, in the most virulent terms, against the person and government of the king; whose name hitherto, in all debates, had been mentioned with some degree of reverence. Sir Thomas Worth had the boldness to move, that the king should be removed, and committed close prisoner to some inland castle; that articles of impeachment should be drawn up against him, he himself deprived of all share in the administration, and a new form of government established. This motion was seconded by Cromwell and Ireton with great warmth, but in general terms. The former desired them to settle the nation without having any farther recourse to the king; who had rejected all their propositions; promising that the army, who had hitherto defended the parliament at the expence of their blood, would still continue, with fidelity and courage, to protect them against all opposition, in this vigorous measure. "But," added he, with a stern look, "teach them not, by your neglecting your own safety, and that of the kingdom, (in which theirs too is involved) to imagine themselves betrayed, and their interest abandoned to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom, for your sake, they have dared to provoke. Beware," he cried, raising his voice, and clapping his hand on his sword, "beware, lest despair cause them to seek safety by some other means, by adhering to you, who know not how to consult your own safety; and how destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to consider."

The house well knew that it was much easier for Cromwell to execute than to utter a menace, and shuddered at the thought. The question, therefore, of no more addresses being presented to his majesty, was carried by a majority of forty-nine. This vote, in reality, dethroned the king, and formally overturned the whole constitution. But it was not enough to resolve on so violent a measure; it was determined to support it by a declaration equally violent. The king was accused of the blackest crimes, however improbable; in order, by blasting his fame, to prevent the populace from uniting in his favour. Not only government, but even society itself, seemed to be overturned. The people looked with contempt upon the parliament, and with execration upon the army. One John Lilburn, an active, resolute fellow, whose conduct is still a paradox, had been committed to the Tower by the house of lords, but released by the commons, and re-committed by the peers. Being afterwards questioned by the commons for some incendiary practices, he boldly disowned the authority that had committed him; upon which he was sent to the same prison by the commons themselves. His cause now became the cause of the people; and the nation was filled with petitions and counter-petitions, each wilder than the other, all of them in the wrong, and all dictated by ignorant, headstrong fanatics. Cromwell enjoyed these national clamours; his whole scheme depended on preventing the people from uniting against the army.

Hammond now received orders to treat the king with great severity. All his servants were removed,

his correspondence with his friends cut off, and no person allowed to visit him. An old, decrepid man, employed to kindle his fire, was the best company he enjoyed during the interval of this rigorous confinement, which lasted several months. At the same time, new prosecutions were carried on against his friends. Hollis and Maynard, together with most of the eleven commoners lately impeached by the army, had resumed their seats in the house, and spoke with great boldness and freedom against the violent measures pursued by the independents. It was therefore necessary to silence these opposers, whose speeches had the most alarming effect among the people. Their impeachments were accordingly re-assumed, and a vote passed for rendering them incapable of ever sitting again in that parliament.

The mutinies and spirit of levelling, which still prevailed among the soldiers, notwithstanding the attempts of Cromwell to reduce them to obedience, afforded now the only gleam of hope to the royalists. The Scots indeed, who were highly exasperated at the measures pursued by the independents, were proceeding vigorously in their levies for invading England; but their late conduct had been so detestable, that very few of the royalists joined them. But amidst this gloomy night of despair, a gleam of hope unexpectedly appeared, which seemed to revive the spirits of his majesty's friends. For though Cromwell was master of the king's person, the general, the parliament, the city, and the army, the nation, in general, thought as freely as ever, and beheld, with impatience and indignation, the handful of fanatics who held them in chains. But great art was requisite to unite into one common cause so many people differing in their principles, their characters, their actions, and their interests. The greater part of the presbyterians were now well disposed to join the royalists; and were headed by the earl of Holland, Sir William Waller, the generals Poyer and Laughern, and other officers and persons of distinction, who had signalized themselves against the king. General Goring, the earl of Norwich, lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and a few others, directed the royalists; and undertook to raise the northern provinces; while Sir Marmaduke Langdale engaged for the northern, together with Berwick and Carlisle. The Scots were to be commanded by the duke of Hamilton, and the Welsh by Laughern and Poyer. But the chief dependence of the royal party rested on an intrigue now carrying on for putting the fleet under the command of the prince of Wales. The seamen had been, for some time, neglected, so that very little art was necessary to prevail upon them to desert a party that seemed to treat them with contempt. Seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting Rainborough, their admiral, ashore, sailed over to Holland, and took on board the prince of Wales.

The first who declared themselves were Langhorne and Poyer, who having a considerable body of Welsh troops under their command, displayed the royal standard, and were joined by great numbers of persons. They were already masters of Chepstow, Pembroke, and several other places of strength in that country, and their army exhibited a formidable appearance. Hales, a young gentleman of fortune in Kent, put himself at the head of the royalists in that county with surprizing success. Sandwich, Dover, Gravesend, Canterbury, and almost every place of strength in the county, declared for the king. Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and other gentlemen of fortune, excited commotions in Essex; while the earl of Holland raised forces in Surry. Pomfret-castle, in Yorkshire, was surprised by Maurice. Langdale and Musgrave were in arms, and masters of Berwick and Carlisle, in the north.

The Scots were impatient to enter England, but their march was delayed by the opposition made by the general assembly. The parliament had voted to raise an army of forty thousand men, and to call



over a considerable body under Monro, who commanded the Scots forces in Ireland. The rigid presbyterians, headed by Argyle, dreaded the success of Hamilton. They saw, that if his army proved victorious, the natural consequence would be the restoration of monarchy, before presbytery was established in England. They considered all attempts to join the king, before he had subscribed the covenant, as no other than sapping the very foundations of christianity. They were, indeed, highly offended with the independents, who profanely called their covenant an almanack out of date, and claimed an unbounded liberty of conscience, which the presbyterians regarded with horror. But they hated the king more than they abhorred toleration, and thundered out anathemas against all who paid obedience to the parliament. Thus the two supreme tribunals in the kingdom directly opposed each other. One threatened the people with eternal torments if they assisted the royal party in England; the other pronounced against them the sentence of imprisonment, banishment, and military execution, if they refused.

Amidst such jarring interests it is no wonder that the levies went on very slowly. The royal party in England exclaimed loudly of these delays, which they attributed to a refined policy in the Scots; as if their intentions were that all the king's party should first be suppressed, and the victory be entirely owing to the presbyterians. Hamilton, with much better reason, complained of the precipitate measures of the English royalists, who, by their ill-timed insurrections, forced him to march his army before his levies were completed, or his preparations in sufficient forwardness. The Scottish parliament, not intimidated by the violent measures of the general assembly, resolved to send three demands to the English parliament, and if they were refused, to order their army to march immediately and join the royal party. Their first demand was, the establishment of the presbyterian religion in England. This they well knew would be rejected by the independents, and flattered themselves that this refusal would render the king's cause more popular in Scotland. Their second demand was, that Charles might come to some of his own houses in the neighbourhood of London, with honour, freedom, and safety, in order to the establishment of a safe and equitable peace. And their last, that the army of Fairfax might be disbanded, and the English parliament restored to its freedom. The messenger who carried these demands was limited with regard to time, and during the interval, the Scottish forces were recalled from Ireland, and the earl of Inchiquin, at the head of the English troops in that kingdom declared for the king. No satisfactory answer being returned to the demands of the Scottish parliament, Hamilton published a spirited declaration, and numbers of the royal party prepared to join his army, as soon as he had passed the English borders.

The sword of civil discord, which had hardly been sheathed, was again drawn, and seemed to threaten the whole kingdom with destruction. The parliament at Westminster beheld these commotions with terror, and shuddered for the event. The independents in the army quartered in the neighbourhood of London, made no secret of their design to plunder the capital as soon as the Scottish forces entered England, in order to prevent the citizens from joining their presbyterian brethren. This declaration struck the wealthy inhabitants with horror. The whole city was in a ferment, and the people so much exasperated, that they attacked and overpowered a party of the trained bands, and advanced in a body to Whitehall, where they were met by Cromwell, at the head of two regiments of horse, who drove them back into the city, but thinking it would be imprudent to pursue the blow, the tumult increased to so violent a degree, that the lord-mayor was obliged to take shelter in the city. The next morning Cromwell persuaded Fairfax to give him leave to enter the

city with two regiments of horse. This produced the desired effect. Struck with terror at the appearance of that victorious general, the people dispersed, and tranquillity was once more restored in the capital. This was the only attempt made by the Londoners in support of the royal cause: the terror of the army kept the citizens in subjection. They were obliged to bear the humiliating yoke of being governed by the drags of the people, and to see hypocrites exercising iniquity under the mask of religion.

On the eighth of May advice arrived that the royalists were in motion, and that the number of forces in Wales was daily increasing. The establishment of the army at this time, was twenty-six thousand men; but by insisting supernumeraries, the regiments were greatly augmented, and in general consisted of more than double their stated complement. Cromwell was ordered to march into Wales, at the head of two regiments of horse and three of foot, to relieve colonel Horton, who commanded in that principality, while Fairfax himself undertook the service in the north. Laughern, who had formed an engagement with the Scots, declared himself too soon; for before Cromwell reached the borders of Wales, and even before Laughern had procured arms for his men, Horton found means to put himself between the horse and foot of Laughern's army. A battle ensued, in which the Welsh forces were completely routed; and major-general Stradling, with twenty-six captains, one hundred and fifty subalterns, and near three thousand soldiers were made prisoners. This defeat, however, did not subdue the whole party; they were still masters of several strong places, and seemed determined to defend them to the last extremity. Cromwell therefore sat down before Chepstow-castle; but finding it too well fortified to be soon reduced, he left a small party to block up the fortrefs, and marched with the main body of his forces into Pembrokeshire. On the eleventh of June he took the town and castle of Pembroke, and obliged Laughern and Poyer to surrender at discretion. Chepstow soon after fell into his hands, by which the principality of Wales was sufficiently reduced, and Cromwell made dispositions for leading his forces into the north, in order to oppose the Scots and royalists; the insurrections in Kent, Surry, and Suffolk, not suffering Fairfax to march into that country as he at first intended.

Petitions from several counties were now presented to parliament in favour of the king, and the inhabitants of Surry were so highly exasperated, as not receiving an immediate answer, that they attacked and killed several of the soldiers who were guarding the parliament. The Kentishmen, who were now on their march towards London, in order, as they pretended, to present a petition to the parliament, made choice of the earl of Norwich for their general. The commons were alarmed, and the earl of Pembroke was dispatched with terms to the insurgents. He offered indemnity to all who should lay down their arms, and free liberty to present their petition, after they had delivered up the towns, magazines, and stores they had seized. His offers were rejected, and the Kentishmen marched to Blackheath, where they drew up their forces, and prepared to make an attack upon the capital, persuaded that the citizens would open their gates upon the first summons. By this time Fairfax had collected his army, and the Kentishmen were informed by the parliament, that they must treat with their general. This greatly dispirited the insurgents, and perceiving no motion was made by the citizens in their favour, they retreated with great precipitation to Maidstone, where a party of them was attacked and cut to pieces by Fairfax. The earl of Norwich now thought that a fair opportunity now offered of giving the parliament's general the slip, and of advancing again towards the capital; fully persuaded that the citizens, being now delivered from the terrors of the army, would declare



in his favour. He accordingly returned with the main body of his forces to Blackheath, where he hoped to be joined by the inhabitants of Suffex and Surry. But he was deceived in all his expectations; and a sudden panic seizing his soldiers, they deserted their general, and returned to their respective habitations. Upwards of two thousand of them, however, still kept together, and it was determined, if possible, to pass over into Essex, where they were informed the county was in arms for the king, under the command of lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and other officers of courage and experience. Not more than a thousand of them passed the river, where they were obliged to cut their way through a regiment belonging to the Tower-Hamlets, and afterwards to skirmish with the parliament's forces, during their march to Chelmsford, where they were joined by lord Capel, and the other officers already mentioned. Their army now amounted to three thousand men; but being in no condition to fight Fairfax, they pursued their march to Colchester, made themselves masters of the place, and took the parliament's committee prisoners.

During these transactions Fairfax crossed the Thames with his army at Gravesend, and marched with great expedition to Colchester, from a persuasion that the town was wholly destitute of fortifications, and that the royalists, who had retired thither, must surrender at discretion. He was mistaken. The enemy made a noble defence: few sieges in history are so remarkable as that of Colchester. Fairfax in person led his troops to the charge, which was at once both brave and desperate; but they were beaten off with loss by the besieged. The charge was again and again repeated, but without success, and Fairfax, unwilling to expose his troops to inevitable destruction, changed the siege into a blockade.

The nation was now wholly in a blaze, which could only be quenched by the blood of its inhabitants. Besides Kent, Essex, Wales, and the northern counties, the Cornish men were in arms; but were soon defeated at Penzance by Sir Hardress Waller, who afterwards took possession of Exeter. The inhabitants of Rutlandshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and the neighbouring counties, also took up arms, and were defeated by colonel Waite, near Stamford. Sir John Owen renewed the war in Wales, and besieged Carnarvan-castle, but his forces were routed; and he himself taken prisoner by colonel Carter. The most determined enemies of the parliament were those who, in the beginning of the war, had been the most active against Charles. They were therefore considered as apostates by the army, and punished with much greater severity than even the royalists themselves.

The removal of the army from the capital, though not sufficient to induce the city to declare in the king's favour, tended greatly to inspire the presbyterians in parliament with fresh vigour. They recovered so much spirit from the insurrections, which afforded sufficient employment for the forces under Fairfax and Cromwell, that they determined to make another attempt to conclude a peace with his majesty. On the twenty-third of May, several persons who had been sent to the tower by the independents were set at liberty by the commons, and it was voted, that the numerous impeachments against the leaders of the presbyterian party should be laid aside, and that the members of both houses should attend their duty in parliament. On the twenty-sixth of May, the guards from the army were discharged from attending the parliament, and a party of the city militia ordered to attend; and it was voted, that the king be desired to settle the presbyterian government of the church for three years. New propositions for settling the kingdom were sent to his majesty, and every thing seemed to wear the aspect of a speedy peace. The people had indeed so severely felt the weight of parliamentary authority, that they would have been glad to see the king replaced on the throne without subscribing any terms; and the presbyterians in parliament plain-

ly saw, that this would be the consequence; should the English and Scots who had declared for the king, unite their forces. They knew that such an union would encourage, not only the most timorous among the people, but also many of the reduced officers and soldiers to declare for the royal cause. They were therefore desirous of preventing an incident which must have been pregnant with the most dreadful consequences to their party; and accordingly raised every opposition in their power to the measures of the Scottish parliament. At the same time they sent five peers and ten commoners to Newport in the Isle of Wight, in order to treat with his majesty. He was allowed to summon several of his friends and old counsellors, that he might have their advice in this important transaction.

Perhaps no sight was ever more moving and mortifying than the appearance and situation of Charles, when he entered the apartment where the parliament's commissioners were assembled. The moment his servants had been removed, he laid aside all care of his person, and had suffered his hair and beard to grow, and to hang dishevelled and neglected. His hair was become almost entirely grey; either from the decline of years, or from that load of sorrows under which he laboured, and which, though borne with almost unexampled constancy, had preyed greatly on his heart. But though he had paid no attention to his person, he had assiduously cultivated the talents of his mind. His faculties were strong and active, his judgment clear and penetrating; his prudence and patience invincible. He suffered not the smallest spark of the indignation he felt at his unworthy treatment to escape him. The parliamentary commissioners would not suffer any of his council to be present; they refused to enter into debate with any but himself. He alone during the transactions of two months, was obliged to support the argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in both houses; and no advantage was ever obtained over him. This was indeed the scene in which, of all others, he was qualified to excel. His conception was quick, his understanding penetrating, his elocution chaste, his manner commanding; these accomplishments rendered him capable of triumphing in all discussions of cool and temperate reasoning. The parliamentary commissioners, who were before strangers to the king's abilities, were astonished. "The king is much changed," said the earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick: "he is extremely improved of late." "No," replied Sir Philip; "he was always so: but you are now at last sensible of it."

The first proposition the commissioners presented him was that for revoking all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament and their adherents, and acknowledging that they had taken up arms in their own defence. This was touching Charles in the sensible part. He made no difficulty of granting the former, but for some time opposed the latter with all the strength of reasoning. But the commissioners refused to recede the least from their proposition. It could not indeed be expected they would consent to give up this part of the article, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary by historians. The king, during the whole course of the war, had asserted, that the parliament and their adherents were fundamentally in the wrong; and had they not obtained from him an acknowledgement, that he himself was so, what security could they expect hereafter; as no consequences could be valid from erroneous premises. But Charles was now in their power; nor were the commissioners to be diverted from their purpose by his most pathetic representations of the wounds such a concession must inflict, both upon his judgment and his conscience. But finding that peace could be obtained on no other terms, he yielded to necessity. It was however agreed, that no part of any of the propositions should be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, unless the treaty was finally concluded.



The next proposition was that which regarded the abrogation of episcopacy and the liturgy of the church of England; and the total alienation of all church lands. This demand brought on a ridiculous dispute between the king and some ignorant presbyterian teachers; with regard to the divinity of episcopal government. Charles, even by his enemies, is allowed to have obtained the victory: but the more important part of the question, the policy, or rather the necessity of it, in the present situation of affairs, was never debated. He at last consented to suspend episcopacy for three years, and, at the expiration of that period, to name twenty divines, who should consult with others named by the parliament, with regard to the future form of church-government; that all who were willing might take the covenant, and use the directory of the presbyterians, provided he himself was at liberty to use the common prayer book in his own chapel; and that money should be raised on the sale of the church-lands, and only the old rents reserved to the owners and their successors.

The future disposal of the militia, was the next subject of debate. The parliament required not only to have an unlimited power of raising what men they thought proper, both for the land and sea-service, and of employing them as they please during twenty years, but also that of passing bills to pay them, which were to have the force of laws, even though the king should refuse the royal assent. Charles opposed these exorbitant demands with all the force of reason and eloquence; but all his endeavours were in vain: the commissioners had no power to recede one tittle from their instructions. Even this did not discourage the king from pursuing the work of peace: he granted their demands; but at the same time, he laid the three following demands before the commissioners, that they might be communicated to the parliament. 1. That he should be restored to his liberty. 2. That he should enjoy his revenue. 3. That an act of oblivion should be passed. These demands were sent to the parliament, where it was voted that they should be granted, on the king's consenting to the desires of the two houses.

The affairs of Ireland now came upon the carpet, and the commissioners insisted that the peace made with the rebels should be declared void. Charles, who thought no concession too great for obtaining the blessings of peace, remitted all the affairs of Ireland to be determined by his parliament.

With regard to the other points of the treaty, they admitted of less debate. Charles agreed that taxes should be levied for the payment of the army, and for discharging the debts of the public; that all the chief officers of state should be nominated by the parliament for ten years; that the militia of the city of London, the government of the Tower, and the appointing the chief officers in these departments, should be assigned to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, for ten years; and that the king should receive one hundred thousand pounds a year, as a compensation for giving up the court of wards.

The time taken up in these debates rendered it necessary either to break off the treaty, or allow the commissioners a longer time to complete it, several of the king's concessions, particularly that relating to religion, having been voted unsatisfactory. The latter was chosen, and the time was enlarged to fourteen days longer. The parliament now demanded, that the earl of Newcastle, the lord Digby, lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Judge Jenkins, Sir Francis Doddington, and Sir John Winter, should be excepted from pardon, both with regard to lives and estates. This was a demand which Charles absolutely refused; he declared he would never agree to give up his friends to punishment. The severe repentance, which he had undergone for abandoning Strafford, had, doubtless, confirmed him in the resolution never again to be guilty of a similar error. He, however, consented,

that the royalists should pay such compositions, as they and the parliament should think reasonable; he only begged that they might be as moderate as possible: he also offered, that the persons excepted by the parliament should be banished for a limited time.

The king wrote a letter to the prince of Wales, in which he related the whole of this transaction, and accompanied his narrative with many wise and pathetic reflections and advices. The conclusion of this letter is remarkable: "By what has been said, you see how long I have laboured in the search of peace. Do not you be disheartened to tread in the same steps. Use all worthy means to restore yourself to your rights, but prefer the way of peace: show the greatness of your mind to conquer your enemies rather by pardoning than by punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristian this implacable disposition is in our ill-wishers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure me not for having parted with so much of our rights: the price was great, but the commodity was, security to us, peace to my people; and I am confident, that another parliament will remember, how useful a king's power is to a people's liberty; of how much power I divested myself, that I and they might meet once again in a parliamentary way, in order to settle the bounds of prince and people. Give belief to my experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative than what is really and intrinsically for the good of the subject, not the satisfaction of favourites. If you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any, whom you incline to treat with extraordinary favour. You may perceive, that all men intrust their treasure where it returns them interest; and if a prince, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams which the rivers intrust with him, they will not grudge, but pride themselves, to make him up an ocean. These considerations may make you as great a prince as your father is a low one; and your state may be so much the more established as mine hath been shaken. For our subjects have learned, I dare say, that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves, and so will more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter. The English nation are a sober people, however at present infatuated. I know not but this may be the last time I may speak to you or the world publicly. I am sensible into what hands I am fallen; and yet, I bless God, I have those inward refreshments, which the malice of my enemies cannot disturb. I have learned to busy myself by retiring into myself; and therefore can the better digest whatever befalls me; not doubting but God's providence will restrain our enemies power, and turn their fierceness into his praise. To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly, and be ever far from revenge. If he restore you to your right on hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. These men that have violated laws which they were bound to preserve, will find their triumphs full of trouble. But do not you think any thing in the world worth attaining by foul and unjust means."

Notwithstanding it was so evidently the interest both of the king and parliament to finish this treaty while Cromwell and Fairfax were employed against the royalists and Scots, yet the fear of the army on the one hand, and of the king's insincerity on the other, continued to have so great an effect on many of the members, that they strengthened the hands of the independents, till it was too late to prevent inevitable ruin. The insurrections were every where quelled before the treaty was finished; and the army had leisure to carry into execution the violent and sanguinary projects they had formed.

Cromwell, after reducing the insurgents in Wales, marched with great expedition in order to meet the Scottish army, who, under Hamilton, had entered England,



England, and were advancing forward without meeting with any opposition. But religious disputes rendered their expedition abortive, and destroyed that cause they entered England to support. They refused to join the royalists, because they had not taken the covenant: so that the two armies pursued the same route, but at some distance; nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army under Cromwell, oblige the bigotted covenanters to consult their own safety, by a close union with the royalists. The two armies, commanded by Hamilton and Longdale, amounted to twenty thousand men; yet these not being joined, Cromwell ventured to attack them at the head of eight thousand only. He fell upon the royalists by surprize near Preston in Lancashire, and though they made a brave resistance, were almost entirely cut to pieces. Cromwell had now an opportunity of taking vengeance on the Scots, whom he had long detested. He attacked Hamilton, put his army to the rout, and pursued the fugitives to Utoxeter, where the Scottish general surrendered himself prisoner. No forces now remained in the field to oppose the march of Cromwell, who, pursuing his victory, marched into Scotland, and having joined Argyle, and suppressed the earl of Laneric and Munro, he placed the power in the hands of the violent party among the presbyterians.

The siege of Colchester was now drawing to a crisis. The garrison, after enduring the utmost extremity of famine, were at last obliged to capitulate. No terms could, however, be procured from Fairfax: he insisted on their surrendering at mercy; and gave such an explanation of that term, as to reserve to himself the power of putting them all to the sword if he thought proper. The officers of the garrison were very unwilling to surrender unless they were promised, that their lives should be safe, and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to make one glorious attempt on the enemy, and either cut themselves a passage, or sell their lives as dear as possible. But they had suffered too much during the siege; so that this proposal, which would perhaps have been embraced at first with alacrity, was now refused: and they surrendered the town to Fairfax.

Ireton, to whom Cromwell in his absence had consigned over the government of the passive general, persuaded him to take an unmanly revenge on the principal officers who had made so noble a defence; though that circumstance should have recommended them to the regard of every lover of military greatness. Accordingly Sir George Lucas, and Sir George Lisle were seized, and ordered to be shot immediately. Exasperated at so ungenerous an action, lord Capel reproached Ireton with this unmanly behaviour in the boldest terms, and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the same honourable cause, to execute on all the same impartial vengeance. Lucas was first shot, and was so far from being intimidated, that he gave himself, the orders to fire, with the same alacrity, as if he had been at the head of his own platoon of soldiers. Lisle ran and kissed the dead body, and then presented his own breast with the same undaunted resolution. The lords Goring, Capel and Loughborough, with the other officers of distinction, eight lieutenant-colonels, nine majors, thirty captains, sixty-five gentlemen, seventy-two lieutenants, sixty-one ensigns, one hundred and eighty-three serjeants, and three thousand and sixty-seven private men, were sent to different prisons.

The siege of Colchester put a period to what was called the second civil war; and all England was once more reduced to the power of the parliament. Fairfax led his army back to St. Albans, and renewed his complaint of the want of pay for his soldiers. The army also renewed their cabals, and almost every corps petitioned the general that justice might be executed upon criminals. Ireton's regiment, in particular, demanded, that the same fault might have the same punishment, from the king to the commoner;

and that all such might be proceeded against as traitors, who should speak in behalf of the king, till he was acquitted of the charge of innocent blood. These demands so plainly indicated the dreadful catastrophe which soon after followed, that all who wished well to his majesty, both in and out of parliament, advised him to make his escape, which was conceived to be very easy: But Charles having given his word to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty, and three weeks after; he could not be prevailed upon to hazard the reproach of violating his promise.

On the twentieth of November, colonel Ewer, at the head of seven other officers, presented a remonstrance from the council of the army to the parliament. It began with a demand that the treaty with the king should be laid aside, and that the prince of Wales and duke of York, should be declared incapable of government; that the army be satisfied out of the estates of the delinquents; that justice be done to the capital causes of the war; that a period be put to the present parliament; that there be a more equal representation of the people in the house of commons; that all who had borne arms for the king, should be disabled either for voting or being elected to serve in parliament; that the supreme power of government should be vested in the representatives of the people, among whom there should be a liberty of entering dissent; that all future kings should be elected by the people, but without any negative voice; that all matters of general settlement should be established by the general contract of the people; but that none should have a share in it who should oppose the matter of this remonstrance.

We shall not be surprized at the demands contained in this paper, which was intended to abolish the house of peers, and introduce a new scheme of government, when it is remembered, that the army had spoke the same language almost two years before; that many of the independent members had adopted it in their speeches; and that nothing but the late unexpected commotions, could have prevented Cromwell and his friends from carrying it before into execution.

This violent proceeding did not, however, intimidate the parliament. Though they well knew that they were in no condition to withstand the force of the army, yet they were determined to oppose them to the utmost of their power, and rather bring on a violent subversion of government, than give their consent to such sanguinary measures. They accordingly resolved to pay no regard to the remonstrance of the army. But this opposition tended only to hasten the execution of the project formed by the council of officers. Hammond received an order from Fairfax to attend him, and to resign to colonel Ewer; the custody of the king's person. In this emergency, Charles consulted his friends, who were permitted still to remain about his person, and all of them advised him to make his escape, which was still very practicable. But Charles, from a delicacy in point of honour, thought his royal word so far engaged, that he refused to consent, and still continued under the fatal delusion, that the preservation of his person was necessary both to the parliament and the army. But the earl of Lindsay, with great judgment, replied, "Take heed, sir, lest you fall into such hands as will not steer by the rules of policy. Remember Hampton-court, where your escape was the best security." Charles, however, continued obstinate; and the next morning the officers of the army, detached for that purpose, rushed into his apartment, and carried him over to Hurst-castle, where he was again made a close prisoner, and none of his friends suffered to visit him.

In the mean time the parliament voted that the seizing the king's person was done without their knowledge and consent; and sent a message to the general, to know by what authority that enterprize was undertaken. They also issued orders that the



army should not advance any nearer to London. They next voted, "That the answers of the king to the propositions of both houses are a sufficient ground for the house to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom." It was also proposed by Hollis, the present leader of the presbyterians, a man of the most unconquerable intrepidity, that the generals and principal officers of the army, should be traitors to their country by the parliament, for their disobedience and usurpations.

These spirited proceedings brought matters to a crisis. The general marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Mews, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Pallace-yard, surrounded the parliament. The next day, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a dray-man, blocked up the passage to the house at the head of two regiments; and being directed by the lord Gray of Groby, he seized, in the passage, forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room, which passed under the denomination of hell, whither they were afterwards carried to several inns. Besides these, above one hundred and sixty members more were excluded, and none suffered to enter the house but the most furious and most determined of the independent party, which was so small, that their number did not exceed sixty. This egregious invasion of the rights of parliament, was generally known under the name of "colonel Pride's purge;" so ready were the people to turn into ridicule the dethroning a party who had governed the nation with a rod of iron, and overturned the constitution of their country.

Cromwell, who was then in London, was thoroughly sensible of the despotic part the commons had acted, and well knew they were as much despised as the army was feared in every part of the kingdom. Colonel Whaley presented, at the bar of the house, a paper, entitled, "The humble proposals and designs of his excellency the lord Fairfax, and the general council of officers, in order to a speedy prosecution of justice, and the settlement formerly propounded by them." This paper, after reproaching the parliament and their proceedings, with all the bitterness of usurped authority, demanded, "That the secluded members, together with major Brown, might be secured and brought to justice: and that all those who refused to vote against the late Scottish engagement, as well as those who concurred in the vote of yesterday, with regard to the king's concessions being a sufficient ground for proceeding to a settlement, should be immediately suspended the house: and that all those who concurred not in these votes, should acquit themselves by a protestation." And, to complete the triumph of the army, Fairfax marched a large detachment into the city, and seized all the money at Goldsmith's-hall, amounting to twenty thousand pounds. He also secured the money in Haberdashers and Weavers halls, in order to pay the army part of their arrears.

The secluded members having published a paper containing a narrative of the violent manner in which they had been prevented from entering the house, together with a protestation against all acts, which since that moment had been transacted by the commons, the paper was voted to be false, scandalous, and seditious, tending to destroy the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom, and therefore ought to be suppressed. While the commons were employed in passing this vote so contrary to what every member in the house knew to be true, the army presented a scheme of government in consequence of their former declarations and remonstrances. But it was so wild and impracticable, and was so strongly tinged with that fanatical spirit so prevalent throughout the kingdom, that it is probable Cromwell suffered them to form so ridiculous a scheme, merely to keep them in employment.

The conduct of the parliament itself was equally mean and inconsistent. The commons had voted,

that the lords Capel, Goring, and Loughborough, the earl of Holland, Sir Henry Linden, major general Laughern, and Sir John Owen, should be banished the kingdom: this vote they now revoked, declaring that it was destructive of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. In the same manner they repealed a vote whereby the duke of Hamilton was fined a hundred thousand pounds; together with all those that had the least tendency to conclude a peace with his majesty. At the same time they sent a committee to the general to know the reason why the members were restrained from coming to the house by the soldiers. The general answered, that he would consider the matter; but desired they would not give themselves the trouble of sending any more messages to him on that subject. But notwithstanding this insolent answer, the commons committed to prison Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, the generals Massey, Brown, and Copley, with other leaders of the presbyterian party.

The only difficulty Cromwell had to surmount in order to bring on the catastrophe of this detestable tragedy, consisted in disguising its horrid form from Fairfax. The force that had been laid upon the parliament, and the army continuing almost single, in opposition to the whole nation, together with some tenderness for the king, startled Fairfax. He began to fear he had gone too far; nor could all the arts of Cromwell quiet the fears with which his breast was agitated. The soldiers themselves proved awkward executioners of Cromwell's vengeance; they had suffered several of the secluded members to escape; and about sixteen of them were set at liberty by Fairfax. This seemed to be a kind of apology for the force put upon the house: but Cromwell prevented him from going any farther, by procuring a multitude of addresses from independents residing in various parts of the kingdom.

Nothing now remained than the last act of that bloody tragedy, which rendered the leaders of the independents detestable in the eyes of all Europe. Terror and astonishment had already seized the whole nation. Every man was fearful of being trodden under foot in this dreadful contention for power. Many began to withdraw with their effects to the continent, in order to seek in foreign countries that peace which was banished from their own. Public credit hardly subsisted, and the commerce of the kingdom, both foreign and domestic, was stagnated, and anarchy and confusion seemed to threaten the whole nation with destruction.

In the midst of this confusion, the king was ordered to be brought under a strong guard to Windsor, by colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the whole army. Charles himself was now convinced, that the period of his life was approaching; but could not be persuaded that they intended to proceed against him by a formal trial, and make him fall a victim to what they called, the stroke of justice. He every moment expected a private assassination, a catastrophe so frequent with dethroned princes: there was not an instance to be found in history where a sovereign was put to death by the laws of his country. Harrison assured him that his fears were groundless, and that whatever was intended against him would be done before the sun. On his arrival at Windsor, all symbols of sovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to treat him in no other manner than that of a private gentleman.

On the twenty-fifth of December, a committee was appointed by the commons to bring in a charge against the king, and other capital offenders. This committee was empowered to take informations with regard to facts, on which the charge against the king was to be founded; and on the twenty-eighth an ordinance for trying the king was brought into the house of commons, by Scot an independent member. This ordinance met with very little difficulty in the house. Some speeches were indeed made against it, but they seemed



seemed rather calculated to save appearances, than prevent the ordinance from receiving the sanction of the commons.

A. D. 1648-9. On the second of January the ordinance was carried up to the peers by lord Gray of Groby. The upper-house had long been considered as of little weight in the legislature, and since the king's imprisonment had become totally contemptible. It happened however to be fuller than ordinary when the ordinance was presented: sixteen of the peers were assembled. When the charge against the king was read, every member was filled with astonishment: it was conceived in the following terms. "That Charles Stuart had acted contrary to his trust in departing from his parliament, setting up his standard, making war against them, and thereby been the occasion of much bloodshed and misery to the people, whom he was set over for good; that he had given commissions to Irish rebels, and was since the occasion of a second war; that he had invaded the rights of the subject, and endeavoured to destroy the fundamental laws and liberties of this kingdom." The peers looked upon each other with astonishment, and seemed deprived of the power of speech. The earl of Manchester first broke the awful silence, in a speech at once pathetic and constitutional. He affirmed it to be a palpable absurdity to say, "that the king could be a traitor against the parliament." The earl of Northumberland declared, that the far greater part of the people of England were far from being satisfied whether the king or parliament were the first aggressors; and that even if it should be granted that the king first began the war, there was no law in being, that declared, such an action to be treason; and for the parliament to declare it treason before the matter of fact was proved, and without any law to countenance such a proceeding, would be highly unreasonable." All the rest of the lords were of the same opinion, and the vote of the lower house was rejected without one dissenting voice. They also adjourned themselves for ten days, in order to embarrass the commons; not imagining they would dare to proceed without their concurrence.

They were fatally mistaken. The commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. They immediately voted to proceed to the trial of the king without the consent of the house of lords. Their resolutions were couched in the following terms.

"Resolved, that the commons of England in parliament assembled do declare, that the people are, under God, the original of all just power.

"That the commons of England, in parliament assembled, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation.

"That whatsoever is enacted or declared for law, by the commons, in parliament assembled, hath the force of law; and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the concurrence of the king and the house of peers, be not had thereunto."

These votes being passed, the ordinance for the trial of the king was again read, and assented to unanimously. Nothing less could be expected; the balance of government had been long destroyed, and the quarrel now was only about its spoils. The parliament had before declared, that they had a right to impose laws without the consent of the king; and the army had just as much right to give law to the poor remains of a parliament that now assumed the legislative power.

As it would have been an insult on the common sense of the nation even to offer a vindication of these violent measures on the principles of reason; recourse was had to the ridiculous pretensions of supernatural assistance. A woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetic visions, desired admittance to the council of war, and assured them of her being informed by a revelation, that their measures were consecrated in heaven, and ratified by a celestial sanction. The leaders of the independent party also augmented their pretences to sanctity.

"Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwell one day in the house, "to bring the king to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but since providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your councils, though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself," added he, "when I was offering up petitions for his majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this supernatural movement as an answer, which heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my supplications." Under such fanatical pretensions the leaders of the independents endeavoured to sanctify their sanguinary designs, and conceal from the people their thirst of power. It was not sufficient to sacrifice the constitution of their country to their ambition, heaven itself must be brought to applaud their measures!

The fate of the king was now to be precipitated on many accounts. The army might feel remorse if the fervours of fanaticism were suffered to subside. The people might recover from their consternation. The Scots might interpose. Foreign nations might declare in the king's favour. The states-general had already named an ambassador to negotiate a peace between his majesty and the parliament. The court of France appeared to be deeply concerned at the fate of Charles; the king of Denmark was fitting out armaments for his relief; and all Europe beheld his fate with pity and indignation. Cromwell knew this, and sat late every night in consultation with his officers. He had too found a judgment to think of entering upon any vindication of the late proceedings: he knew they would not stand the test of reason; and thought it would be more easy to justify the blow after it was given than before.

On the sixth of January information was brought to the house, that the king might easily make his escape; and Fairfax was ordered to confine him more closely, and not to suffer any of his friends to visit him; and on the thirteenth of January it was voted to leave the king's name out of all public papers. Nor was the government of the city of London less unhinged than the constitution. The independent faction, in the name of the common-council, presented an address to parliament, without the consent of the lord-mayor and aldermen, who had all of them absented themselves. The address was, however, voted to be regular, and the thanks of the house were accordingly returned. No member was found intrepid enough to oppose these proceedings, Cromwell having made no secret of his intention to expel every one who voted against the measures he proposed. The whole kingdom beheld these proceedings with silent horror. The queen wrote to the parliament in favour of her husband, and desired leave to attend him, but this letter was inhumanly thrown aside by the commons.

Prynne, who had suffered so deeply by the tyranny of the star-chamber, was the only man in England who dared to face this conflagration of rebellion. He had been elected a member of parliament, and was so honest as to speak, vote, and write, agreeable to his own opinion; and had been, with other members, excluded from his seat in the house, and kept prisoner at a common inn. But though his person was confined, he wrote strongly in defence of the principles he professed. He appealed to the public against the proceedings of the independent faction; and boldly printed a pamphlet, intitled, "A brief memento to the present unparliamentary junta to depose and execute Charles Stuart, their lawful king." This pamphlet gave so much offence to the party, that a committee was appointed to demand of Prynne, whether he would own it. Prynne readily replied, "I will give no answer till I am commanded by a lawful authority." The presbyterian members approved this answer, and made another faint attempt to try their strength with the army, but were defeated.

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Had they now quitted the house, they had done some service to their country, by depriving the party of their countenance; for though they were always ready to oppose the independents, they were always overborne by a majority; and the people, who had no opportunity of knowing what passed in the house, considered every transaction as an act of the whole parliament. Whereas by absenting themselves, few or none would have acted as a parliament, except those who set their hands to the warrant for the execution of their sovereign.

No long time was necessary for adjusting all the circumstances of the trial, and constituting what was termed "the high court of justice." It consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons, as named by the commons, but never more than seventy met: so difficult was it found, notwithstanding the blindness of prejudice, and the allurements of interest, to prevail upon persons of any name or character to engage in so criminal a measure. It may, perhaps, be thought strange, that as a great number, nearly the majority, of the commissioners, who were empowered to act on this occasion, detested the guilty designs of the court, they did not attend, and endeavour to prevent the sentence. But the truth is, they were intimidated by the fierceness of the army. They knew, that if any difficulty occurred in completing this sanguinary measure, the independent faction among the officers would purge the court, as it had already done the parliament. The twelve judges were at first appointed in the number; but on their affirming, that it was contrary to all the ideas of English law to try the king for treason, by whose authority all accusations for that crime must necessarily be conducted; their names, as well as those of some peers, were afterwards struck out. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, were judges, together with a few of the members of the lower house, and some citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; and Dorilaus, Steel and Aske, were named assistants.

Fairfax now seemed as one awakened from a lethargy, and startled at the guilt that was every day committing under the sanction of his name. He never, knowingly to himself, had professed independency, though he had in fact been the tool of Cromwell to establish it. His wrong notions, with regard to the army, occasioned all his miscarriages. He was persuaded that the profession of a soldier ought to be governed by severer maxims and principles of honour than those that fell within any civil system; and was always jealous of government, because he feared it wanted to make a property of the army. After he was made general in chief, he considered himself as answerable to the soldiers, with regard to their treatment from the parliament. Such military notions, greatly augmented by religious sincerity and fervour, rendered it very easy for Cromwell to mould Fairfax to his purposes; and it happened, that, in some particulars, he had justice on his side. The parliament had, for instance, violated several articles of capitulation granted by the army, which Fairfax considered as highly criminal. They had engrossed into their hands immense sums from sequestrations, delinquencies, and taxes; while the soldiers, who had given them all their power, were actually left to starve, or to live upon free quarter. These were undoubted truths; and Cromwell persuaded Fairfax, that the hardships of the soldiers proceeded from the notorious avarice and wicked policy of the members. The former induced them to evade all demands of money; the latter to abandon the soldiers, so that they were obliged to live upon free quarter, whereby they were become hateful, and an intolerable burden to the people. Fairfax being once convinced of these truths, was led to believe every thing that was reported of the parliament; and his ill opinion was

increased on seizing, in the custody of their committees, when he marched his troops into the city, more money than would have been sufficient to quiet the clamours of his soldiers. But when his troops were satisfied, and his presbyterian friends laid before him the consequences that must result from the scheme formed by the army, he was struck with horror at the prospect, and would fain have prevented the dreadful effects of that power he had been so instrumental in obtaining.

At the first meeting of the high court of justice, which sat in Westminster-hall, an incident happened which deserves to be recorded. Lady Fairfax, the daughter of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury, having been seduced by the violence of the times, seconded all the ardour of her husband against the royal cause; but being now convinced of her error, she joined with her husband in bemoaning the miseries which threatened her country, and joined the friends of Fairfax in dissuading him from being present at the trial. Curiosity, however, prompted her to attend; and when her husband's name was called in reading over the list of commissioners, a voice was heard from one of the spectators, saying aloud, "He has too much wit to be present." And when the charge was read against the king, in the name of all the people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "Not a tenth part of them." Orders were now given to Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, to fire into the box whence the voice proceeded; but the soldiers being informed that it was their general's lady, they refused to obey. This circumstance sufficiently proves, that Fairfax was now convinced of his having been abused, and that Cromwell was then considered as the hypocrite, who had instigated the army to insist on this detestable trial.

It is not easy to form a more affecting idea than was now exhibited in the high court of justice; the delegates of a free people sitting in judgment on their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust; and the pomp, the dignity, and the ceremony, were equal to the conception. The charge against the king was read by the solicitor, in the name of the commons; in which it was declared, "That Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and intrusted with a limited power; yet, nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect an unlawful and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people, whom they represented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth."

Charles, even in this hour of distress, lost not the majesty of a king. On the president's telling the king, that the court expected his answer, he asked by what authority he was brought thither? This question had been expected by Cromwell, and the president, by his direction, answered, "In the name of the commons of England." The king denied the authority of the court, and refused to submit to their jurisdiction. He observed, that being born their lawful hereditary king, all his subjects united could have no power to bring him to a trial; that having often exposed his life in defence of the liberties and fundamental laws of the kingdom, he would not now desert them, but was ready, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights for which he had so long, though in vain, contended: That in the court which pretended to sit in judgment on his actions, he could not perceive the least appearance of the upper house, so essential a member of the constitution; and had learned from sufficient authority, that the commons, with whose power the court pretended to be invested, had been subdued by lawless force, and entirely deprived of their liberty: That those who arrogated the power of being his judges were born his subjects, and subjects of those laws, which declare, "That the king can do no wrong;"



but that without having recourse to that general maxim, which foresees even the worst of princes; he was ready to justify his conduct by the evidence of reason: and that if he were called upon in another manner, he should be desirous of demonstrating to them and all the world, the justice of that war he was unfortunately; and contrary to his inclinations, engaged in his own defence: but in his present circumstances he must not enter on the apology he was so desirous of making, lest, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he should be considered as the betrayer of that constitution he was so desirous of establishing even by his blood."

This answer had no effect. Bradshaw, in the most atrocious and insolent language told him; that the court over-ruled his objections, and derived their authority from the people, the only source of genuine power. Thrice was Charles brought before the court, and as often denied their jurisdiction. The commissioners therefore proceeded to examine some witnesses, who deposed that the king had appeared in arms against the troops of the parliament. Upon which, after another insolent speech made by Bradshaw, sentence of death was pronounced against him. The king, during his last appearance before the court, seemed very desirous of being admitted to a conference with the two houses of parliament; but this was denied. The independents intended not to gratify any request he might make; they had already determined to abolish the power of the house of peers, and it would have been dangerous on this occasion to acknowledge them as a branch of the legislature. Their denial was accompanied with the most brutal insolence. The soldiers were suffered to use every mark of disrespect, and some of them even spit in his face. But even this insult could not shake the tranquillity of his soul, a sentiment of piety was the only effect it excited. He was more nearly affected by the ardent prayers and wishes offered up for his safety by the people who thronged about him, and which even the rod of lawless power was not sufficient to restrain.

The ambassadors of France, Holland and Scotland interposed to stop these horrid proceedings, but in vain. Every nation in Europe exclaimed against this example as the most egregious insult on law and justice. But all their exclamations and interpositions had no effect: the fate of the king was fixed and irrevocable. Four of the chief and most illustrious friends of his majesty, Richmond, Holland, Southampton and Lindsey, repaired to the house of commons, and represented, that, in quality of his counsellors, they alone were guilty of the measures imputed to him as crimes; and desired to save, by their own punishment, that precious life, which the commons themselves were so much interested to defend. This generous offer had no other effect than that of increasing the animosity of the court. For the more bad men see their conduct reproached by the virtue of the good, the more eager they are to consummate their base designs.

The short interval of time between his sentence and execution, was employed by the king in meditating those eternal truths which elevate the soul above the evils of mortality. All his family that remained in England were allowed to visit him. The duke of Gloucester was little more than an infant; but the advanced judgment of the princess Elizabeth, notwithstanding her tender years, rendered her sensible of all the miseries she was doomed to suffer. The king, after giving her the most prudent advice, and endeavouring to fortify her mind with pious consolations, charged her to tell the queen, that he had never during the whole course of his life failed in conjugal fidelity towards her, not even in thought; and that his tenderness for her should only end with his life. Holding the duke of Gloucester on his knee, he said, "Now they will cut off thy father's head." So unexpected a sentence seemed greatly

to affect the child, who looked steadfastly upon him. "Mark! child what I say; They will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king: But mark what I say: Thou must not be a king, as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off thy brothers heads when they can catch them! And thy head too they will cut off at last! And therefore I charge thee do not be made a king by them!" The duke replied, fetching a deep sigh, "I will be torn in pieces first." The king's eyes were filled with tears of joy and admiration at hearing so determined an answer from one of such tender years.

Every night during this awful interval, the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, resounded continually in his ears. The morning of the fatal day he rose early; and calling Hubert, one of his attendants, bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity, which would put a final period to all his sorrows and to all his cares. Bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues by which the king himself was so much distinguished, assisted him in his devotions, and paid the last duties to his sovereign and his friend.

The scaffold was erected in the street before Whitehall, it being intended by making choice of a spot, adjoining to his own palace, to display in a more evident manner, the triumph of popular justice over the power of royalty. When the king came upon the scaffold, he found it so surrounded with soldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: He therefore addressed his discourse to the few persons who were about him, particularly to colonel Tomlinson, whom his virtues had reclaimed from an enemy to a friend. He protested his innocence, but, at the same time, acknowledged that his death was just in the eyes of the supreme Being, and that he was punished for not having opposed an unjust sentence, (meaning undoubtedly that of Strafford;) he generously forgave his enemies, and exhorted them and the whole nation, to live in obedience to his lawful successor. Having finished his speech, he laid his head on the block with the greatest decency and composure, and it was severed from his body by one blow of the executioner, who performed the bloody office in a vizor.

Fairfax was absent during the trial. He attempted by his influence to stop the execution, but not been able to succeed, he resolved to save the king by force. Cromwell and Ireton were no strangers to his resolution, and requested him to have recourse to prayer at a time when they stood so much in need of supernatural assistance. The fanatic Harrison was ordered to join with him in this pious office, and he took care to prolong the farce, till a person came and whispered him, that the king was no more. Then rising with the air of a prophet, he assured Fairfax, that the lord had heard their prayers; and made known his holy will in a very marvellous manner.

The nation, too long the dupe of hypocrisy, began to awake from its error. Never monarch, in the full triumph of success and victory, was more dear to his people, than this unhappy prince was now rendered by his misfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety. Each now reproached himself either with active disloyalty, or with a too indolent defence of his cause. The very pulpits, which had formerly thundered out the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him, were now bedewed with the tears of sincerity. His very enemies allow, that if temperance, chastity, regularity and piety can form a complete moral character, that of Charles may be deemed faultless. But he loved power to excess; and in order to retain it, he gave up a minister whom he loved and esteemed, and made concessions which he disdained and detested. Charles was, however, early and secretly sensible, that there was the same destination between power



and prerogative, as between possession and a claim, and by endeavouring to render them inseparable, he forfeited both. By flying to fortify his prerogative before it was attacked, he pointed out to his enemies the places where it might be assaulted with most success; and his timorous friends drew him off from his defence, where he might have made a successful stand. Their fears of his being torn in pieces if he did not pass the bills that deposed him, were vain and chimerical; conscience and guilt had magnified their danger. When he began to grant, he found no end of concessions, nor means of resistance when he was persuaded to deny. In prosperity he was surrounded by harpies, who dreaded the vengeance of the public, and placed both his person and his crown between them and the stroke of justice. His friends wished to have the extent of his prerogative defined; that it might be known; his creatures to keep it concealed, that it might be dreaded; and his enemies to see it reduced, that it might be ruined. In a word, the character of this prince, like that of all other men, was mixed; but his virtues greatly predominated; and he certainly merited the esteem and affections of his subjects. In times of happier tranquillity he would have reigned with glory, and with the confidence of his subjects; but he wanted that political sagacity, which can adapt itself to critical circumstances and events; and he was led too easily by counsels inferior to his own.

The death of Charles was not more destructive to his family than to the constitution. For several days, even before his condemnation, the commons were employed in preparing acts for abolishing monarchy, and erecting a republican government on its ruins; and on the very day of his execution they published the following proclamation:

“Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, being, for the notorious treasons, tyrannies and murders, committed by him in the late unnatural and cruel wars, condemned to death; whereupon, after execution of the same, several pretences may be made, and claims set on foot to the kingly office, to the apparent hazard of the public peace; for prevention whereof be it enacted and ordained by this present parliament, and by the authority of the same, that no person or persons whomsoever, do presume to proclaim, declare, or publish, or any ways promote Charles Stuart, the son of the said Charles, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other person, to be king, or chief magistrate of England, or of Ireland, or of any of the dominions belonging to them, or either of them, by colour of inheritance, succession, election, or any other claim whatsoever, without the free consent of the people in parliament first had, or signified by a particular act or ordinance for that purpose; any statute, law, usage, or custom to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

“And be it farther enacted and ordained, and it is hereby enacted and ordained, that whosoever, contrary to this act shall proclaim, publish, or any way promote the said Charles Stuart the son, or any other person, to be king, or chief magistrate of England, or of Ireland, or of any of the dominions belonging to them, or to either of them, without the said consent in parliament signified as aforesaid, shall be deemed and adjudged a traitor to the commonwealth, and shall suffer the pains of death, and such other punishments as belong to the crime of high-treason. And all officers, as well civil as military, and all other well-affected persons, are hereby authorized and required to apprehend all such offenders, and to bring them in safe custody to the next justice of peace, that they may be proceeded against accordingly.”

An act was also passed “for repealing several clauses in the act of parliament of the 25th of Edward III. intitled, A declaration which offences shall be adjudged treason; and of one clause in the act of the first of Edward VI. intitled, Statutes con-

cerning treasons, &c. repealed; and of one clause in the act of the third of James, intitled, an act for discovering and repressing recusants; and of part of an act made in the first year of queen Mary, intitled, A repeal for certain treasons, felonies, and premunire; and for repealing the act of the eleventh year of Henry VII. intitled, None that shall attend upon the king, and do him true service, shall be attainted or forfeit any thing; and of one clause in the act of the first year of Elizabeth, intitled, An act for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual; and of six several clauses in a statute passed in the fifth year of Elizabeth, intitled, An act for the assurance of the queen's power over all estates; and of an act passed in the seventeenth year of king James, touching the taking the oath of obedience to the king.”

Another proclamation was also published, ordering, “That all courts of law, justice, or equity, and in all writs, grants, patents, commissions, indictments, informations, suits, returns of writs, and in all fines, recoveries, exemplifications, recognizances, processes, and proceedings at law, justice, or equity, within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, instead of the name, stile, title, and test of the king heretofore used, the name, stile, and test of Custodes libertatis Angliæ autoritate parliamenti, shall be used, and no other. And the date shall be the year of our Lord, and no other: And that all duties, profits, penalties, issues, fines, amerciaments, and forfeitures whatsoever, which heretofore were sued for in the name of the king, shall from henceforth be prosecuted, sued for and recovered in the name of Custodes libertatis Angliæ autoritate parliamenti, and no other; and in all, or any of the proceedings aforesaid, where the words were, *juratores pro domino rege*, it shall from henceforth be *juratores pro republica*; and where the words, in any of the proceedings aforesaid used to be, *contra pacem dignitatem, vel coronam nostram*, that from henceforth these words, *contra pacem publicam*, instead of them, or any of them, shall be used.”

When the peers met on the sixth of February, pursuant to their adjournment, they entered upon business, and sent down votes to the commons; but the latter deigned not to take the least notice of them. A few days after, the lower house passed a vote “that no more addresses should be made to the house of peers, nor any more received from them; that the upper house was useless and dangerous, and should therefore be abolished.” They formed a new great seal, on which that assembly was represented, with this legend, “On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing, restored 1648. The king's statue in the Exchange was thrown down, and these words engraved on the pedestal, “*Exit tyrannus, Regum ultimus*,” the tyrant, the last of kings, is gone.

Charles left six children; three sons, Charles, born in 1630; James, duke of York, born in 1633; Henry, duke of Gloucester, born in 1641: and three daughters, Mary, princess of Orange, born in 1631; Elizabeth, born in 1635; and Henrietta, afterwards dutchess of Orleans, born at Exeter in 1644. Elizabeth did not long survive her father; his tragical end so deeply affected her, that she died of grief.

A few days after the execution of Charles, a book was published, intitled, “*Icon Basiliké*,” said to have been written by that prince. This work, so full of piety, meekness and humanity, published at so critical a juncture, excited, in a most remarkable manner, the compassion of the people for their murdered prince. The sale of it was so rapid, that it passed through fifty editions in less than a year. Some have not even scrupled to ascribe to that work the subsequent restoration of the royal family. It operated, says Milton, like the will of Cæsar, when read by Mark Anthony to the tumultuous Romans. It was, doubtless, the best prose composition in the English language, at the time of its publication.









*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



Some have denied the composition to have been the king's: but the arguments brought to prove, that these elegant meditations really flowed from the royal

pen, seem much the stronger; and it is now the general opinion; that they were actually written by the king.

## The REPUBLIC, or, COMMONWEALTH, of ENGLAND.

A.D. 1649. **T**HE monarchical government of England being thus destroyed, and the whole constitution overturned, it became necessary to establish another in its room, and that of a republic, or commonwealth, was chosen. But the nation was so far from being unanimous, that it was divided into several parties, whose animosity was the greater, as they were almost all of them under the influence of enthusiasm. Some were for having no form of human government, because Christ, whose second coming they said was at hand, would be the sole governor of the world. Others asserted, that there was neither moral nor natural law remaining; and that the elect, under the direction of the Holy Spirit, were above human obligations. The presbyterians and royalists, though of opposite principles, were equally offended. These factions, however, gave no uneasiness to Cromwell; he knew, that when the basis of government is destroyed, the sword alone must give law to the people. He was master of the army, and on that foundation he determined to build his future greatness.

During the continuance of these divisions in the state, the trials of the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Norwich and Holland, the lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, came on before the high court of justice, where they were all found guilty, and received sentence of death. Hamilton and Capel made their escape, but were retaken; the former might have saved his life, but was honest enough to refuse it, as it was only offered at the expence of his honour. Great interest was used to save them all. Capel had joined early in the opposition to the king; Hamilton had served the parliament; and Holland had been, by turns, the friend and the slave of the faction: the other two had no merits to plead, either towards the party, or their persons; yet the three former suffered, whilst the two latter were saved. Hamilton died because he refused to betray his friends; Holland, on account of his apostacy, in deserting the cause he had long defended; and Cromwell honestly said, that Capel had so many virtues, that his life was incompatible with the safety of the faction.

The settlement of the government now became a serious affair with the party; and after long debates and consultations, it was resolved that a council of state should be established, consisting of thirty-eight members, who were to be intrusted with the following powers: to command and settle the militia of England and Ireland: to fit out such a navy as they should think proper: to appoint magazines and stores, and dispose of them; and to fit and execute the powers with which they were intrusted for one year.

Cromwell acted with great prudence in erecting this council of state; because their powers being limited with regard to time, it was impossible for them to make any successful opposition to the ambitious schemes he had formed, and several of the members were his own friends and creatures. In the mean time, a kind of anarchy prevailed in the kingdom. The landmarks of the constitution being removed, no man knew upon what foundation his property stood; and most of the judges, together with many sheriffs and justices of the peace, refused to act under the new government. Cromwell was not displeased at their refusal, because it enforced the necessity of keeping up a numerous army, and of proceeding by martial instead of municipal law. Hewson, one of the colonels, very properly observed, that the soldiers

could hang twenty with less difficulty than the magistrates could hang one. This introduction of martial law rendered Cromwell absolute in the government: he took possession of the king's rooms of state at Whitehall; he disposed of civil property by his warrant; and he had his officers always at command, to present to the house such forms and alterations, both in the civil and military departments in government; and whatever he pleased to prescribe, were always approved of by the commons and the council of state. He met, however, with a strong opposition from lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, a very abusive and turbulent man, and he was sent immediately to prison. The women assembled in troops, and demanded his enlargement. They were told to take care of their families, and leave the government of the state to the men. The presbyterians, the peers, and the secluded members, also joined in the opposition, and filled the kingdom with the boldest invectives against the new government; and some had even the boldness to disseminate papers, proclaiming the prince of Wales to be king of England, under the title of Charles II. an appellation by which we must now distinguish him.

The Scottish commissioners had entered a strong protest against the proceedings of the commons, with regard to the trial of the late king, and had now received orders to quit England, without taking leave of the faction. They accordingly wrote a spirited letter to the commons, who voted, that it was a scandalous and reproachful libel against the just proceedings of the parliament, intended to lay the foundations for a new and bloody war; and that all who supported them should be considered as traitors and rebels to their country. But Cromwell, willing to avoid, if possible, a rupture with Scotland at that critical conjuncture, procured a vote in parliament on the twenty-eighth of February, that the commissioners should be sent to Scotland under a guard. The fate of that kingdom itself was now deplorable. Rent with factions, and distracted with fanatical enthusiasm, no measures founded on reason and the rules of policy could be taken. The body of the people abhorred the English faction, who had put their king to death, and were unanimous for proclaiming his son, and placing him on the throne of his ancestors; but they differed with regard to the terms on which the sovereignty should be offered. The violent presbyterians headed by Argyle, were for obliging him to observe every article of the covenant, and even previous to their sending any invitation, to oblige him to sign it, to submit implicitly to their church censures, to renounce the sins of his father's house, the iniquity of his mother, and to submit to several other mortifications, that even a private gentleman would have refused. The covenanting royalists as well as the episcopalians, were for proclaiming the king without obliging him to sign any conditions. The earls of Lauderdale and Lanerc, now duke of Hamilton, were at this time with Charles at the Hague, where he kept up the appearance of a court, though his affairs were in a desperate condition. The prince and princess of Orange wished well to his interest, but the selfish maxims of the Dutch republic, rendered it impossible to serve him effectually. The highest expectations were formed of Charles, who was now about nineteen years of age. He had behaved with the utmost tenderness towards his



his father and his family; he had, with a prudence far above his years, reconciled to his service all the different members of his council; and had shewn great spirit on all occasions, as well as a close application to business. He had hitherto enjoyed very few opportunities of improving himself by reading, and the persons intrusted with his education by his father, were but ill qualified to improve him by their conversation, and still less by their instructions.

The states-general had given frequent intimations that their affairs would not permit them to come to a rupture with the ruling powers of England, and Charles knew not where to retire for protection. During this disagreeable suspense, the gallant marquis of Montrose appeared, with magnificent equipages, and a small number of chosen friends, at the court of Charles. His sentiments were very different from those of the other counsellors. He thought all treaties with rebels to be dishonourable; that the king ought to throw himself upon the friendship of his brother monarchs and the affections of his loyal subjects; undertaking himself, with very small assistance, of seating him on the Scottish throne. The great actions Montrose had already performed, his majestic deportment, and his unmerited sufferings for the royal cause, inspired all who approached him with impressions of awe, of love, and of pity. Though he was almost single in his sentiments, none ventured to oppose him; and his own countrymen regarded him as the guardian genius of injured majesty.

Plainer declarations of their desire that Charles should leave the Hague being now made by the States-general, it was resolved in council that the king should retire into France. He was received with great politeness in all the towns of Flanders through which he passed, and with as much state by the young king of France, as if he had been actually in possession of the English crown. But these civilities flowed entirely from a commiseration of his misfortunes, which was so strong with the public that cardinal Mazarine, and the queen regent of France did not think fit to restrain it. No effectual assistance was, however, to be expected; an asylum was all that could be brought to promise.

The affairs of Ireland seemed to display a dawn of success to the royal cause; the marquis of Ormond was at the head of a considerable party devoted to Charles; and though the Irish, at the instigation of the pope's nuncio, had again took up arms against the English, they were now sincerely united with the royalists. Had Charles appeared at the head of his army, there is no doubt but the whole kingdom would have declared in his favour; but his presence and the want of money, were great obstacles to the success of Ormond. He, however, made himself master of Drogheda, with other considerable garrisoned towns, and laid siege to Dublin, where Jones, the general of the parliament's forces had been obliged to shut himself up.

The English government was now sufficiently alarmed, and Cromwell, at his own request, was appointed to command the troops intended to be sent against the royalists in Ireland. Prince Rupert, ever since the fleet deserted to the prince of Wales, had commanded a considerable squadron, and taken several rich prizes. Dunkirk and Ostend also swarmed with privateers, that acted under commissions granted by Charles. The natural remedy for this evil was to fit out a superior fleet; but it was not easy to determine who was to command it. The earl of Warwick, the successful admiral of the parliament, though a violent presbyterian, was not an independent, and he had lately been disgusted with the government, on account of their putting his brother, the earl of Holland to death, notwithstanding he had exerted all his interest to save him. After long debates and consultations, it was determined to put the affairs of the admiralty into commission, and the command of the fleet was given to Blake, Popham, and Dean. The navy was soon in so respectable a

condition, that the English channel was cleared of those privateers that had so greatly obstructed the commerce of the kingdom, and prince Rupert himself was blocked up in the harbour of Kinsale, by a squadron under the command of Blake and Dean.

It seemed to be a paradox in politics for Cromwell to undertake to head the expedition against the Irish in person, before the affairs of government were settled upon some solid basis. But his conduct was directed by wise maxims. He knew that power could only be maintained by the same measures by which it had been acquired. The dangerous spirit of levelling was far from being destroyed in the army; and this, with all other cautions, could only be cured by finding full employment for the soldiers. Cromwell promised himself great advantages from the spirit and temper of his soldiers returning from foreign conquest, when they had lost all tenderness for their mother-country, and regarded no will but that of their general. He was sensible that it was absolutely necessary to reduce Ireland, as it lay very convenient for receiving assistance and supplies from the Roman catholic powers, particularly from Spain, whose friendship the parliament had as yet great reason to distrust. Besides these motives Cromwell flattered himself with extending the fame of his military achievements, and of revenging himself on the marquis of Ormond, and other royalists in Ireland, who had accused him of being the sole cause of the king's death.

But before Cromwell led his troops against the Irish, he was determined to destroy that spirit of levelling which was now so common in the army, and which, if not crushed in the bud, must undermine the basis of his authority. The writings of Lilburn, and his associates, who were all unanimous in their hatred of Cromwell, had greatly encouraged the spirit of levelling; and some examples of severity made at London, blew the scattered sparks into a flame. One Thompson, a bold, intrepid trooper, headed the levellers, who appointed their rendezvous to be held at Banbury in Oxfordshire. Some of the regiments that had been appointed to go to Ireland, mutinied about the same time, particularly those commanded by Ireton, Scroop, and Reynolds. Thompson soon found himself at the head of two hundred horse, and expected daily to be joined by so large a body of mutineers, as would enable him to set the government at defiance.

Cromwell artfully prevailed upon Fairfax to accompany him in the disagreeable service of reducing the levellers. They reached Banbury soon enough to prevent the mutineers from uniting into a body, and Fairfax directing his march to Burford, made four thousand of them prisoners. This success rendered the whole design of the levellers abortive, Thompson himself being killed in the conflict.

The mutiny being quelled, the parliament passed an act declaring it treason in any one "to affirm that the present government is tyrannical, usurped or unlawful, or that the commons in parliament are not the supreme authority; or to endeavour to alter the present government; or to affirm the same of the council of state; to contrive the death of the general or lieutenant-general of the army; to raise a mutiny among the soldiers; to join with those that invade England or Ireland; to level war against the parliament; to counterfeit the great seal; or to kill any member of parliament, judge, or minister of justice."

The house of commons now exercised all the powers of royalty both legislative and executive. The earl of Pembroke was mean enough to sit in the house as a commoner, and to give Whitlock, keeper of the great seal, the same precedence as the chancellors enjoyed over noblemen in the times of monarchy. All foreign princes, though they detested the principles, dreaded the power of the new government. Even Christiana, queen of Sweden, herself, who had loudly exclaimed against the faction, received



received with kindness colonel Potley, who was sent by the parliament to reside at her court. In a word, every thing smiled on the new establishment. The royal arms were taken down from all public offices and courts of justice, the royal titles erased out of public writings; and it was declared by the parliament and council of state, "That the people of England, and all the territories and dominions thereunto belonging, are, shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, and declared, a commonwealth, and free state, and shall so be governed by the supreme authority, the representatives of the people in parliament, and by such as they shall constitute as officers for the good of the people, and that without any king, single person, or house of lords." The new-coined money was also struck with the arms and titles of the Commonwealth of England.

About the middle of May, the army under Cromwell was ready to embark for Ireland. The news of this expedition determined the king, who was now heartily tired of the court of France, to retire to Jersey, the only spot he now inherited of all his large paternal dominions; and where he had already been proclaimed by the loyal governor, Sir George Carteret. This was, doubtless, placing his fortune on a very slender foundation; but it was the wisest measure he could pursue in this critical conjuncture, when the courts of France and Spain, notwithstanding all their pretended detestation of the rebels proceedings, only sought to make the best advantage they could of their being possessed of his person. The king of Denmark; and a few of the German princes, were, indeed, sincere in their endeavours to serve him; but they wanted money to fit out a fleet sufficient to face that of the English.

The siege of Dublin was carried on with great vigour, by the marquis of Ormond, and the garrison was now reduced to great distress. Cromwell knew the importance of saving the capital, and sent over immediately three thousand of his best troops, who landed under the favour of a squadron commanded by Sir George Askew, just at a time when Jones was going to capitulate. This reinforcement, together with a large quantity of provisions and stores landed at the same time, animated with new vigour the parliamentary garrison. They made a furious sally upon the royalists, drove them from their trenches, and obliged them to retreat over the river with great precipitation. Ormond now fortified his camp, and resolved to wait the arrival of some reinforcements he every day expected.

But the fortune of Cromwell bore down all opposition. Being invested with the sole command, both civil and military, in Ireland, the very magic of his name brought thousands of soldiers to his standard; so that, in a few days after his coming to his camp, he found himself at the head of a large army of veterans, from whose courage and experience he promised himself a plentiful harvest of glory. His military chest was well furnished with money, his soldiers with arms, and his camp with artillery, stores and provisions; while the confidence of the soldiers in the abilities and intrepidity of their general, rendered them almost invincible.

Cromwell's situation was now very different from what it had been before. He was at the head of a great and independent army, and entering upon a boundless career of conquest; while Fairfax, who was above him in commission, was little better than the cypher of a general, and hardly preserved the respect due to his great rank and services. Nor did the policy of Cromwell terminate here; he left the minds of the principal officers full of discontents against both the parliament and council of state, with regard to their impracticable schemes of government, and wild notions relative to their own importance in the state.

Having received his commission for three years, while that of the council of state was only for one, he thought himself in no danger of seeing any for-

midable combination formed against him between the civil and military powers, the only thing he had to dread. He therefore embarked his forces at Milford-haven; but, for want of a sufficient number of transports, he was obliged to leave three regiments behind him. He landed at Dublin, after a short passage, at the head of fifteen thousand men, and immediately dispatched a letter to England for a reinforcement. This was a caution very unusual with Cromwell, and seems to prove that he entertained not the best opinion of the parliament.

Ormond had made Sir Arthur Aston, who formerly commanded at Reading, governor of Drogheda, one of the strongest places in Ireland, and garrisoned the place with the flower of his troops, hoping it would be able to hold out for a month at least; during which he proposed to march his army from the neighbourhood of Dublin, in order to recruit his forces. But before Ormond could assemble his different divisions, Drogheda was invested with an army of twelve thousand men. Cromwell knew that the royalists depended chiefly on the defence of this place, and therefore exerted all his power to take it. The garrison made a very obstinate defence, but the town was at last taken by storm, and every one that appeared in arms put to the sword. This success was chiefly owing to the personal courage of Cromwell, who perceiving his men disheartened by the gallant resistance of the garrison, and the death of colonel Castle, one of their best officers, repaired to the breach, and led his troops to the attack with so much fury, that the Irish were seized with a panic, and acted with a despondency that would have dishonoured women; they made no farther resistance, but tamely suffered themselves to be put to death by the swords of the English, who considered it as impiety to suffer any of them to live. The whole war, indeed, was carried on with a cruelty which reflects eternal disgrace on the victors: the Irish were treated with infernal barbarity; no quarter was given them, either by sea or land; and they were generally excepted out of all capitulations and treaties.

The loss of Drogheda so intimidated the royalists, that they abandoned Trym and Dundalk. Tenalis was taken by storm; Wicklow submitted; and Cromwell marched his army into Munster, where he met with very little opposition. The dreadful execution at Drogheda struck all his opposers with despair. Lord Inchiquin's officers and soldiers deserted in great numbers; and the city of Cork was basely surrendered by the governor, when Cromwell was in no condition to have undertaken the siege.

But notwithstanding Cromwell's success, a very strong ferment was excited against his principles in the English parliament. Fortunately for him, the marquis of Ormond, by forming a kind of coalition with the Irish papists, and taking many of them into his service, rendered the royal cause in Ireland unpopular, even among the English presbyterians, and tended to increase the importance of Cromwell's success. They, however, took advantage of his absence, to pass some votes in parliament for moderating the excessive severities proposed against the delinquents. The army remonstrated strongly against these proceedings, but in vain; even their threats were disregarded.

The loyalists still continued under the infatuation, that they should yet be able to restore the king to his rights, and place him on the throne of his ancestors. They were even weak enough to imagine, that the spirit of levelling, which still continued in the army, might be useful to their cause; and accordingly dispersed themselves in different parts of the nation, joined the levellers, and spirited them up against the government. The effects of this preposterous conduct were some childish insurrections, in which several of them perished for a cause they, in their hearts, detested.

Colonel Pride, who had been remarkably active in all the mad, fanatical actions of the times, now



became the head of a party, who insisted, that to put any man to death for theft only, was absolutely murder. This ridiculous opinion was carried to such a height, that they presented petitions to the council of state against all executions of that kind; and such regard was paid to their intercessions, that the lord mayor and his independent brethren were empowered to change the sentence of death into that of banishment, and many felons were accordingly sent to the American colonies. Notwithstanding these eccentric proceedings, the reins of government were, in the main, held with so steady a hand, that no convulsions shook the public tranquillity.

The Scots, from a retrospective view of the distractions that had prevailed in England since the captivity of the king, were very desirous of being again governed by a prince descended from their ancient kings. The demerits of the first Charles were almost forgotten, and his son had done nothing to induce them to believe he inherited his father's inflexibility with regard to religion. Even the marquis of Argyle, and his violent covenanters, were not averse to monarchical government, provided their king embraced their tenets of religion. Argyle well knew that the restoration of Charles was incompatible with the engagements he had entered into with Cromwell, on whom he chiefly depended for protection against the several factions formed in his country: but he hoped, that if Charles was restored, he would be nothing better than the shadow of a king, a mere name without authority; or that some incident might happen to prevent his landing in Scotland, notwithstanding the pressing invitations he had received from the inhabitants of that kingdom. The spies maintained by Cromwell at the court of Charles, informed him thoroughly of the state of parties formed among the king's friends; and that he wished rather to be restored by Montrose, and the episcopal royalists, than by either the presbyterian or independent party.

Convinced that Ireland could now afford him no assistance, Charles turned his whole thoughts towards Scotland, as the only part of his dominions where he could hope to be protected. The terms offered by the rigid covenanters were, indeed, highly disagreeable; but he thought proper to open a conference with Winram, who had been sent from Scotland to Jersey with the following propositions: 1. "That the king should sign the covenant, and pass an act for giving liberty to all that pleased to sign it, and for ratifying all that had been done in Scotland on that subject. 2. That he should give the royal assent to several acts which had been ratified in the two last sessions of the Scottish parliament; and that the kings of Scotland should, for the future, have no negative voice in that assembly. 3. That he should recall his commissions given to Montrose, for raising forces to be sent into Scotland, and put a final stop to his proceedings. 4. That he should put away all papists from about his person, and let known protestants only have seats in his council. 5. That some place, either in or near Holland, should be appointed to treat with commissioners from the states of Scotland, who would be sent thither, where every thing should be provided necessary for him and his train to reside in a legal manner. 6. That a speedy answer should be given to these desires."

These offers were the mildest ever sent by the Scottish government: they were afterwards loaded with many odious particulars with regard to the best friends of the royal family in both kingdoms, and with many intolerable particulars with regard to the person of Charles himself. In matters of religion, the young king was the very reverse of his father. He considered the different forms of worship, and church-government among christians, as so many different fashions of the same cloak. He was, indeed, fondest of episcopacy, but merely because he thought it better adapted to monarchy. His education had not greatly contributed to fix his principles

with regard to any one sect. During his infancy, he had been chiefly instructed by the persons about the queen, who treated the church of England with more contempt than even presbytery itself. They ridiculed, in private, the most celebrated divines of the English court; while the pomp of their own worship, and the irregularity of their lives, implanted prejudices in the mind of Charles which were never obliterated, though they seldom carried him farther than to prefer the form of worship practised in the Roman to that used in the English church. But though he was not strongly prejudiced against any religion, yet every thing contributed to give him the greatest aversion to the covenant. He, however, determined to receive the Scottish commissioners, and the city of Breda was appointed for that purpose.

A. D. 1650. During this interval, Montrose hastened his preparations for landing in Scotland, and determined to exert all his power to place the king on the throne of his ancestors, without his signing any conditions. He had been encouraged by great promises of assistance from the courts of Denmark and Sweden, where many excellent Scotch officers, well affected to the king, had served with great reputation; but his impatience and loyalty would not suffer him to remain any longer inactive; and he landed, in the beginning of April, in the northern parts of Scotland, accompanied by a small number of German soldiers. He had flattered himself with being joined by many of his countrymen, but he was disappointed; no forces appeared to join his standard, and he was soon after surpris'd and taken prisoner by his countrymen. The fanatical Scots looked upon this great man only in the light of an impious, excommunicated person, who was a rebel to the covenant. He suffered the most horrid indignities, and was condemned to be hanged. The sentence ran, that his head should be nailed to the door of the prison, his legs and arms fixed up in the four principal towns of the kingdom, and his body interred with malefactors, unless his repentance induced the Scottish divines to take off the excommunication. "I am more proud," said he, to the presbyterian ministers, "to have my head nailed to the place mentioned in the sentence, than I should be to have my picture hung up in the king's chamber. Far from being disturbed at having my legs and my arms sent to the four principal towns in the kingdom, I wish I had limbs enough to disperse through all the towns in Christendom, in testimony of the cause for which I am condemned." In the evening, he put these sentiments into verse; and died as he had lived, like a hero. He was in the flower of his age when the jaws of fanaticism snatched him from his king and his country.

During these transactions in Scotland, the conferences were opened at Breda. Charles disputed every proposition offered by the Scottish commissioners, till he was informed of the defeat and death of Montrose, when he no longer made any opposition, but agreed at once to all their demands. The treaty being thus concluded, Charles embarked on board a small squadron of ships, and pursued his voyage towards Scotland. Before they reached their intended port, the Scottish commissioners produced fresh articles, by which they insisted on still greater sacrifices than any Charles had hitherto made. This gave Charles so much uneasiness, that he threatened to land in Denmark, rather than make such degrading submissions. His wisest counsellors were, however, of a different opinion; and Charles, fearing he might be intercepted by some of the parliament's ships, pursued his course, and landed safely in an obscure part of Scotland.

The king was immediately given to understand that he must expect no assistance in that kingdom unless he signed the covenant, and dismissed from his presence all persons who were obnoxious to their parliament. Charles was obliged to comply. The Scotch covenanting royalists retired from the storm.

Some



Some of the English fled back to the continent; and others were lodged in houses of the king's friends, but at a distance from his person. Buckingham alone, for whom the king entertained the sincerest friendship, was suffered to be with him. Notwithstanding these precautions, the people in general shewed a surprizing alacrity for his service; they flocked to his standards in every part of the kingdom. Argyle was careful that Charles should want nothing of the respect or attendance that had been paid to his ancestors, and endeavoured to give him just notions of his own interest; but, at the same time, suffered him to exercise no personal acts of power, or to have any voice in the management of public affairs.

This exterior appearance of royal honours had, however, a surprizing effect on the courts of Europe, as well as on the minds of all his friends both at home and abroad. Every corner of England was filled with reproaches against the parliament, and in some places insurrections actually happened which were not suppressed without difficulty. Charles, before he left Holland, had signed many commissions for agents and officers to act for him in England, and these were so active, and their endeavours so imprudently bold, that the council of state thought no time should be lost in recalling the general from Ireland. Cromwell had by this time so fully established his reputation, that he very readily accepted the invitation; and having made Ireton his deputy, he returned to England. He was received by the parliament with all the honours due to his eminent services, and as no time was to be lost, the affairs of Scotland were immediately taken into consideration. The presbyterian party had made several attempts to open a correspondence with their brethren in Scotland; but their messengers had always been intercepted by the troops quartered on the borders.

Cromwell was desirous of heading the troops intended against Scotland; but Fairfax, who had still great interest both in the army and parliament, was an obstacle that was not easily removed. Cromwell was unwilling to trust either his principles or ambition in the Scottish war; and he accordingly procured a vote in parliament that both himself and Fairfax should command against the Scots; and that Fairfax should receive a new commission from the house for that purpose. In the mean time the council of state received orders to prepare every thing necessary for the immediate march of the army. Fairfax, however, thought proper to refuse the offer, and to resign his commission. This was, in reality, what Cromwell wanted; he had now no superior in the army, and he feared no opposition in parliament. He, however, thought proper to publish a declaration in order to remove the scruples of the presbyterians, who loudly exclaimed against the intended invasion of Scotland. This paper declared, that though it was intended to carry the English arms into Scotland, a defensive war only was designed; and that this method was taken merely to prevent an invasion of England.

Cromwell left London on the twenty-ninth of June, and directed his march towards the borders of Scotland. He considered fighting and beating the Scots as nearly the same thing, and thought the whole difficulty consisted in bringing on a general engagement. But though he looked with contempt upon the forces of Scotland, he knew that it was absolutely necessary to drive Charles out of that kingdom; because while he resided there in a royal capacity, his party in England continued to encrease, many of them having already joined him in Scotland, and others were preparing to raise an insurrection in England as soon as his army should pass the borders.

Argyle, in the mean time continued to be extremely jealous of the royal party, who were for restoring the king upon his own terms. This he knew was inconsistent with his own safety, and the civil and religious liberties of his country. He endeavoured to give Charles right notions both with regard to government and his own interest; but the heart of the

young king was already debauched, and his prejudices against the covenanters, had taught him to consider them only as a company of mad enthusiasts. The king was indeed charmed with the politeness of Argyle's behaviour, his elegant manners, and instructive conversation; but he could not digest his confinement; nor did Argyle think it prudent to trust him with the management of himself. But the mortifications he met with from Argyle were nothing when compared to those he was obliged to suffer from the zealots. The general assembly, and afterwards the committee of estates together with the army, who were entirely governed by the assembly, published a declaration, in which they protested, "That they did not espouse any malignant quarrel or party, but fought merely on their former grounds or principles; that they disclaimed all the sins and guilt of the king and his house; nor would they own him or his interest, otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so far as he owned and prosecuted the cause of God; and acknowledged the sins of his house, and of his former ways."

This declaration wanted no comment. The king knew he was entirely at their mercy, and must submit to every thing they proposed. He issued a declaration in the very terms they required; he gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of providence, by which he was recovered from the snare of evil councils, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the covenant, and was induced to cast both himself and his interest wholly upon God. He desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's following evil councils, opposing the covenant, and the work of reformation, and shedding the blood of God's people in every part of his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house: a matter of great offence, he said, to all the protestant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children. He professed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism and profaneness; and was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance, any of them in any part of his dominions. He declared that he would neither love nor favour any who have so little conscience as to follow his interests, in preference to the gospel and kingdom of Jesus Christ. And he expressed his hope, that whatever ill success his former guilt might have drawn upon his cause, yet having now obtained mercy to be on God's side, and to acknowledge his own cause subordinate to that of God, the divine providence would crown his arms with victory.

Having obtained this victory over the king, and placed the crown in subordination to the altar, the Scottish clergy pointed their spiritual instruments against the invaders of their country. They represented Cromwell as an incarnate devil, and his soldiers as so many monsters of blood and cruelty, who were ordered to put all the Scots to the sword without any regard to age, condition, or sex. This had the desired effect. The southern parts of Scotland were in an instant depopulated, the inhabitants flying to the northward for shelter and protection. Cromwell was astonished when he passed the borders to find he was going to enter a desolate wilderness, where it would be impossible to procure provisions for his army. He was, indeed, attended by a fleet, but supplies from them were difficult and precarious. The only method that seemed to offer success was to publish a declaration, that he was not come to desolate the country, but to support them in their civil and religious rights and privileges. He also was very careful to treat all the Scots that fell into his hands with unusual kindness. But all his attempts to gain the favour of the inhabitants were in vain: they fled from him, as from a pestilence, and he advanced towards Dunbar under infinite difficulties. For by this time a considerable



derable party of Scots, had put themselves between his fleet and army, so that he saw himself in danger of perishing by famine.

The English army consisted of about eighteen thousand men; and that of the Scots, which was commanded by general Lesley, of about twenty thousand, besides a vast multitude of irregulars. But Cromwell's were the best troops in the world, while the Scottish army was composed of men differing in their principles, awkward in their exercises, their arms neither well formed for offence or defence, yet full of presumption, partly from an idea of their own valour, but chiefly from the enthusiastic assurances of their preachers.

The Scots were possessed of Edinburgh castle, and their army posted so advantageously near that city, that it could not be attacked. Cromwell saw this and was fearful for the event; he perceived only but a dismal prospect of famine; for the stormy weather prevented him from receiving any provisions from his ships. He still endeavoured by acts of humanity to the Scots who fell into hands, and by doing justice to his own soldiers, who were fond of plundering the country, to make a party among the enemy; but without success; and their preachers began already to triumph from the pulpits, that the English army was on the point of being destroyed.

Finding all his attempts abortive Cromwell advanced towards the Scottish camp, and endeavoured, by every expedient, to provoke Lesley to a battle; but the Scotchman well knew, that though his army was much superior in numbers, his forces were far inferior to the English in discipline and experience; and therefore carefully kept himself within the intrenchments of his camp. He, however, endeavoured to confirm the spirits of his soldiers by small skirmishes with the enemy, and was generally successful. His army increased daily both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp, and having exerted himself in one of these rencounters, gained extremely on the affections of the soldiery, who were far more desirous of serving under a young prince of spirit, than a committee of preaching gownsmen. This produced a fatal effect, they caused the king to leave the camp; and at the same time purged the army of near four thousand malignants, whose zeal for the royal cause had led them to attend their prince, and were all of them soldiers of credit and experience. They said they had no need of the assistance of the ungodly, their army being entirely composed of saints, who could not be conquered by the arm of flesh.

Cromwell despairing of being able to bring the cautious Lesley to a battle, retired to Dunbar. Lesley followed him, and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. The English general hoped he should now be able to accomplish his purpose of forcing the Scots to leave the heights; but he soon perceived, that this was impossible; and that Lesley had taken possession of all the difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick. These discoveries almost drove Cromwell to despair. His army was in the utmost distress for want of provisions, and he was on the point of forming a resolution of embarking all his foot and artillery, and of breaking through with his horse, the different posts possessed by the enemy in his route to Berwick. The madness of the Scottish ministers prevented him from putting this resolution into practice; and of losing at once all the honours he had acquired in so many glorious campaigns.

The enthusiastical ministers in Scotland had been, according to their expression, wrestling day and night with the Lord in prayer, and now fancied they had obtained the victory. Revelations, they said, had been made them from heaven, that the sectarian and heretical army, together with Agag their leader, would be delivered into their hands. The soldiers caught the flame of enthusiasm, and forced their general, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, to

descend into the plain, and gather the laurels of victory promised their ministers by the voice of heaven. Cromwell could hardly believe his eyes when he first perceived the Scottish camp in motion, and ventured to forestel, without any revelation from above, that the Lord had delivered his enemies into his hand.

The engagement began in the morning of the third of September, and soon became general, but the dispute was unequal. The Scots, though more than double the number of the English, were so far from standing the shock of Cromwell's veterans, that they suffered themselves to be cut to pieces, almost without resistance. One regiment of Highlanders only made a proper resistance; they were very little affected with the enthusiasm of their brethren, and did not rely on the miraculous interposition of heaven for assistance. They exerted their whole power, and for some time stopped the career of the English. But being abandoned by their friends, they were obliged to submit to superior force, and leave the field of battle to the enemy.

Cromwell's victory was complete; upwards of four thousand Scots were slain on the field of battle, and ten thousand taken prisoners; together with all their colours, arms, ammunition, tents and baggage. The English general pursued his advantage, and took possession of Edinburgh and Leith; while the remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling. The approach of winter, and an intermitting fever, with which he was seized, prevented Cromwell from advancing farther into the kingdom.

He now boldly attacked the Scottish divines with their own weapons, and published several letters in which he openly defended the independent principles; and asked them, with an air of triumph, whether the Lord had not declared against them? They replied, that the Lord had only hid his face for a time from Jacob; but would soon arise to vindicate the cause of his people. Cromwell retorted their arguments with great force, and was certainly more than a match for them in the argument. "You say," said this artful leader, "you have not so learned Christ, as to hang the equity of your cause upon events. We could wish that blindness had not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations which God hath lately wrought in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not we and you to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the great God, in this mighty and strange appearance of his, instead of lightly calling it an event? Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, while we waited upon God, to see which way he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these mere events? The Lord pity you. Surely we fear, because it hath been a merciful and gracious deliverance to us.

"I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our prayers, that ye may find it. For yet, if we know our heart at all, our bowels do in Christ yearn towards the godly in Scotland."

Such were the triumphal expressions of this arch-hypocrite, over a fallen fanatical enemy. But the Scottish ministers supported their own tenets with the strongest perseverance. They imputed the late defeat to the manifold provocations of the king's house, of which they feared he had not thoroughly repented; to the secret intrusion of malignants into the king's family; and to the leaving a most malignant and profane guard of horse, who being sent for to be purged, arrived only two days before the defeat, and were suffered to fight among the godly. To such wretched evasions were these ministers reduced to ward off the blow of ridicule for their late promises of victory.

While Charles was at the head of an army in Scotland,



land, his servants and ambassadors abroad were treated with respect; and all the language of foreign courts, especially that of France and Spain, expressed their detestation of the English rebels and regicides. But in reality, these two courts neither wished nor endeavoured his restoration. The grand duke of Muscovy, at once more barbarous and more generous, received Colepepper as an agent from Charles, and supplied him with a large sum of money. The duke of Lorrain, though he had not a foot of land he could call his own, supplied Charles and his family with considerable sums. The prince of Orange continued to be his faithful and useful friend, and a few of the German princes threw their mites into his treasury. The king of Denmark assisted him to the utmost of his power, but his kingdom was poor, and being insulted by the Swedes, he was obliged to live in a precarious dependence on the Dutch. Christina, queen of Sweden, who cherished the most extraordinary passion for every thing that was extraordinary either in war or literature, was now so charmed with the exploits of Cromwell, that she entertained a kind of Platonic passion for his person, and recommended it to her council, and to the prince she intended for her successor, to avail themselves of the friendship of England.

A.D. 1651. Blake, Deane, and Popham, still continued to command the English fleet, which was now increased to more than double its former number; but the parliament was very uneasy that prince Rupert and his squadron had found a kind reception in the harbours of Portugal. The truth is, the Portuguese had at this time several very rich ships coming from the Brazils, which they were afraid might be intercepted by the fleets of the English parliament. The ships under the command of prince Rupert therefore promised to be of signal service to the Portuguese, and he had actually been invited thither before he left Ireland. In his passage, he lost two or three of his best ships in a storm; but he took a great many rich prizes, which he sold, and generously remitted the money to Charles. Vane, who resided at the court of Portugal, as agent from the English parliament, made vigorous remonstrances on this subject; but they were not much regarded, and, at last, the court of Portugal declared itself a friend to Charles. Upon this the parliament ordered Blake to sail immediately, with a strong squadron, to the coast of Portugal, and demand that the fleet of prince Rupert should be given up, as they were nothing better than rebels and pirates, and consequently entitled neither to protection nor neutrality. If this was denied, Blake had instructions to destroy them wherever he could find them. On his arrival at the mouth of the river of Lisbon, he demanded the fleet of prince Rupert; but the court of Portugal was so far from complying, that the king declared he would suffer no more English ships to enter his ports or harbours, and Blake found himself in no condition to force his entrance. He was soon after joined by Popham; and the Portuguese finding themselves unable to support the prince any longer, orders were sent to him for quitting the Tagus, and he was fortunate enough to make his escape. Blake revenged this disappointment on the king of Portugal, by taking twenty ships of his Brazil fleet; and it was not without great difficulty, and making many submissions, that he obtained a peace with the English republic.

The dreadful defeat at Dunbar, and the ridicule thrown on the Scottish ministers by Cromwell, was far from curing them of their fanatical madness. They had been very open in declaring, that they had taken up arms in defence of the covenant, not for the crown, and were therefore equally hated by the royalists and independents. Those jarring dispositions had fatal effects on the royal service. It was now sufficiently evident, that the covenanters neither could nor would restore the king; and the best officers he had to depend upon were royalists, who

disdaining the meanness and self-sufficiency of the Scotch presbyterians, refused to submit to their discipline. The marquis of Argyle, would he have trusted the royalists, might have retrieved the late defeat; but the longer he conversed with Charles, the more reason he saw to distrust him; and to keep a very watchful eye over his conduct. Charles had in his conversation something bewitchingly soft: he talked to the Scots in their own language: his address was easy and insinuating; his person beautiful; and his understanding far superior to what Argyle expected. But the marquis was convinced that he both despised and hated the covenanters; that all he did was from convenience or necessity; that he was tinctured with arbitrary principles; and that the misfortunes of his family had only taught him the art of dissimulation, in order to re-establish his power. Argyle could not avail himself of the assistance of either the episcopal or presbyterian royalists: his bloody proceedings against Montrose and his friends, who acted under the king's commission, had struck all mankind with horror. He saw the consequences of his conduct, and trembled for the event, whenever the king was intrusted with the powers of royalty. He therefore treated Charles with more condescension, and removed several particulars which had rendered him very uneasy.

Charles was not ignorant of the causes that produced this relaxation, and began to exert some power with regard to his own affairs. His principal resource lay in the affections of his friends: for when the revenues of the kingdom of Scotland were stated, they amounted to no more than seventeen thousand six hundred and ten pounds, eighteen shillings and eight-pence sterling, to defray all the charges of his court and government. This poverty was owing to the rapaciousness of the Scots themselves, who, ever since the accession of the Stuart family to the crown of England, had been in a manner quartered on the royal revenues, and had raised both fortunes and families from what they had extorted from the crown. But this was no time for resumption; and Charles, at present, enjoyed a decent state, and had about him the proper officers of the Scottish court. Charles now ventured to propose, at the council-board, proper persons for commissions in his army; and several of the counsellors, knowing the king's inclinations, resumed courage sufficient to second him, even without applying to Argyle for leave. At last the royalists joining with the more moderate presbyterians, Lesley was charged, in direct terms, with treachery at the battle of Dunbar, and required by the royal council assembled at Perth to deliver in to the board a circumstantial account of his behaviour that day.

This coalition between the protestants and moderate presbyterians rendered the conquest of Scotland a work of more difficulty than Cromwell before imagined, considering the complete victory he had obtained at Dunbar. The castle of Edinburgh still held out. Charles was in possession of the pass at Stirling, and behind him lay the most populous and best affected counties in Scotland; while the country where Cromwell lay had been eaten up, and the inhabitants looked upon his men as infernal demons. The king's levies were going on with great success, and there was no doubt but he would soon be at the head of a much stronger army than that which had been defeated at Dunbar. These circumstances, and the increasing aversion of the country towards his army, gave Cromwell infinite uneasiness. He endeavoured to reconcile the people to his person, by treating them with uncommon humanity in his marches. He sent a messenger to the governor of Edinburgh castle, inviting the preachers to take again possession of their pulpits, provided they meddled not with the civil affairs of the kingdom in their sermons. This invitation was rejected with disdain; and they treated his offers with the most contumelious language.

In the mean time, the independent faction at West



ministers were extremely careful to make every success, either of their arms or councils, a kind of test for discovering their enemies. They ordered a thanksgiving to be observed for the advantages gained over the Scots at Dunbar. Many of the presbyterians refused to observe it, and were persecuted on that account with great severity; but they were unfortunate in their prosecutions; hardly a jury could be found that would bring in their verdict, guilty. Another high court of justice was therefore established for the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and the Isle of Ely. Orders were also issued, by Cromwell's direction, for raising new bodies of horse and foot in every part of the kingdom; the pay of the officers and soldiers, both by sea and land, was augmented; and the greatest industry and punctuality observed in procuring supplies, both for the fleet and army.

As these augmentations rendered it necessary for the parliament to increase the revenues of the kingdom, the contributions on the public were raised to one hundred thousand pounds a month. They encouraged the importation of bullion; they imposed a test, called An Engagement, upon all the people who lived under their government; by which they were obliged to swear fidelity to the commonwealth, as constituted without a king or house of lords. They also passed several other acts, all of them tending to encourage their friends, and terrify their enemies. The truth is, the presbyterians had lost the majority in the house. There were, however, still several men of too great abilities to pay any attention to the mere forms of religion: these were republicans; and though they hated Cromwell, they joined the independents; because they thought their principles better adapted to the establishment of a commonwealth.

But notwithstanding these acquisitions gained by the parliament, Cromwell was still in a very indifferent state in Scotland. He was unable to attack Charles, whose army lay beyond the Forth, and who still continued to keep possession of Stirling. Cromwell's men began to be sickly, he himself was in a very indifferent state of health, the country round him was a desert, and he had no opportunity of performing any remarkable action, that might revive the drooping courage of his soldiers. Charles and the royalists had now attained a great ascendancy in Scotland, and he had been crowned at Scone, with as much magnificence as the temper of the times and the impoverished state of the revenues would admit. The marquis of Argyll still shewed great respect to his person, and had assisted at his coronation, where the king was obliged again to take the covenant, and to listen to many long speeches and prayers from the pulpit. The duke of Hamilton was, however, now admitted to court; and both the parliament and general assembly declared, that in a time of such imminent danger, there should be no exception of persons. This gave encouragement to the royalists, who now flocked from all quarters to the English standard. The duke of Hamilton commanded under Charles, Lesley was lieutenant-general, Middleton major-general of the horse, and Massie general of the English.

The royal army still increasing, Cromwell ordered colonel Overton to cross the Forth, at the head of sixteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse: these were followed by major-general Lambert, and colonel Okey, with another body of fifteen hundred foot, and eight hundred horse; while he himself marched towards Stirling, in order either to bring the Scots to a battle, or force them to divide their army. But when he came in sight of the Scottish camp, he found it too strong to be attacked, and their officers too cautious to be drawn from their post.

While both the main armies lay thus in sight of each other, an engagement happened in Fife between the forces that had passed the Forth under Lambert, and a strong detachment of the royalists, greatly to

the disadvantage of the latter, five of their regiments of foot, and the same number of horse, being cut to pieces, and fifteen hundred taken prisoners. Cromwell had foreseen great advantages from Lambert's passing the Forth: it was, indeed, one of the most masterly actions he ever performed; for he had imperceptibly strengthened Lambert's party to seven thousand men, by which he not only secured all the passes on the Forth, but put himself between the king and the northern provinces, on which the royalists chiefly depended.

Charles had now no choice, but that of fighting Cromwell, or marching into England. The army of the parliament had been weakened greatly by detachments; but the mouths of the violent covenanting preachers, since the defeat at Fife, were opened against Charles and all his adherents, whom they accused of being the authors of that dreadful misfortune. Charles therefore thought proper to march into England, where he hoped to be strongly supported by the friends to monarchy, who were still very numerous.

The march of the royal army left Cromwell, as it were, master of Scotland, and accordingly his conquests in that kingdom were rapid and important. He made himself master of Perth, with all the adjacent country, and detached Lambert to hang on the rear of the king's army. But he thought the march of the royalists into England of too much importance to trust the management of the war to any but himself; and accordingly, leaving general Monk to command in Scotland, he began his march in pursuit of the king, at the head of the main body of his army.

The best officers about Charles entertained very melancholy presages of the consequences that would probably attend this march; and, from an excellent letter wrote by the duke of Hamilton to his niece, it appears to have been considered as a desperate step, and that the royalists daily deserted from the army. But the presbyterian party at Westminster either considered, or affected to consider, this matter in a very different light. The conduct of Cromwell was blamed; he was accused of forcing an enemy into the bowels of England, and of having trifled away his advantages in Scotland, till it was too late to retrieve them. Cromwell paid little regard to these calumnies; he left his actions to speak for themselves. His absence, however, gave some advantage to his enemies; and they made great interest to save Love, a presbyterian preacher, who had for some time continued under sentence of death for being engaged in the service of the king. But Cromwell, who well knew that one instance of severity would have more effect upon the presbyterians than twenty of lenity, refused their request, and Love was accordingly executed. This severity increased the hatred of the presbyterians against Cromwell, and several warm speeches were made against him in parliament, for suffering the royal army to enter England. Ignorant of the effect these prepossessions might have on the parliament, Cromwell, in his letters, very freely owned, that he had suffered the king to march into England, from a persuasion, that if the parliament did their parts in defending the most tenable passes, his whole army must be ruined; whereas a winter campaign in Scotland might have ruined that of the parliament.

The king, who expected great reinforcements on his entering England, found himself greatly disappointed. Terrified at so dangerous an enterprise, the Scots lost their usual courage, and deserted in great numbers; while the English presbyterians, having received no intelligence of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. This measure was full as unexpected to the royalists; nor were they very desirous of joining the royal standard, as the Scottish ministers, even in this desperate extremity, had issued orders not to admit any who refused



refused to take the covenant. The earl of Derby had exerted all his interest to raise troops for the king's service; but before he was in a condition to march, his recruits were dispersed by a party of the parliamentary forces; so that when Charles reached Worcester, he found his army was not more numerous than when he began his march for England.

Cromwell followed the king with the utmost expedition; and being joined by the militia of the different counties through which he passed, he invested Worcester with an army of forty thousand men. On the third of September, he attacked the royalists, and the engagement soon became general, and very bloody. Charles led on his men in person, with an intrepidity which amazed even Cromwell himself; while the Scottish infantry behaved so gallantly, that they obliterated the mean opinion that usurper had always entertained of their courage. By this time Cromwell had brought up some field-pieces, to make good the passes he had gained; but these were attacked with so much impetuosity by the duke of Hamilton's regiment, that the artillery was, for some time, in the power of the royalists. Charles endeavoured to improve this advantage, and charged, at the head of some of his battalions, with so much spirit, that Cromwell was obliged to bring up his veterans, whom he had hitherto spared. The dispute was now no longer equal; for Lesley, the Scottish general, remained in the city with his horse, as if they had been unconcerned spectators of the engagement. The parliamentary army now made a general attack on all the posts of the royalists, and were every where successful. The brave duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded. General Massey was also wounded, and taken prisoner. Charles, however, still made a noble defence: he had two horses killed under him, but he was always foremost in every post of danger. Had Lesley done his duty, Cromwell must have purchased his victory very dear; but he continued totally inactive, notwithstanding the dreadful carnage of his countrymen. The king made another effort to lead his broken troops to the charge; but neither his actions, his words, nor his presence, could prevail. The tide of victory became irresistible; and Cromwell entered Worcester sword in hand; nor could Charles prevail on the Scottish cavalry, who were still unbroken, to make one attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day. The king must now have fallen into the enemy's hand, had not the brave colonel Drummond, and a few battalions of foot, stopped the victors at Sudburygate, while Charles made his escape through the gate of St. Martin's in the dusk of the evening. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Shrewsbury, Cleveland and Derby, and about sixty horse. This defeat was fatal to the Scottish army, the greater number being either killed or taken prisoners; and many of the parties that escaped were put to death by the country people.

Distress is a powerful advocate for fallen majesty; and the loss which Charles sustained by this total defeat was amply compensated by the pity, the love, the esteem, and the tenderness which now touched the hearts of the people. The English seemed to be ashamed of their own triumphs; and some who had been remarkably forward in opposing his progress, were now the first in commiserating his misfortunes. His unmerited sufferings, his courage, his constancy, were the general topics of discourse; while his escapes from the unremitted vigilance of his inveterate enemies, were considered as so many miraculous indications that he was destined to sway the sceptre of England.

It could not be expected that Charles, attended by so many of his friends, could ever escape from his pursuers; and it was therefore thought prudent that the king should seek for that protection alone which was despaired of with his companions. On their arrival at Kidderminster, the king, pursuant to the advice of the earl of Derby, retired to Boscobel, a

lonely house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. This man was an unshaken friend to the royal party; and though death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a large reward promised to any who should betray him, Penderell preserved an incorruptible integrity. He had, indeed, a dignity of sentiment far superior to his condition; and was more pleased with having it in his power to conceal his royal master, than to have enjoyed all the advantages Cromwell was able to bestow. He had four brothers equally loyal with himself, and these all joined in assisting their distressed sovereign. The king was clothed in the dress of a peasant, and carried into the woods with a bill in his hand, where they pretended to be employed in making faggots. Colonel Careless only, of all his attendants, was now his companion, except the five faithful Penderells. He sometimes lay on straw in the house, and sometimes in the fields. But even this manner of life was exposed to the utmost danger. Two strangers continuing some time at Boscobel, could not be concealed from the servants, and parties of the parliament's army were dispersed all over the neighbourhood, in search of his majesty. It was therefore thought prudent that the king and Careless should continue constantly in the woods; and, for the better security, they mounted upon a large oak, the leaves and branches of which sheltered them from the sight of the enemy. While they continued in this retreat, they saw several soldiers pass by in search of the king; and some of them expressed, in their hearing, their earnest desire of seizing him. This tree was, for many years after, held in great veneration; and, for having concealed his majesty from the sight of his enemies, was called, The Royal Oak.

But notwithstanding all their precautions, it was found impossible to conceal the king any longer at Boscobel; and it was proposed by lord Wilmot, who had now joined him, to repair to the house of Mr. Whitegrave, a catholic gentleman, who lived at some distance from Boscobel, and where lord Wilmot had, before he joined his royal master, been concealed. They accordingly passed thither with the five Penderells, and met with a very kind reception. During the whole time, the parliament's officers were very assiduous in their inquiries after all strangers that were lately arrived in these parts; and, perhaps, all the fidelity of his friends would not have been sufficient to have saved him, had not the houses, whither he retired, generally belonged to Roman catholics, and contained several secret hiding-places in the walls and wainscot, where they concealed their persecuted priests, when their houses were searched by the officers of justice.

Colonel Lane, a zealous loyalist, who resided at Bentley, not many miles distant from Whitegrave's house, was now made acquainted with the king's distress, and the necessary precautions were taken for carrying him thither. But his majesty's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots, or countrymen's shoes, which did not fit him, that he was forced to mount on horseback; and in this manner he travelled to Bentley, still attended by the five Penderells, his faithful companions. After some consultation, it was resolved that the king should repair to Bristol, where it was hoped a ship might be found to carry him over to the continent: and, in order to prevent any discovery being made during the journey, it was proposed to make use of a pals that had been procured for Mrs. Jane Lane, the colonel's sister, for herself and servant to visit Mrs. Norton, a near relation, who lived within three miles of Bristol. Charles was accordingly dressed in the habit of a servant, and rode before the lady, lord Wilmot, with a hawk on his hand, passing for a stranger who had joined them by accident.

Nothing remarkable happened during their journey; but on their arrival at Norton's house, Mrs. Lane pretended that her servant had been taken ill on the road, and desired that he might have a private room,



room, where he might be quiet. In this chamber Charles kept himself concealed; but he was known by one Pope, the butler, at his first entering the house. He, however, prudently concealed the discovery, but took the first opportunity of throwing himself on his knees before the king, and praying for his life and preservation. Charles was greatly alarmed at this incident, but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret inviolably, and he scrupulously performed the engagement.

After continuing some days at Norton's house, they were informed that no ship was expected to sail from Bristol either to France or Spain in less than a month. This rendered their scheme abortive; and it was agreed that the king should intrust his person to colonel Windham of Dorsetshire, a gentleman who had always been a zealous partizan of the royal family. Before he received the king, Windham asked leave to intrust the secret to his mother, his wife, and four servants, on whose fidelity he could depend; and not one of them proved wanting either in honour or discretion. Here the king continued nineteen days, and all his friends in every part of Europe were held in the most anxious suspense with regard to his safety. It was indeed generally imagined that he was dead, and this notion prevailing strongly among his enemies, operated greatly in his favour, by relaxing their diligence. After leaving Windham's house he repaired to Charmouth, where he was in the utmost danger of being discovered by the sagacity of a blacksmith, who declared that the horse on which his majesty rode had been shod in the north, and not, as he pretended, in the west of England. This intelligence of the smith rendered it necessary for Charles to leave the place immediately, and he was fortunate enough to reach Windham's house, before the neighbourhood was informed of the discovery.

It was now determined that he should pass into Suffex, where it was hoped a vessel might be found to carry him over to the continent. He accordingly went to Hale near Salisbury, and thence to Bright-helmstone, where he continued till a ship could be provided for his passage. This was at last accomplished, and on the fifteenth of October he embarked in a small vessel at Shoreham, and was landed at Feschamp, in Normandy, after having been concealed no less than two and forty days in England. His escape was truly wonderful, some of the royalists have termed it miraculous. But the most extraordinary part of the whole is, the inviolable attachment which all, who either discovered him, or to whom he discovered himself, expressed for his person. Tho' no less than forty persons of both sexes were intrusted with the secret, and though every method was used by Cromwell for discovering where he was concealed, yet not one of them ever wavered in their affection, though their vanity sometimes got so much the better of their loyalty, that all his party in the neighbourhood knew the house where he was sheltered.

The success of Monk in Scotland completed the destruction of the royal party, and rendered the triumph of the parliament complete. He took the strong castle of Stirling, where he found forty pieces of cannon, five thousand stands of arms, the regalia and records of Scotland, and other rich booty. He afterwards surprized and made prisoners the earls of Leven and Crawford, with the principal nobility and gentry, whom he either knew or supposed to be enemies to the English parliament. He stormed Dundee, and put the governor and garrison to the sword. The plunder of this town was very considerable, Whitlock says the common soldiers had five hundred pounds to their share; fifty sail of ships were taken in the harbour, and thirty pieces of ordnance in the town. All the Lowlands of Scotland now submitted; but the Highlands, where the bravest and most warlike part of the inhabitants resided, still supported themselves under two rival chiefs, the marquiss of Huntley and Argyre.

This success in Scotland added to the victory

Cromwell had gained at Worcester, rendered him absolutely master of the kingdom. He called the destruction of the royal army at Worcester, his "crowning mercy;" and was so elated with his success in that decisive battle, that he intended to have conferred the honour of knighthood on two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood, in the field; and it was not without great difficulty that his friends dissuaded him from exercising that act of legal authority. His power and ambition were both too great to brook submission to the empty name of a republic, which subsisted merely by his influence, and was supported by his victories. According to Whitlock, he now communicated to his most intimate friends the views he had formed on the crown itself; and expressed a desire of assuming the regal power, which he had so long and so effectually laboured to abolish. He well knew that the members in parliament, who at present governed the nation, were despised by the people, and their views too much confined to qualify them for legislators. Their whole attention was engrossed by selfish aims and fanatical bigotry. Their rigid austerity was carried to the greatest height; and they had hardly made any progress in the important work of fixing a new plan of government, and settling a juster model of representation.

All these particulars were favourable to Cromwell's scheme of power; the army was at his devotion, and he had no competitor in authority. The only person that seemed capable of making any opposition to his ambitious scheme was Ireton, who commanded the troops in Ireland, but he soon after died of the plague, and left Cromwell at full liberty to prosecute the plan he had formed. Ireton was famous for his vigilance, industry, capacity, and even for the strict execution of justice in that unlimited command he possessed in Ireland. He was observed to be inflexible in all his purposes; and it was believed by many, that he was animated with a sincere and passionate love of liberty, and could never have been induced, by any motive whatever, to submit to the smallest appearance of regal government.

A. D. 1652. No farther opposition being apprehended either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, the parliament turned their thoughts towards the affairs of the continent; and the Dutch were the first who felt the vigour of their arms. The states had observed an exact neutrality with regard to the civil wars of England; during the life of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange; but after his death, when his son William, who married an English princess, succeeded him in power, they were accused of betraying an inveterate prejudice against the English parliament, and of assisting the royal party. After the death of William, which was attended with the depression of his party, it was hoped that a kind of a coalition might be effected between the two republics, and St. John, lord chief-justice, was sent to the Hague for that purpose. But he soon perceived that the states entertained a contemptible idea of a government whose measures were so obnoxious to the people. They offered indeed to renew the former alliances with England, but refused any nearer connection. Disgusted with this refusal, and incensed at many affronts offered him with impunity, the haughty St. John returned to England, and exerted all his interest to excite a war between the two republics.

St. John, who had a great ascendancy over Cromwell, soon accomplished his designs. He represented to the parliament, that the Dutch sought nothing so much, as to dispute with England the government of the seas; that in all their papers they mentioned Charles II. which was a tacit recognition of his authority; that in all their professions they were insincere, and that it was necessary for the English to depress those, whose friendship they could not gain. These representations had the desired effect, and under pretence of providing for the interest of commerce, the parliament embraced such measures as they knew would sufficiently disgust the states. They formed the famous



famous act of navigation; which prohibited all-nations from importing into England in their own bottoms, any commodity not the growth and manufacture of their own country. Though the terms in which this statute was conceived were general, yet the Dutch were principally injured; because their country produced few commodities, and they subsisted chiefly on being the general factors and carriers of the world. Several merchants complaining of injuries, they pretended to have received, obtained letters of reprisal against the states, and about eighty of their merchant ships were taken. About thirty years before the Dutch had practised the most horrid cruelties on the English merchants in Amboyna; these were now complained of, and even satisfaction demanded.

Alarmed at these proceedings which indicated an approaching rupture, the states sent ambassadors to London in order to renew, if possible, the treaty of alliance that had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St. John. They represented that famous republican as a person whom it was impossible to please; and that they either granted, or were willing to grant every thing that he asked. But the parliament believed St. John rather than the Dutch, and all the preparations for an approaching war were made with great vigour and alacrity.

Soon after an English man of war falling in with a fleet of Dutch fishermen, demanded the usual acknowledgement. This being refused the captain sunk one of the Dutch vessels with all her crew. All negotiations were now suspended. The Dutch following the example of the English in issuing letters of reprisal, and in a few days appeared before Portsmouth with a fleet of forty-five sail. The English marine was not immediately in a condition to resent this insult, but their motions were watched by commodore Brown till Blake's squadron was in a condition of meeting them on the open sea. This required no great length of time; such dispatch was used in the different departments, that in less than six weeks Blake was sailed with a considerable fleet. About the middle of May, he discovered the Dutch squadron commanded by their celebrated admiral Van Tromp, and immediately made a signal for his paying respect to the English flag. The signal being disregarded, Blake, though his squadron consisted only of twenty-six ships, formed the line of battle, and advanced towards the enemy. Before he came within gun shot he was joined by eight ships, and soon after the action began with great fury, and lasted till night put an end to the battle. Blake's ship being considerably a-head of the rest, was exposed, for some time, to the whole fire of the enemy, but his other ships coming up the attention of the Dutch was divided. One of the Dutch ships was taken, and another sunk by the English, who lost only fifteen men in the engagement. The next morning the Dutch fleet was perceived at four leagues distance, steering towards the coast of France. The truth is, neither of the admirals were desirous of renewing the engagement, as they had received no orders to fight but in case of necessity.

The Dutch pretended that Van Tromp had exceeded his commission, and that he had been forced upon the English coast by stress of weather. But the English parliament affected to disbelieve their most solemn assurances, and voted a letter of thanks to Blake for his behaviour. Cromwell himself repaired to Dover to encourage Blake and the seamen to do their duty, and to assure them that they should want for nothing.

The Dutch soon perceived they had been mistaken in the notions they had formed with regard to the English commonwealth; and Paw, their ambassador extraordinary at London, received orders to exert all his power, for putting a stop to hostilities; but all his endeavours were in vain. The parliament indeed behaved with politeness both towards Paw and his masters; but at the same time redoubled their applications to increase the power of their navy. Sir

George Ascue received a commission independent of that of Blake, and soon after destroyed about thirty sail of the St. Ube's fleet; while Blake, in less than a month sent upwards of forty sail of rich prizes into the Thames. He now stood to the northward, in order to assert the right of his country to the British fishery. This service he nobly performed; he took their whole convoy of twelve men of war, one only excepted that was fortunate enough to escape. He might also have destroyed all their fishing vessels, but suffered them to continue their occupation on their promising never to return to the English coast without leave, and on their paying the tenth herring.

This expedition of Blake, though attended with the greatest success, had nearly proved fatal to the squadron of Sir George Ascue, who was left in the Downs. For Van Tromp, whose fleet was far superior to that of Ascue, was then at sea, and attempted to take advantage of Blake's absence. He stood accordingly towards the English coasts, but was overtaken by so dreadful a storm, that he was obliged to return to Holland to repair the damages his ships had received. His fleet was now increased to one hundred and fifty sail, and his appearance was so formidable, that it was thought necessary to erect a platform and mount it with cannon, between Deal and Sandown-castle, and to line the shore with militia. Ascue lay as near as possible to the strand, but his whole squadron, which consisted only of fifteen ships, must have been destroyed had not the wind immediately changed, and prevented the Dutch from reaching the English shore; and the Dutch merchant ships being impatient for a convoy to the northward, Van Tromp took them under his protection, hoping he should be fortunate enough to meet with Blake in the north sea. He was, however, disappointed, but greatly distressed the English trade to Newcastle, while Blake took two of the Dutch East-India ships. The weather proving extremely tempestuous, Tromp found it impossible to keep the sea, and accordingly returned once more to Holland with no more than forty ships, some being lost, and the remainder not arriving in the Texel till some weeks after.

In the mean time Ascue sent some of his ships to convoy home a rich East India fleet, while he himself cruised between Dover and Calais, where he took ten Flemish ships, and forced twenty to run ashore. The famous de Ruyter was now appointed to command a squadron of about fifty Dutch men of war, and sent to convoy home a large fleet of merchantmen. Ascue, whose squadron amounted only to thirty-eight ships, fell in with this convoy on the sixteenth of August; and though his force was so far unequal, he attacked de Ruyter, and destroyed several of the Dutch ships; but some of his captains not seconding the attack of their leaders, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after the fight had continued with the utmost fury near four hours. Captain Peck, who acted as rear-admiral was mortally wounded, and most of the ships that charged the enemy were greatly shattered. Ascue, however, renewed the attack in the morning, but with no better success. He made another attempt on the third day, but his ships were now so shattered in their rigging that he was again obliged to desist, and return to Plymouth to refit, and the Dutch continued their course to Holland.

The jealousy which always attends a true republican spirit appeared eminently on this occasion. Ascue had done the public more eminent services at sea, than even Blake himself had hitherto performed; but he had acted as a true Englishman; and when he reduced Barbadoes under the government of the commonwealth, he granted such advantageous terms to lord Willoughby, colonel Waldron, and other royalists in that island, that the council of state suspected his principles. And notwithstanding his eminent services, he was now laid aside. He was, however, presented with three hundred pounds in money, and three hundred pounds a year landed estate in Ireland.



The English parliament, though they parted with this able officer, were not ignorant that the Dutch were soliciting all the princes in Europe to join them against the English. At the same time, they knew the Dutch had above an hundred sail of ships ready for the sea, and reason to think the French would soon assist them; yet the imperious parliament would hearken to no reasons for putting an end to hostilities. Elated with the numerous successes they had obtained over their domestic enemies, they were persuaded that nothing could stand before their victorious arms. Blake, who was now returned from the north, carried his fleet into different harbours to refit; and as soon as every thing could be got ready, he was ordered to put to sea, and take or destroy all the Dutch or French vessels he met with in his cruize.

The whole naval power of the Dutch was now at sea, under the command of de Wit and de Ruyter, and Blake did all in his power to bring them to a decisive engagement. But the Dutch admirals having a rich fleet of merchantmen under their convoy, avoided a battle, which they knew must be fatal to some of their ships. They had, however, no sooner secured their convoy, than they stood towards the English, drawn up in a line of battle. Blake, though his fleet was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, advanced to engage them. He divided his ships into three squadrons; the first commanded by himself, in the *Sovereign*, the largest ship in the English navy; the second by Penn, and the third by Bourn. He began the battle himself; but there being a sand-bank between the two fleets, the *Sovereign*, the *Resolution*, and the *St. Andrew*, all first rates, struck upon the shoal. Persuaded that these three ships were now rendered unserviceable, the Dutch admirals stood farther off to sea, in order to bring on a closer engagement. The three ships got off the sand with very little damage, and a furious battle ensued. The largest ship in the Dutch fleet, followed by two more, bore down upon the *Sovereign*, on board of which Blake's flag was hoisted, and attacked her with the utmost fury. But they had soon cause to repent of their temerity. The first broadside of the *Sovereign* sent the headmost ship to the bottom; and the others, intimidated by the dreadful incident, retreated back to their fleet. Night at last put an end to the engagement, but not before the Dutch rear-admiral was taken. De Wit took the advantage of the night to bear away from the English, whose ships were so shattered in their rigging, that they could not follow him.

The same success did not attend the English in the Mediterranean, where commodore Badily was stationed, with a small squadron, to protect the English trade. Van Galen, the Dutch admiral, who was much superior in force, defeated him; but he purchased the victory with the loss of his life. Badily retired under the cannon of Porto Longone, where his ships were protected by the governor.

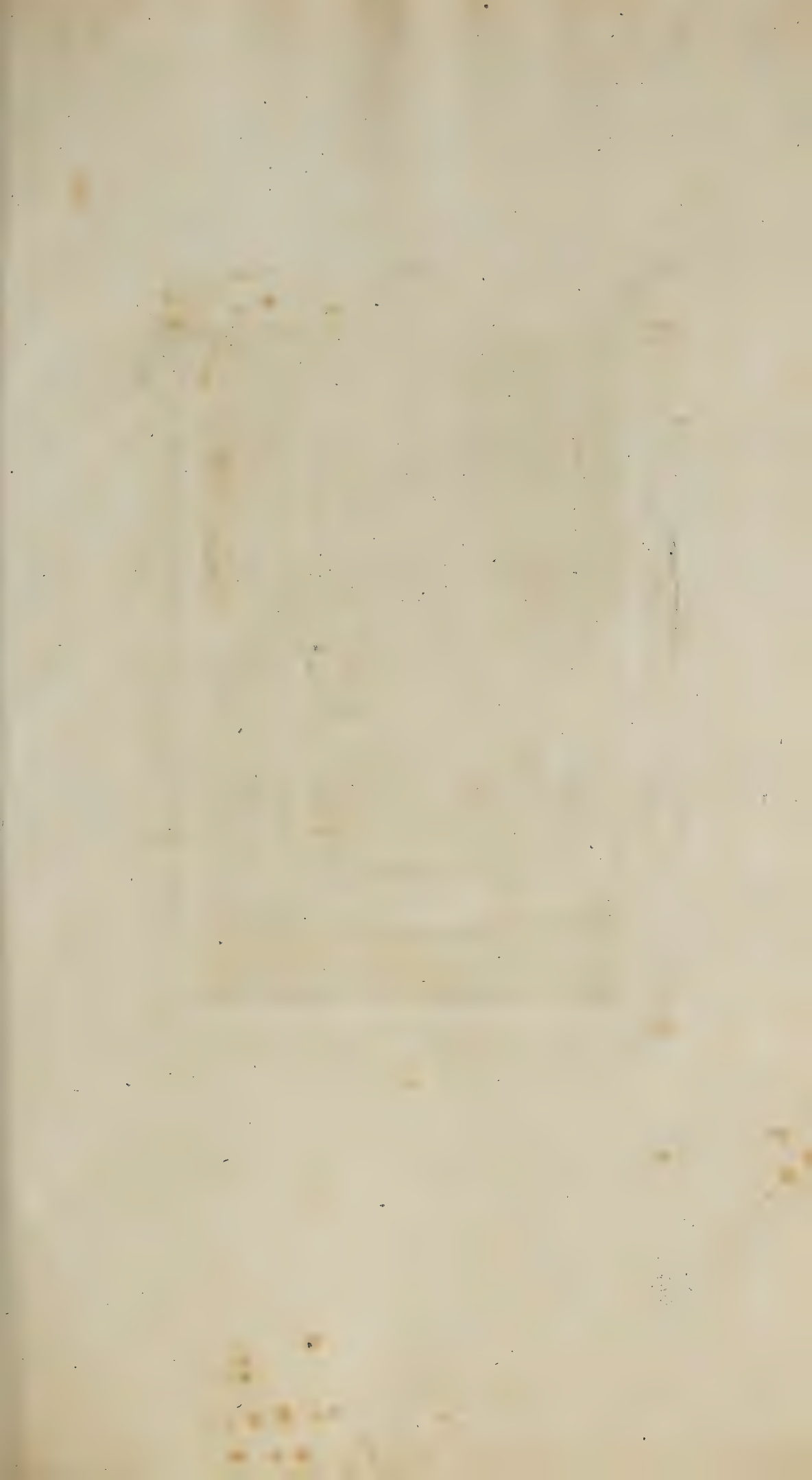
Sea-fights are hardly ever so decisive, as to disable the vanquished from being, in a short time, in a condition to face the victors. Van Tromp failed with a fleet sufficiently numerous to recover the honour the Dutch had lost in the late engagement. It consisted of one hundred and ten sail of men of war, besides seventeen which joined him; a few days after, from Zealand. It seems as if the English had placed too much confidence in the divisions among the states, with regard to Van Tromp, who had been laid aside since his engagement with Blake, and it was thought would not be any more employed during the war, and that it would be impossible for the Dutch to fit out a fleet of any great strength that season. In consequence of this opinion, Blake had detached twenty sail of his ships to convoy the colliers from Newcastle; twelve were laid up at Plymouth, and fifteen sent up the river Medway to refit. The admiral had, therefore, only thirty-seven sail of ships with him in the Downs when Tromp appeared in the English channel. He had under his convoy

three, some say five, hundred sail of merchantmen. But he had no sooner conducted them to a place of safety, than he stood directly for the Downs, with a fleet of eighty sail of men of war. Blake perceived the Dutch admiral advancing towards him in the morning of the twenty-ninth of November; and though his squadron was so far inferior to that of the enemy, he determined not to refuse the engagement. The fight accordingly began about eleven in the morning, and lasted till six in the evening, but with infinite disadvantage to the English. The great force of the engagement fell upon Blake's own ship, the *Triumph*, and two others, the *Victory* and the *Vanguard*, which were attacked by twenty of the Dutch ships, and fought them all for a considerable time before any other ships could come to their assistance. Towards the evening, the *Garland*, commanded by captain Batton, and the *Bonadventure*, commanded by captain Hookston, attacked Van Tromp's own ship, and would have taken her, had not several of the Dutch fleet come to her assistance. They, however, paid dear for their temerity; they were both killed, and their ships taken. Blake, desirous of saving these two ships, pushed forward, and by that means brought himself into so desperate a situation, that it was with the utmost difficulty he was saved by the assistance of the *Vanguard* and the *Sapphire*. Fortunately for the English, night soon after put an end to the engagement: two hours longer of day-light would have proved the destruction of their whole fleet. Blake retired first to Dover, and then to the mouth of the Thames, having lost, besides the two ships already mentioned, the *Hercules*, and two merchantmen. Blake himself was dangerously wounded; and a great number of his men, and several of his officers, killed. Tromp was so elated with this victory, that he fixed a broom at his main-top-mast-head, intimating, that he intended to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels.

A.D. 1653. This defeat only tended to animate the English to wipe off the disgrace. The utmost efforts were made to fit out a fleet sufficient to recover the losses sustained in the late engagement. Among other encouragements, the pay of the seamen was increased; a larger share of the prizes taken from the enemy was allotted them; and Monk, at Blake's particular request, was sent for from Scotland to assist him in the command. The true reason for this seems to have been the death of Popham, who was buried with a profusion of honours, and the necessity of having a land officer on board the fleet to command the soldiers in time of action, but without any separate command at other times. So much expedition was used, that by the eleventh of February, Blake was at sea, with a fleet of sixty sail of men of war. Several of his ships were new, and all of them much better manned than before. That nothing might be wanting to encourage the seamen and soldiers, hospitals for the reception of their sick and wounded were erected all along the coasts; and Blake's fleet was so stationed off Portland, that Tromp, who had above one hundred and fifty merchantmen under his convoy, could not avoid an engagement on the eighteenth of February.

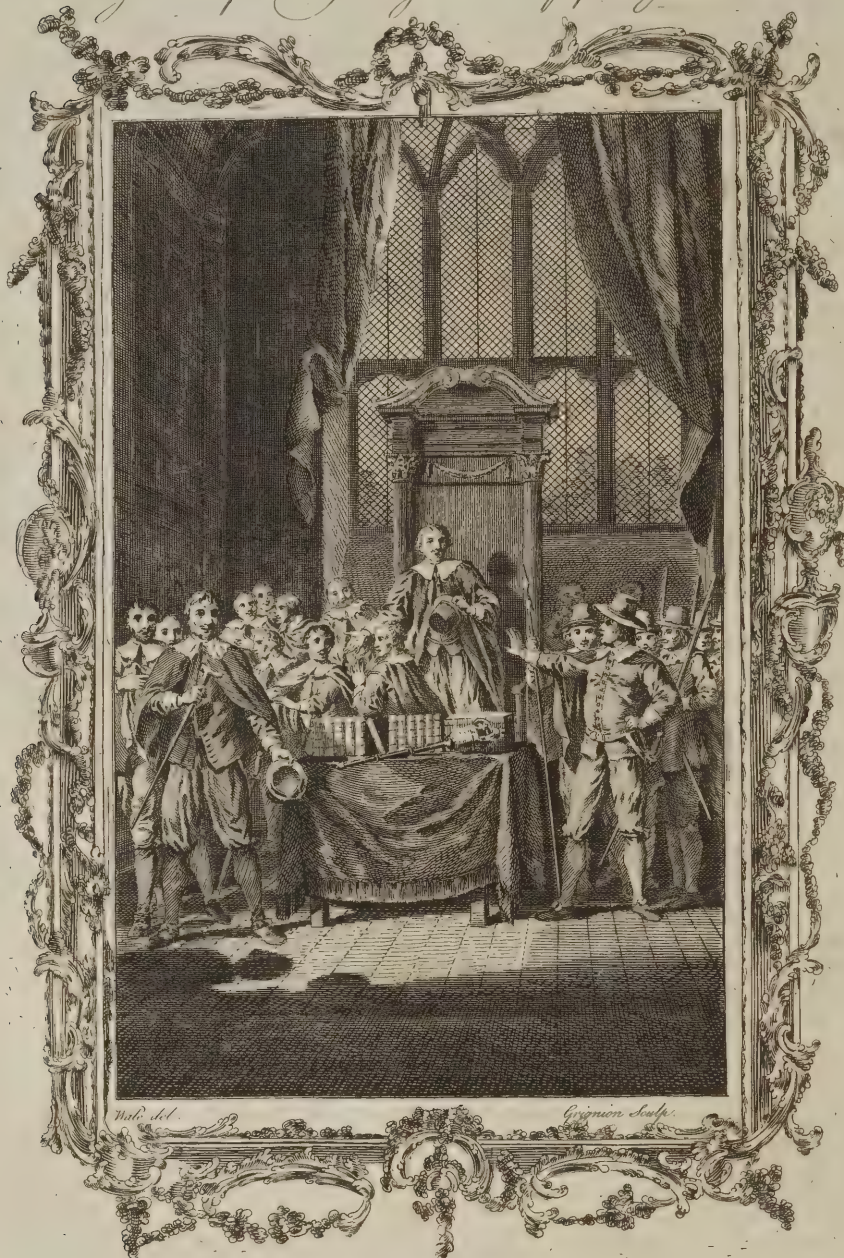
The fight was begun about eight in the morning, by Blake, in the *Triumph*, seconded with about twelve other ships; among which was the *Fairfax*, commanded by captain Lawfon, and the *Vanguard*, by captain Mildmay. The impetuous courage of Blake had its usual consequence; it exposed him to the most imminent danger: for this small squadron bore the whole fire and fury of the Dutch till the rest of the fleet could come up to their assistance, which was not till some time after. This battle far exceeded all that had been hitherto fought between the two republics. Amazed and confounded with the strength, the order, and the discipline of the English, the Dutch exerted all their force to destroy Blake's fleet; while Blake, stung with his late misfortune, collected all his force to be revenged on the Dutch.







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Cromwell Dissolving the Long PARLIAMENT*



Dutch. The sea was covered with wrecks, and the fire from the ships so quick and violent, that, for some time, there was a dead calm. In the mean time, the fury of the combatants was astonishing; they bore down close to one another, and received the whole of every broadside: it seemed as if the dispute had not been victory, but which should first go to the bottom. The *Triumph* bore the whole fury of this dreadful fire; and must have been either sunk or taken, had the not been relieved by *Lawton*. *Blake* was wounded in the thigh; *Mildmay* in the Vanguard, and *Ball* in the *Triumph*, were killed. The admiral's secretary was killed by his side. The *Prosperous*, a forty-four gun ship, was boarded by the Dutch, but saved by the *Merlin* frigate. The *Assistance* and the *Advice* were both disabled, and obliged to put into *Portsmouth*. The *Fairfax* lost a hundred men, the *Triumph* as many; and captain *Batten*, in the *Samphon*, after sinking one of the enemy's ships, found it impossible to keep his own above water; and was obliged to go, with his crew, on board other ships. But this was far from being equal to the loss sustained by the Dutch. Three days was the battle continued, with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and *Blake*, who was victor, obtained not more honour than *Tromp*, who was vanquished. He made so skilful a retreat, that he saved the greater part of his convoy, which was very large, thirty only of his merchantmen falling into the hands of the English. He, however, lost eleven ships of war, had two thousand men killed, and near fifteen hundred taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were dreadfully shattered, lost only one. Their slain were not much inferior to that of the enemy; but they gained the immortal honour of filling their rival republic with the terrors of their power and valour.

This success of the English was, in a great measure, owing to the size of their ships; an advantage which all the skill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compensate. But the misfortunes which the Dutch met with in battle, were small in comparison of those which their trade suffered from the English. Their whole commerce by the channel was cut off; even that with the Baltic suffered greatly by the English privateers. Their fisheries were totally suspended. Above sixteen hundred of their ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Nor was this distress suffered from any national interest or necessity, but from vain points of honour and national resentments, of which it was difficult to give a satisfactory account to the people.

Cromwell was filled with sentiments very different from those of the public at these triumphs of the parliament. The remembrance of his exploits was now but faint, and one farther step to glory must have placed the republicans superior to every thing but envy. He knew not how soon his soldiers, infected with a passion for increasing the glory of their country, might declare for the parliament; and should that happen, one single vote would be sufficient to destroy at once his greatness and his power. No time had yet been fixed for the dissolution of the parliament; and while he was a subject, and consequently accountable, it was the same to him whether the presiding power was a monarchy or a commonwealth. He indeed commanded the army, and the troops were at present at his devotion; but these triumphs at sea seemed greatly to lessen their regard for their favourite general; they desired to share in the honours of their countrymen. On the other hand, the zealous republicans set up the fleet in opposition to the army, and celebrated, with uncommon demonstrations of joy, the successes of their naval armaments. They even ventured to urge the necessity of diminishing the number of the land forces, which they represented as no longer necessary to support the domestic peace of the nation. Cromwell plainly perceived that they entertained a jealousy of his power and ambitious designs, and were resolved to render him subordinate to their authority. This he resolved

to prevent; and the only method of effecting it, was by dissolving the parliament. He accordingly summoned a general council of officers, and soon found that they were ready to join him in any attempt he might think necessary. Most of them were indeed his creatures, owed their advancement entirely to his favour, and depended upon him for their future preferment. Some of them indeed were men of principle, but guided by notions so fanatically extravagant, that they were easily deluded into the most violent and most criminal measures.

Their first step was to vote a remonstrance to the parliament. It began with complaining of the arrears due to the army; and after applauding the parliament for their zeal and enterprise, represented to them, that it was now time to resign their seats, and leave to other members of the commonwealth the cares of government; and that they would now, by establishing a free and equal administration, perform the promise they had long since made to the people. The parliament was at once alarmed and exasperated at the temerity of the army; and after a violent debate, a sharp reply was returned to their remonstrance.

Cromwell now found no difficulty to inspire the council of officers with the sentiments he desired: they were sufficiently exasperated by the harsh answer returned by the parliament. *Harrison* having assured the council, that the general's design was only to pave the way for the government of *Jesus* and his saints, major *Street* replied, that it was necessary for *Jesus* to come quickly; for if he delayed it till after Christmas, he would find the seat of power occupied by another. While the officers were engaged in such debates, colonel *Ingoldsby* entered, and informed Cromwell, that the parliament had just voted not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the house by new elections; and that the manner of carrying this expedient into execution was the subject on which they were then deliberating. Exasperated at this intelligence, Cromwell left the council of officers; and taking with him three hundred soldiers, repaired to the house, leaving some of his men at the foot of the stairs, some at the entrance of the lobby, and some at the door. He advanced to his seat, and told his friend *St. John*, that he was come to do an act which grieved his very soul, and had besought the Lord, with prayers and tears, not to impose it upon him, but that the glory of God, and the good of the nation, rendered it absolutely necessary. He, however, sat still, and listened to the debates for some time; and then told colonel *Harrison*, that he thought the parliament was now sufficiently ripe for a dissolution. *Harrison* warned him of the danger that might attend a step of that nature, and desired him to consider the consequences before he attempted it. Cromwell accordingly sat still for some time longer; but when the speaker was just going to put the question, he started from his seat, accused the parliament, in the most opprobrious language, of tyranny, ambition, rapine, and injustice. Then stamping violently with his foot, the signal he had given the soldiers for entering the house, he cried out, "Get you gone for shame; give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord hath cast you off; he hath chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Then taking *Martin* by the cloak, "Thou art a whoremaster," said he. To a second, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton." And to a fourth, "Thou art an extortioner." The speaker, fond of his power and dignity, seemed unwilling to leave the chair, and kept his seat till he was in a manner pulled out of it by *Harrison*. Cromwell, pointing to the mace that lay on the table, said to one of the soldiers, "Take away that fool's bauble." Then turning himself to the house, he said, "It is you that have forced me upon this. I have fought the Lord,

"night



"night and day, with strong prayers and tears, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work; but he would not hear me." The soldiers soon cleared the house, and it was sufficiently evident, from the furious manner in which Cromwell behaved, that he would, in case of opposition, have put every man of them to death. Sir Peter Wentworth and Sir Henry Vane, were the only members that had the courage to upbraid him with his conduct, which they did in the severest terms, accusing him of ingratitude and treachery. He took no notice of what was said by the former, but interrupted the latter, by crying out with a terrible voice, "O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" As soon as the soldiers had cleared the house, Cromwell seized all the journals and public papers, ordered the doors to be locked, and carried the keys with him to Whitehall.

No circumstance in the life of this remarkable man, conveys a juster idea of his true character, than this memorable incident. It demonstrates that he was a person of the profoundest subtilty blended with the most fiery intrepidity. Incapable of moderation, he often passed from the excesses of debauchery to those of enthusiasm and religious austerity. When at war with the king he made no scruple of saying, that if he met him in battle he would put him to death with the same facility as a common soldier; and there was no doubt but he would have carried his threat into execution, had an opportunity offered. But this sudden dissolution of the parliament exceeded all the rest of his actions. He alone was capable of forming and executing so bold a design.

Persuaded that heaven had invested him with the sole administration of government, he at first intended to be the only dispenser of justice, and not to share his power with another: but upon more mature reflection he determined to satisfy the expectations of the people by governing them under the appearance of a republic. Accordingly he summoned one hundred and twenty-eight Englishmen, six Irish and five Scots to meet at London, and delegated to them, during fifteen months, the legislative authority, and which they were afterwards to transfer to one hundred and thirty-four others, chosen by themselves.

This assembly, selected from the fanatical dregs of the people, considered themselves as a true parliament, and acted accordingly. They began "by seeking God in prayer." Some particular enthusiasts were charged with this office, and declared, "That never in their usual transports of favour had they known the communication of the holy spirit in such abundance." Cromwell's first speech to this remarkable assembly is singular for that ridiculous mystery, under which he always concealed his hypocrisy. "I own, said he, that I never presumed to expect, nor you, perhaps, to see a day like unto this; when Jesus Christ is made known unto us even as at this day. Jesus Christ is at this day made known by your vocation, and you make him known by your zeal to appear for him, and do manifest, as much as it is in the power of frail creatures, that this day is the day of the power of Jesus Christ. I know you well remember, that scripture, he maketh his people willing in the day of his power. God manifests it to be the day of the power of Christ, having through so much blood and so much trial, as has been upon this nation, he maketh this one of the greatest mercies, next to his own son, to have his people called to the supreme authority. God hath owned his son, and hath owned you, and hath made you to own him. I confess, I never looked to have seen such a day: I did not."

Animated by this speech of the general, they thought themselves under an absolute necessity of proceeding to a thorough reformation, both in civil and religious affairs; and accordingly began in a manner worthy of such an assembly, and of the spirit with which it was acted. They took into consideration the abolition of the ecclesiastical function, which they

said was a relief of popery; and of taking away tythes, which they termed a judiacal practice. They declared sciences and universities to be heathenish institutions, unworthy of protection in a christian country. The common law of England they called the badge of Norman slavery: and formed a design of establishing the law of Moses, as the only system of English jurisprudence. In a word, a general reformation was projected; but, for want of time, the whole was reduced to the single article of performing the marriage ceremony by the civil power without the intervention of the clergy.

The Dutch flattered themselves that they should now be able to succeed in their negotiations for a peace, as the haughty republican parliament was no more. And it must be owned that Cromwell was far from being averse to put a period to hostilities. But several reasons prevented him from carrying his design into execution. He knew that nothing could render him more popular than that of carrying on the Dutch war with vigour; the English being now more capable of disputing the empire of the sea with the enemy, than they had ever been before. This was, in a great measure owing to the friendship of Sweden, by which, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Dutch and Danes, the English had been furnished with materials for ship-building. On the other hand, the populace of Holland, who saw only the surface of things, were full of the highest expectations, that the dissolution of the parliament must occasion a civil war in England.

In the beginning of June a strong fleet was assembled and sailed from Holland under the command of Van Tromp, de Wit, and de Ruyter, and manned with the best seamen of their country. Blake with his division of eighteen sail of ships, had stood to the northward, and had not yet joined the fleet commanded by Monk and Dean. But his absence did not prevent the English from advancing against the enemy. Their fleet consisted of ninety-five men of war, and five fire-ships; and the Dutch of ninety-eight men of war, and seven fire-ships. The engagement began in the morning of the second of June, and almost the first broadside received from the enemy, Dean, one of the English admirals, was killed. Monk, with great prudence and presence of mind, concealed this misfortune from the seamen, by immediately dropping his cloak over the dead body of that able officer. The fury of the contending fleets seemed to be increased in proportion as the officers had learned experience. Lawson, the English rear-admiral, charged with the blue squadron, consisting of forty ships, through the whole Dutch fleet, with amazing execution, and would have taken de Ruyter's ship, had he not been relieved by Van Tromp, who, in his turn, was charged by Monk, and the battle continued to rage with the most violent fury till three in the afternoon, each party ignorant of the loss they had sustained, both fleets being involved in an impracticable cloud of smoke. At last the Dutch fury gave way to the well directed courage of the English. The faintness of their fire gave the first intimation of their loss, and the wind being favourable they withdrew from the engagement; but were cannonaded in their retreat by the lighter ships of the English. Van Tromp performed all that could be expected from the bravest and most experienced commander. He endeavoured to keep his ships in a line of battle; but three or four of them being sunk, and one of his flag-ships blown up, his whole fleet was thrown into confusion, and he was obliged to retire from the English. This engagement happened off the north Foreland, and during the night Blake joined Monk with his division. The next morning the attack was renewed; but the Dutch were so disheartened by the preceding engagement, that it was with the utmost difficulty their admirals could prevail upon their men to fight. But the contest was now unequal. Tromp was twice boarded by vice-admiral Penn, but disengaged by de Ruyter and



and de Wit. Six capital Dutch ships were sunk, two blown up by fire-ships, and eleven taken. The whole was now a disorderly flight; nor could the Dutch captains, either by persuasions or menaces, be brought to face the English; and their whole fleet must inevitably have been destroyed, had they not taken shelter on the flats between Dunkirk and Calais, where it was dangerous for the English to follow them. The latter lost not a single ship in this desperate engagement.

It is impossible to describe the consternation into which the Dutch were thrown when the news of this defeat reached their country. They now saw that fleet, which, but a few days before, they thought invincible, blocked up in their harbours by a victorious enemy, which was every moment ruining their trade, on which their very being, as a maritime power, depended. Tromp, in his letters to the states, complained bitterly that his ships were not sufficiently supplied with powder and ball, and that his whole misfortune ought to be imputed to his want of ammunition. The common people, from whom these complaints were not long a secret, were enraged to the highest pitch of fury. They said, that a design had been formed to betray their fleet into the hands of the enemy, that the republic might be under a necessity of making peace upon their own terms. The states were alarmed, and pursued the only method in their power to silence the clamours of the people; they used the utmost diligence and expedition in repairing and refitting their fleet; they recalled their ships from their different stations, in order, if possible, to wipe off the disgrace of the late defeat.

The spirits of the English were raised to such a height by the late victory, that they would hear of no peace, unless the Dutch would agree to disarm their ships, pay all the expences of the war, and make full satisfaction for the damages the English merchants had sustained. Cromwell, however, hinted to the Dutch ambassadors, that peace might be concluded on much easier terms, but did not think it prudent to explain himself farther at present on so delicate a subject. He was, however, persuaded, that if the Dutch were totally ruined, he should never be able to obtain the summit of his wishes, the supreme power in England, which, perhaps, he would have been glad to purchase even by a defeat at sea. To this persuasion the Dutch owed their safety. The late victory, however complete, was not prosecuted with all the vigour that might have been expected. The enemy were incapable of sending five men of war to sea, their best admirals refused to act, and a rich East-India fleet was every day expected. Yet no advantages were taken of this distressed state of the enemy. Blake, indeed, continued cruising on the coast of Holland; but he made no attempt on their harbours, and the East-India fleet arrived in safety.

While the English admiral triumphed in his superiority, and continued the undisputed master of the ocean, the Dutch were exerting all their efforts to repair and increase their navy. Nor were their attempts in vain; their fleet was soon in a better condition than ever, both with regard to the largeness of the ships and the number of seamen. Van Tromp, de Ruyter, and other famous admirals, had now no longer the least pretence for abandoning the public service. Young Tromp, who had taken an English man of war in the Straights, was ordered home with his squadron, and some very large East-India ships were converted into men of war; so that about the latter end of July, Van Tromp's squadron consisted of ninety stout ships, manned with able seamen, and well provided with ammunition and stores.

On the thirtieth of July, that celebrated admiral failed to the Texel, and joined de Ruyter and de Wit; and by this junction the whole fleet amounted to one hundred and twenty sail. The English fleet, which was commanded by Monk, Lawson, and Penn,

amounted only to ninety sail; but they were determined to give the enemy battle. The engagement accordingly began on the thirty-first of July, in the morning, with the utmost fury. The Dutch had now obviated all the disadvantages under which they laboured in their former engagements: they worked their ships with wonderful address; and fought with the most surprising resolution. Monk, on the other hand, gave his orders with that calmness and precision which characterizes the consummate commander. The battle continued to rage with the utmost violence till near noon, when the brave admiral Van Tromp was killed with a musquet-ball, as he was encouraging his men. As soon as his death was known, the Dutch retired towards their own coasts with great precipitation. They lost in this engagement twenty-four of their men of war, about four thousand of their men were killed, and a thousand taken prisoners. The English lost three men of war, six captains, and five hundred seamen. Eight hundred were dangerously wounded, and their whole fleet so dreadfully shattered, that they were obliged to leave the coast of Holland.

By this time Cromwell himself was ashamed of his parliament, which had, for some time, been exposed to the ridicule of the public. Among the fanatics that composed this motley assembly, was a very active member, remarkable for long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in London, and known by the name of "Praise-God Barebone," a ridiculous appellation formed by some poet to express the meagre figure of so strange a person. The populace were pleased with the thought, and gave the assembly itself the name of Barebone's parliament. Though this assembly had received all their authority from Cromwell, they now began to pretend they had been favoured with power from the Lord, and to insist on their divine commission. The friends of the general perceived that they were on the point of acting contrary to his interest, and determined to put a period to this ridiculous parliament. Accordingly they met early at the house; and one of them moved, that the sitting of this parliament any longer would be of no service to the nation. The motion was carried, and they hastened to Cromwell, with Rouse, their speaker, at their head; and by a formal deed, resigned back into his hands that authority which they had so lately received from him. This resolution was taken and carried into execution before many of the members came to the house; and that they might prevent the reign of the saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up a protest against all that had been done in their absence; but before they had finished their design, colonel White came to the house with a party of soldiers, and put an end to their labours. On his entrance, he asked them what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you must go elsewhere," replied the colonel; "for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these several years."

This resignation once more stopped the machine of government; and it was now proposed, in a council of officers, to introduce a new scheme of administration, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a single person, who should be known under the appellation of Protector. Lambert accordingly produced the instrument of government, containing the plan of this new legislature; and as it was supposed to be agreeable to the general, it was immediately agreed to by the council. Cromwell was now installed, with great solemnity, in that high office. The ceremony was performed in the court of chancery, the commissioners of the great seal, the barons of the exchequer, the judges, the council of state, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, attending.

The chief articles in this instrument of government were the following: A council of state was appointed,



which was not to consist of more than twenty-one, nor less than thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their office during life, or good behaviour; and in case of a vacancy, the remaining members were to name three, out of whom the protector was to chuse one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the commonwealth: in his name all justice was administered; from him all magistracy and all honours were derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, except murder and treason; and to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war and alliance, was vested in him; but with regard to these particulars, he was to act entirely by the consent and with the advice of his council. The power of the sword was vested in the protector, jointly with the parliament, while it was sitting, or with the council of state in the intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and to allow them to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills they passed were to be presented to the protector for his consent; but if within twenty days it was not obtained, they were to have the force of laws by the authority of the parliament only. A standing army for England and Ireland was established, consisting of twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse; and funds were established for their support. These were not to be diminished without the consent of the protector, and in this article alone he assumed a negative voice. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the first meeting of the parliament. The chancellor, treasurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief justices of both benches, were to be chosen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death, the place was to be filled by the council. Such was the instrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and sworn to by Cromwell. Fifteen persons were named in the instrument, as the first council of state; these were all of them persons entirely devoted to the protector; and, at the same time, so very opposite in their opinions with regard to the principles of civil and religious liberty, that there was not the least danger of their uniting against the protector's power.

The government being thus settled, the following proclamation was published in the streets of London and Westminster. "Whereas the late parliament dissolved themselves, and resigned their powers and authority; the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland in a lord protector, and successive triennial parliaments, is now established. And whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of all the forces of this commonwealth, is declared lord-protector of the said nations, and hath accepted thereof: we have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make publication of the premises, and strictly to charge and command, all and every person or persons, of what quality or condition soever, in any of the said three nations to take notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the government so established. And all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. are required to publish this proclamation, to the end that none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf."

The situation of Cromwell, notwithstanding the high office he had attained, was not to be envied. He was at once both hated and feared by all Europe; and on the latter was his seat of power established. Cardinal Mazarine began, when it was too late, to dread his ambition, which he had hitherto considered as nothing more than the wild fever of an enthusiastical brain; and which his civil policy, if ever he attained any, would render all his schemes and attempts abortive. Spain had been particularly cautious to afford neither assistance nor protection to the

exiled royalists; and this had procured her the liberty of raising and transporting several battalions of Irish soldiers, who proved as fine troops as any in Europe. Perceiving that the princes of the Stuart family still resided in France, the Spanish ministry falsely imagined, that no government in England would enter into a treaty of peace with a power that protected the pretenders to the English crown. Hence they thought themselves secure of Cromwell's friendship, especially as the affairs of England were so much embarrassed, that some foreign alliance would not only be convenient but even necessary to his preservation. The two northern nations were still more confident of the importance of their friendship to any government that could be established in England. Both of them were at this time considerable maritime powers. The king of Denmark, ever since the rupture between England and the United Provinces, had been greatly cherished by the Dutch, and was in arrears to England for the cargoes of twenty-five ships that had been stopped in his harbours, and their lading confiscated to his own use. He concluded, however, that while he was closely united with the Dutch, it would be impossible for England to have any power in the Baltic, and that the states-general never would make a peace without concluding him in the treaty. The queen of Sweden was still fantastically fond of Cromwell's person and government; her romantic sentiments corresponded exactly with the actions of that extraordinary man; but she had a wise ministry, who endeavoured to take all advantages of his situation with regard to the Dutch and Danes, in order to acquire every possible emolument, with regard to commerce. They plainly perceived that as affairs were then situated, the friendship of Sweden was absolutely necessary to England; a truth of which both Cromwell, and the late republican parliament were sufficiently persuaded. The lord viscount Lisle had been sent by the republicans as their ambassador to the Swedish court; but Cromwell, either to remove Whitlock from the government, or from an opinion of his superior abilities, recalled Lisle and sent Whitlock in his room. He was charged to exert all his power to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive with that crown. The English court had sent but few ambassadors of late to foreign princes. Every court of Europe was, however, full of their residents, agents, or spies.

Overwhelmed with the expences of the war, terrified by their losses, and mortified by their defeats, the Dutch now pushed the negotiations for a peace with the utmost assiduity. It was known that the greatest obstacle to a pacification consisted not in any animosity conceived by the English against the Dutch, but in a desire of a close union and confederacy. Cromwell had formed the chimerical scheme of a coalition with the United Provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, interests and councils. It is no wonder that a scheme built on so delusive a foundation should appear absurd to the states-general: they were astonished that any man in his senses should entertain such romantic notions, and absolutely refused to enter into any negotiations on so impracticable a scheme of accommodation. At last, however, the peace was signed by Cromwell, and a defensive league made between the two republics.

A. D. 1654. Cromwell had no respect of persons, with regard to public justice; not even the intercession of monarchs was sufficient to divert the blow. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, and joined with him in the same commission, thinking himself affronted in the streets of London, repaired the next day to the Exchange; and seeing a merchant, whom he thought resembled the author of the injury, he immediately killed him, and took shelter in the house of his brother, who had connived at this base action. Cromwell paid no regard to his asylum; he sent a company of soldiers, who took Don Pantaleon from his brother's house, and committed



mitted him to prison. He was soon after tried, and executed on Tower-hill, notwithstanding the opposition of the ambassador, who pleaded the privileges of his office. Foreign nations could not help applauding this vigorous exertion of justice, notwithstanding the laws of nations were violated in the person of the ambassador.

But with whatever firmness Cromwell proceeded in the government, and whatever awe his undaunted behaviour might have occasioned in the English, his usurpation excited a general discontent. The people, so jealous of their liberties, were exasperated at finding the chains forged for them much heavier than those they had broken. The protector saw that these complaints had affected even the army, and therefore thought it highly prudent to assemble a parliament, in order to establish his authority on the basis of law. They met on the third of September, and as the people were allowed an entire freedom in the election, it is no wonder that many members of principles very different from those of the protector, were returned from several parts of England. They were no sooner assembled, than they gave sufficient indications of their refractory spirit. Cromwell was soon alarmed, and ordered the house to attend him in the painted chamber. There he made an elaborate speech, delivered in his dark, perplexed manner. He began with observing, that the most shameful abuses had been introduced into civil and religious liberty by the levellers, anabaptists, and fifth-monarchy-men, whose principles tended to sap the foundation of all government, civil and religious. He pathetically enlarged on the miseries which had flowed from these absurd notions, during the late domestic and foreign wars; and enumerated the methods he had taken to cure these disorders in the state. He recommended to their care the settlement of the nation, and promised to join them in so important and necessary a work.

The protector was undoubtedly persuaded, that his power, and the success that had constantly attended him, would be abundantly sufficient to establish his government, and induce the assembly to add the legislative sanction to the power he had usurped. He was mistaken: many of the members insisted on the illegality of dissolving the long parliament; and some even proposed, that the present assembly should declare themselves the same parliament continued. They then entered on a discussion of the pretended instrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwell, under the title of protector, assumed over the nation. The greatest liberties were taken in arraigning this new dignity. Even the protector himself escaped not without censure. The utmost that could be done by the court party, was to protract the debate by arguments and long speeches, and prevent the decision of a question, which they were abundantly convinced would be carried against them by a great majority.

Surprized and enraged at this refractory spirit in the parliament, the protector commanded their attendance in the painted chamber, and inveighed in the most bitter terms against their conduct. He told them, and indeed very justly, that nothing could be more absurd than for them to dispute his authority, because the same instrument of government that had constituted them a parliament, had made him protector; and consequently, that the power of both must either stand or fall together: that some points of the new constitution were supposed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any account, to be altered or disputed: that among these were the government of the nation by one person and a parliament; their joint authority over the army and militia, the succession of new parliaments, and liberty of conscience; and that with regard to these particulars, there was reserved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumstances of government, he confessed himself no-wise entitled.

But unwilling to depend wholly upon the effect he

imagined his speech had made on the members, he obliged them to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration of the government as it was settled in a single person and a parliament. Had he exacted this promise from all the members before he opened the session, it would have prevented him this trouble and mortification; for as many of the members did not attend him in the painted chamber, he was obliged to have recourse to the unconstitutional method of placing guards at the door of the house, with orders to suffer none to enter but those who had subscribed the protector's recognition. Many of them submitted to this arbitrary condition, but thought themselves still at liberty to pursue the same course in their proceedings: they retained the same refractory spirit they had discovered in their first debates. The instrument of government was examined, article by article, with the most scrupulous accuracy. The general approbation of the house was given those who advanced the freest topics; and during their whole transactions, they neither took any notice of the protector, nor sent him a single bill for his approbation.

A. D. 1655. Cromwell was highly disgusted at this behaviour; and being informed that many of the members had joined in a conspiracy with the discontented officers of the army, he determined to dissolve an assembly so dangerous to his power. According to the instrument of government, five months were allowed every parliament to sit before it could be dissolved; but Cromwell pretended that a month contained only twenty-eight days; and the full time, according to this method of reckoning, being elapsed, they were again ordered to attend the protector in the painted chamber, where, after a long and angry harangue, he dismissed the assembly.

If the nation was discontented before the meeting of this parliament, the abrupt dissolution of that assembly tended not to give them a better opinion of the government. The members returning to their respective counties and seats, propagated among the people that refractory and mutinous spirit, they had exerted in the house. The old republicans, with Sir Harry Vane at their head, who maintained the indissoluble authority of the long parliament, took every method in their power to encourage the murmurs of the people against the present usurpation, but at the same time were so cautious in the methods they pursued for this purpose, that the protector could find nothing sufficient to found a prosecution against them. Elated with this opposition to the protector's authority the royalists could be no longer retained in subjection. They were persuaded that every one who was dissatisfied with the present government, would join them in overthrowing an establishment they detested. They never considered that the old parliamentary party, however exasperated they might be at the protector's usurpation, they were still more prejudiced against the royal cause. They had only lost their power by the former: should the latter gain the ascendant, they would be obnoxious to the severest punishments, for their former behaviour.

This delusion proved fatal to many of the royal party. A conspiracy was formed in various parts of England, and a day for a general rising was appointed. In an undertaking so widely extended, it is almost impossible to keep the secret. Cromwell was informed of the design. Thurloe, his secretary, had spies in every quarter of the kingdom; and the protector's government was extremely vigilant. Many of the royalists were seized and thrown into prison. Others, as the day appointed approached, were seized with terror, and abandoned the project. In one place only the conspiracy broke out into action. Penruddock, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen in the west, entered Salisbury with about two hundred horse, at the very time when the sheriff and judges were holding the assizes. These they made prisoners and proclaimed the king. But contrary to their expectations they



they received no accession of force; the dread of Cromwell's power prevented the people from joining in an undertaking they wished might succeed;

Confounded at this disappointment, the men that had hitherto followed their standard, deserted by degrees, till a single troop of horse was sufficient to put an end to the insurrection. The leaders were most of them taken and put to death; and the rest sold for slaves, and transported to Barbadoes.

The bad success of this attempt of the royalists tended only to establish the power of the protector; the people were fearful of opposing a man, who was so constantly attended with success. Cromwell even regarded the insurrection itself as a fortunate event; because it demonstrated the reality of these conspiracies, which his enemies always represented as mere fictions, invented solely to varnish over his severities. It served another purpose; it enabled him to extort large sums from the royalists, under pretence of making them pay the expences incurred by their mutinous dispositions. He issued an edict for exacting the tenth penny on all their estates; and in order to collect an imposition at once so oppressive and iniquitous, he instituted ten major-generals, and divided the whole kingdom into so many military jurisdictions. These men, assisted by commissioners, were empowered to lay every person they pleased under the tax of decimation, to level all the imposts settled by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person whom they should suspect to be enemies to the government. Nor was there any appeal from their arbitrary judgment but to the protector himself in council. Despotism now appeared openly to preside over the English; the very mask of liberty was thrown aside. The people bewailed in secret the miseries of their country; they saw the iron rod of Eastern tyranny held by the person who had seized the seat of power.

While England was thus obliged to submit to the will of an illegal usurper, the royal family suffered the utmost distress at Paris. The queen had, indeed, a moderate pension assigned her; but it was so ill paid, and her credit so low in that capital, that she complained one morning to cardinal de Retz, that her daughter, the princess Henrietta, was obliged to be a-bed for want of a fire to warm her. Cromwell, desirous of humbling the pride and power of France, pretended to resent the protection which the royal family received in that kingdom, though surely such treatment deserved not his anger: it must have excited pity in an ingenuous breast. Cromwell, however, thought otherwise; and the merchants having complained that some of their ships had been stopped and searched by the French, he issued letters of reprisal; and Blake seized a whole fleet of merchant ships, loaded with provisions and stores for Dunkirk, then besieged by the Spaniards.

These hostile proceedings sufficiently alarmed the court of France; and in order to remove every cause of complaint, they treated Charles with such neglect, that he thought it prudent to withdraw, in order to prevent the indignity of being desired to leave the kingdom. He first retired to Spaw, and afterwards to Cologne, where he resided two years on a small pension paid him by the king of France, and a few subscriptions sent him by his friends in England. His chief friends and confidants were Sir Edward Hyde, created lord chancellor, and the marquis of Ormond. This pusillanimous behaviour in the court of France produced at last the desired effect, and the protector signed a peace with that kingdom.

The court of Spain had paid every submission to the English government, and even endeavoured to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the protector; but failing in the attempt, endeavours were used to make a breach between England and France. Cromwell was no stranger to these intrigues, but made no complaints to Cardenas, the Spanish minister. A powerful fleet was, however, fitted out,

and all Europe were held in suspense with regard to its destination. The Spaniards seemed not the least alarmed; they never suspected that it was intended to attack their settlements in the New World. At last two strong squadrons sailed from England, one commanded by Penn, and the other by Blake. The former was destined to the West-Indies, the latter to act in the Mediterranean. And what is still more remarkable, Blake had orders to assist the Spaniards in Europe, and Penn to distress them in America.

Blake, on his arrival in the bay of Cadiz, undertook to serve the Spaniards against the duke of Guise, who then threatened to make a descent on Naples, and was fortunate enough to escape the English fleet. Blake now directed his course towards Africa, in order to demand satisfaction from the pyratral states of Barbary for the insults and depredations they had committed on the English. On his arrival at Trepiano, he detached several frigates to block up the Tunisine ships at Porto Farino. Terrified at the appearance of Blake, the Dey of Algiers desired to make a peace with the protector, and agreed to restrain his pyratral subjects from committing any farther violence on the English. But he was treated in a very different manner by the Dey of Tunis. On presenting himself before that port, and making the same demands, the Dey, pointing to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletto, dared him to do his worst. The courage of Blake needed not this bravado to rouse it into action: he laid the broadsides of his ships almost close to the castles, and soon tore them in pieces with his artillery. While this furious attack was carrying on, he sent a strong detachment of seamen in their long boats up the harbour, and burnt every ship that lay there. Terrified and astonished at an action hitherto considered as impossible, the Tunisines were convinced that they had acted very imprudently; they agreed to make the required satisfaction, and courted the friendship of a man whose valour had filled the African states with wonder and astonishment.

The expedition under Penn was less successful. The fleet consisted of thirty ships of war, and a great number of transports, on board of which were five thousand land forces, under the command of colonel Venables. They were joined by about five thousand more at Barbadoes and St. Christopher's. But the two commanders, though they both favoured monarchy, were of very different tempers. The troops were ill provided with arms, ammunition, and provisions: they were the refuse of the whole army, and those enlisted in the West-Indies the most profligate of mankind. Before the fleet and army sailed from St. Christopher's, a proclamation was published, by which it was declared, that neither the soldiers nor sailors were to have any share of the plunder; but, as an equivalent, to receive a fortnight's pay. Perhaps a more imprudent measure could not have been taken: the men were deprived of the only incentive to valour among such people.

On the twentieth of April, the fleet arrived at the island of Hispaniola; and it was determined by the admiral and general to attack St. Domingo, the capital, and indeed the only place of strength in the island; but this was over-ruled by the commissioners whom the protector had sent on board the fleet, to regulate its operations, and act as spies on the conduct of both commanders. This opposition of the commissioners proved the ruin of the expedition. A small part of the fleet was ordered to lie before the capital, to amuse the enemy, while the main body of the forces were landed at Bassado-bay, where the proclamation against plundering was again renewed. This threw such a damp upon the spirits of the soldiers, that all the courage and intrepidity of their officers could not remove. In the mean time, colonel Buller had landed about ten miles from St. Domingo, at the head of the troops that had been left on board the ships to amuse the enemy. It had been agreed, that



that Buller should wait till he was joined by Venables, in order to attack a fort situated between them and the capital. But the enemy abandoning the fortrefs at the appearance of the English, Buller pursued his march towards St. Domingo, and encamped at some distance from a strong fort, which formed the principal defence of the place. While Buller continued in his camp, Venables was obliged, during four days, to pursue a very fatiguing and discouraging march of near forty miles through an unknown and desert country, where his men were every moment fainting with heat and thirst.

During this delay, the Spaniards recovered from their consternation; and having drawn together a considerable body of forces, lined the woods with strong ambuscades, by whom great numbers of the English were cut off in their march. Notwithstanding this, the English attacked them with such intrepidity, that they were driven from their fastnesses into the fort; and had not the English, through thirst and faintness, been obliged to defer the attack of the fort, both that and the town itself must have fallen that very night into their hands. Nor could they continue on the spot where Buller was encamped for want of water; but were obliged to march to the place where that commander landed, where they continued till the twenty-fifth of August, under inexpressible hardships. Captain Cox, their principal guide, was slain; their bread was mouldy and scarce; their provisions salt and rotten; their arms in very bad condition; one of their regiments gave evident signs of mutiny; no harmony subsisted between their two principal commanders; and a pestilential disease raged both in their fleet and camp. They, however, marched, on the twenty-sixth of April, to attack the fort. Captain Jackson, who commanded the van, led his men, either incautiously or treacherously, into a defile, lined on each side by the enemy's troops. The English had advanced so far before they perceived their danger, that they were exposed to the whole fire of the Spaniards, without being able to return it with any effect; and every man of them must have been cut off, had not colonel Haynes, at the head of a detachment of his regiment, pushed into the wood, and dislodged the enemy, by attacking them in flank. Haynes himself was killed, after displaying amazing efforts of valour, together with most of the officers, and five hundred soldiers. The diversion of Haynes enabled Venables to attack the enemy with advantage, and drive them into the fort. But the next morning it was found, that the only mortar-piece in the army was unfit for service, and without a bombardment there were no hopes of success. It was therefore determined to abandon the enterprize, and re-embark the forces.

In order to atone, if possible, for this miscarriage, it was proposed to make an attempt upon Jamaica, which surrendered to the English without making the least resistance. On their return, both the commanders were sent to the Tower; though they had made a conquest of much greater importance to their country than that of Hispaniola itself. The protector immediately issued orders for sending both men and money to his new conquest, and that island has ever since continued in the hands of the English.

The whole government being at this time vested in the hands of the protector, whose designation and authority were entirely unknown in the English constitution, such disputes happened every day in the courts at Westminster, concerning the foundation of his power, that they seemed to threaten to put a final stop to the course of justice itself: nor would the complicated affairs of government allow sufficient leisure for Cromwell to study a plan of civil government that might supply these defects. Conscious that his present power rested wholly on a military foundation, he determined to set up the military over the civil power: but before he could accomplish his design, his attention was diverted from domestic to foreign affairs.

A. D. 1656. The Spaniards were no sooner informed of the proceedings of Penin and Venables in the West-Indies, than they declared war against the protector; and seized all the goods and shipping belonging to the English merchants in the territories of Spain. The commerce with that kingdom, so advantageous to the nation, was entirely at an end, and near fifteen hundred merchantmen fell into the hands of the enemy. Blake received orders to begin hostilities against the Spaniards, and exert all his abilities to intercept their Plate fleet. But many of his officers, persuaded that the war carried on against Spain was unjust, and contrary to the principles of the law of nature, threw up their commissions, returned to their country, and lived retired.

This, however, did not dispirit Blake; he resolved to do his duty as an honest man. He cruized, for some time, off Cadiz, in expectation of falling in with the Plate fleet; but being at last distressed for want of water, he was obliged to sail towards Portugal, in order to procure a supply. Soon after his departure, captain Stayner, whom he had left on the Spanish coast with a squadron of seven ships, came in sight of the galleons, and crowded all the sail he could carry, in order to come up with them; but before this could be effected, the Spanish admiral ran his ship ashore, and was followed by two others. The rest were following the example, but were taken by the English, and valued at near two million of pieces of eight. The two galleons on shore were set on fire; and the marquis of Bajadox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and daughter, perished in the flames.

This success added some share of popularity to Cromwell's government; and he took care to display all the advantages of this acquisition, by ordering the treasure taken in the galleons to be brought up from Portsmouth to London by land. Before this welcome supply arrived, Cromwell had been reduced to the utmost distress for want of money, and severely lashed in several pamphlets by some of the members of the long parliament. He had, indeed, laid excessive impositions on the royalists, and published several rigorous edicts for collecting the public taxes; but all these resources were not sufficient to defray the expences of government.

The next action that happened between the English and the Spaniards acquired much greater glory to the English arms, though far from being attended with such emoluments to the nation. Blake had not been long returned from the coast of Portugal, before he received advice that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, much richer than the former, had taken shelter in the bay of Santa Cruz, in one of the Canary islands. Blake immediately sailed thither, and soon found that his intelligence had not deceived him; but he perceived that every precaution had been taken to render any attempt upon the galleons abortive. Their smaller ships were moored close to the shore, under the numerous cannon of a strong castle, and seven smaller batteries well mounted with artillery, and a line of communication running between them all. Six large galleons lay near the entrance of the harbour, a strong boom being drawn across its mouth, fitted up like floating batteries, with their broadsides towards the English.

Blake surveyed these batteries with the closest attention, but was rather animated than daunted by the danger. He called a council of war, and it was unanimously determined to burn the Spanish galleons. Blake himself undertook the attack of the large ships and forts, while Stayner attempted to force his way into the harbour. Accordingly, as soon as the morning appeared, Stayner, in the Speaker frigate, stood into the bay with his squadron, while Blake attacked the forts and galleons. The dreadful scene that followed is easier imagined than described. The Spaniards themselves believed it to be the effect of fiends rather than of men, and thanked heaven they could lose no part of their honour in the action, as they



were born to fight with men, and not with devils. Every circumstance tended to confirm them in that delusion. The thundering of Blake's cannon; the fury of his sailors, who rushed amidst the thickest of the enemy's fire, as if they had been invulnerable, and seemed to seek their safety in the mouth of danger; the shouts of the assailants, and the groans of the wounded, heard in the short intervals between the roaring of the artillery; and, at last, the flames of their own ships, bursting through the clouds of smoke, and lighting up the dreadful scene of death and ruin, convinced the Spaniards that all opposition was in vain; they thought it would be madness to oppose force and courage to a supernatural power. The fire from their forts abated; their troops were driven from their intrenchments; their harbour was in the possession of the English, and their ships totally abandoned; so that not one of them escaped the flames, except two which had been sunk in the action.

This battle astonished all Europe. It seemed beyond the power of a few ships to attack and silence a strong castle, numerous forts, and a large fleet, well furnished with men and artillery, and assisted by every requisite, either for offence or defence, that human prudence could devise. A greater danger still attended the English; the wind blew right into the bay; and their eagerness had carried them so near the shore, that their ships must have been destroyed, had not the wind, by suddenly shifting, removed all their fears, and carried them beyond the reach of danger. Though this action was remarkably severe, and though the English exposed themselves to the thickest of the enemy's fire, they had only forty-eight men killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded. The loss of the Spaniards, both in men and ships, was very great; and the latter, for some time, irreparable. A very considerable part of the rich lading of the galleons, being too bulky to be carried off, perished in the flames.

This was at once the greatest and last action of the intrepid Blake. His health had been, for some time, declining, and he now obtained permission to return; but he lived not to land in his native country. He died in his passage, and has always been considered as one of the greatest men this country has ever produced. Though a strict republican in principles, he always enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell. "We should fight for our country," said he, "into whatever hands the government may fall." The strongest proof of his merit is, that, in the midst of so many jarring, and even hostile factions, he was esteemed by them all.

If Cromwell was at once both loved and respected abroad, his administration was not less calculated to maintain his authority at home. A strict observer of justice and the laws, as far as his usurped authority would admit, he supported both with equal vigour. He had quelled a late insurrection of the royalists, but he refused, with indignation, the counsel of his officers to massacre all the insurgents. The army continued faithful to him, notwithstanding the dangerous enthusiasm that still prevailed among the officers and soldiers. The militia, kept up and exercised with care in the several counties, was always ready, on the first signal, to lend him very powerful assistance. As religion, or rather fanaticism directed the multitude, one of his principal cares was to manage the fiery presbyterians, by gaining over their adversaries, which he accomplished by means of a general toleration, from which none but papists and the partizans of episcopacy were excluded. Attentive to the smallest particular, he had spies in almost every place, where any intelligence was likely to be procured; it is said that these cost him sixty thousand pounds a year. He was apprehensive of nothing but assassination, against which neither prudence nor vigilance could avail. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, wrote a very spirited pamphlet, exhorting every one who wished well to his country, to embrace this

method of vengeance, the only one in their power to put a period to the usurpation of a tyrant. This publication alarmed Cromwell: he knew that the minds of the royal party were sufficiently inflamed to put so obvious a method in practice. He therefore declared openly, that he looked upon all attempts of that kind as base and odious, and would never begin hostilities by so shameful an expedient; but if the first attempt came from them he would retaliate the injury by every method in his power; that he did not want agents sufficient to execute his purpose, and that he would employ them to the utter extinction of the royal family. This menace probably saved him from the dagger of the assassin.

A.D. 1657 Cromwell had always been desirous of giving the power he had usurped the sanction of a legal establishment, and now determined to make another attempt to effect it. He accordingly assembled a parliament composed of the representatives of the three kingdoms. Ireland and Scotland, reduced to a state of slavery, nominated such members as were conformable to his wishes. But the spirit of the English was not yet sufficiently subdued to submit to his arbitrary directions. He soon perceived that many of the dissatisfied members in the last parliament were again returned, and began to fear they would be too powerful for his friends. In order therefore to secure a majority, he excluded a hundred suspected members, and thus made himself master of the parliament. This being effected, every thing followed of course; for though there was still a strong opposition, the majority was on the side of the protector's friends. They began with abrogating all the titles of Charles Stuart and his family. This being effected it was moved that the protector should have the title of king; and after a very warm debate it was carried that a bill should be brought in for that purpose. It was urged that the English constitution necessarily supposed a royal authority; that the laws admitted not of a protector except during a minority, and had not fixed the prerogatives of the functions of that office; that to remove all appearance of arbitrary power, the only method was to have recourse to a title which the nation had always respected; and that this was the more practicable, as an express law of Henry VII. had provided for the security of those who defended the reigning prince; a sufficient proof that the legislation depended more on the form of government, than on the birthright of the supreme magistrate. The bill was violently opposed by Lambert, the major-generals, and all the republican party. But being unable to answer the above arguments, they had recourse to a very tumultuous behaviour, which sufficiently convinced Cromwell, that unless he could prevail with the officers of the army to join with the majority in parliament, he must renounce the honour he so ardently wished to obtain. No arts were left untried to bring Lambert over to his purpose, but in vain. Fleetwood and Desborough were also averse to his accepting the title of king; and declared, if the bill passed, and received the assent of the protector, they would immediately resign their commissions, though they would make no efforts to disturb the government.

The house, however, proceeded in their design; and at last, after a long and violent debate, it was voted, "That his highness will be pleased to assume the name, stile, title, dignity, and office of king of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the respective dominions thereunto belonging, and to exercise the same according to the laws of these nations." A committee was now appointed to reason with the protector, and, if possible, overcome those scruples, which he pretended he entertained against accepting so liberal an offer.

Cromwell strongly opposed all their reasons, which were urged with great strength and eloquence. But his opposition proceeded not from the reasonableness of his accepting the offer. He was well convinced of the solidity of their arguments; and his inclination,



tion, as well as judgment, was entirely on the side of the committee. But the opposition of his friends, and that of the army, terrified him. He knew the office of king had been painted in such horrid colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling the soldiers to it suddenly, even though bestowed upon their general, to whom they were so remarkably devoted. He knew that the transition between coldness and aversion was very small; that they who had loved with the greatest affection, hated with the most deadly rancour; and it was impossible to foresee what disappointment and despair might occasion. Some already talked of dividing England into a new heptarchy, to be governed by the chief officers of the army. Even this strange design the republicans would rather have adopted, than agree to Cromwell's accepting of the royal dignity. He was also fearful, that when the question regarded only persons, not forms of government, no one would any longer balance between the ancient royal family and an ignoble person, who had waded to the throne through a torrent of blood. Suspended between these fears and his own ardent desires, Cromwell protracted the time, and seemed still to oppose the reasons of the committee, hoping that he might be able, by artifice, to reconcile the minds of the soldiers to his new dignity. His elocution was always confused; but now, when he reasoned in contradiction to his own judgment and inclination, it was involved in tenfold darkness; it was destitute both of reason and common sense.

At last, after an agony of perplexity, occasioned by a long and tedious series of doubts, the protector was obliged to refuse that crown which he so ardently wished to receive, and which the representatives of the nation had tendered him in the most solemn manner. Upon this refusal, the parliament found it necessary to retain the name of Commonwealth and Protector; but as the government had hitherto been a manifest usurpation, it was thought necessary to give it a parliamentary sanction.

In order to this, it was proper to set aside the instrument of government, which had been drawn up by the general officers only, and substitute another in its room. This was accordingly done, and a new instrument of government was framed, and offered to the protector by the parliament, under the title of "An humble petition and advice." This act of the legislature formed the basis of the republican government; by it the powers of each member of the constitution was regulated and limited, in order to place the liberty of the people on a more solid foundation. In some particulars, the authority of the protector was enlarged, and in others diminished, by this deed. He had the power of naming his successor; he had a perpetual revenue assigned him, a million a year for the fleet and the army, and three hundred thousand pounds for the civil government. He had the power of establishing another house of parliament, the members of which were to hold their seats during life, and to exercise many of the functions of the former house of peers. On the other hand, his power of framing laws with the consent of his council, during the recess of parliament, was abrogated; and it was established, that no member of either house should be excluded, but by the consent of that house of which he was a member. The other articles received very little alteration, remaining the same in substance as in the first instrument of government. This parliamentary sanction being obtained, Cromwell was again inaugurated, with the utmost pomp and ceremony, in Westminster-hall; and on the twenty-sixth of June, he put an end to the session of parliament.

The situation of the protector was now very critical in England. He had indeed obtained the disposal of a very large revenue, but great difficulties attended it. His acceptance of the office and title of protector, had not lessened them, and the force he had put upon the parliament by excluding so many

of the members was universally condemned. Even those who were most desirous of a settlement, upon almost any terms, and would have been contented, for the sake of a permanent government, to have submitted to his authority, either as king or protector, entertained many scruples with regard to the legality of the proceedings of a parliament, which sat under a visible force. Cromwell found that these scruples were invincible; and his enemies having already felt his severity, he was now determined they should taste his clemency. Lambert was allowed a pension of four thousand pounds a year. Ludlow was suffered to reside in his own house, Sir Harry Vane was released from his confinement in Carisbrook-castle, and he determined to suffer the secluded members to take their seats the next session of parliament. In the mean time Cromwell applied himself closely to the formation of his upper house of parliament, which was to consist of sixty members, among whom were five or six ancient peers, and several gentlemen of fortune and distinction; the rest were officers of the army, who had risen from the dregs of the people. All the ancient peers, however, refused to accept a seat, which they must share with such companions as were assigned them.

A. D. 1658. On the twentieth of January the parliament met, pursuant to their prorogation, and the protector, in order to maintain the appearance of a legal magistrate, removed the guards from the doors of both houses. The first subject of deliberation among the commons was the illegality of excluding so many of their members during the last session of parliament. In this debate it was confidently affirmed, that there could be no free parliament under such a force, and therefore, that the humble petition and advice, together with all that had been done in consequence of it, were invalid; nor were they obliged to take any notice of the other house. Cromwell, by taking so many of his friends and adherents from the lower house, in order to form the upper, had lost the majority among the national representatives. The enemies of the protector were soon sensible of their power; they made and carried a motion not to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the other house which Cromwell had established.

While the commons were thus opposing the arbitrary proceedings of the government, a petition was preparing in the city for taking the power of the militia out of the protector's hands. Exasperated at these measures, Cromwell sent a very sharp message to the commons, acquainting them that he expected they would give the same appellation, and pay the same attention to the lords, as had been given or paid to any house of peers in England. But the commons, instigated by Lambert and Haslerigg within doors, and by Harrison and the fifth monarchy-men without, paid no regard to his threat, or his authority. Cromwell was now sufficiently exasperated, and without consulting any person, flung himself into a common coach, and with no more than four or five of his guards, and attended by his nephew and a lieutenant-colonel, hurried to the house of peers, where he whispered Fleetwood, that he was come to dissolve the parliament. Fleetwood, who seems to have acted in concert with the malecontents, used every argument in his power to dissuade Cromwell from his purpose. He desired him to reflect a moment on the dreadful consequences that had generally attended a hasty dissolution of the parliament. But Cromwell, without paying any attention to his arguments, laid his hand upon his breast, and swore by the living God they should not sit a moment longer. He accordingly sent a message to the commons commanding their attendance in the house of peers, where, after a very reproachful speech, he dissolved the parliament.

This precipitate action, which in any other person, would have been considered as an indication of madness, was in this extraordinary man, a measure at once both bold and necessary, and prompted by that genius which seldom or never forsook him. But notwithstanding



withstanding all his power, his abilities, and the terror of his name, he was now surrounded with dangers both open and secret. The fifth monarchy-men had long been his avowed enemies. They pretended to abolish all taxes, customs, tythes, and every other burthen laid upon the people. They held their meetings at Mile-end, and though they were in general persons of the lowest condition, they were bold, bloody and desperate. They depended greatly upon major-general Harrison, admiral Lawton, and the colonels Rich, Danvers and Okey to head them. They had even their cabals and correspondents in every part of the kingdom. But Cromwell's intrepidity, and Thurloe's excellent intelligence, rendered all their schemes abortive; and about ten of the most desperate among them were seized in the midst of their consultations, together with the standard they intended to erect, as the signal of the commencement of the reign of the saints upon earth.

This well-timed action did not, however, put an end to their cabals. Cromwell perceived that the poison had reached much farther than he expected. Several of the officers of the army, and even some of them who served about his person, became sullen and gloomy; a sure indication that they were forming some dangerous design. The protector therefore assembled all the officers near London, among whom major Packer, and most of the captains of his own regiment were chiefly suspected. Cromwell repaired to the meeting, and in a very authoritative tone of voice, demanded whether they were willing to serve him against his enemies? Over-awed by the presence of their general, they continued silent for some time; at last they said, they were ready to serve him upon the footing of "the good old cause." Cromwell treated that expression with great contempt, and after asking what they meant by using it now, he immediately dismissed them from their posts in the army, and gave their commissions to others whom he knew he could trust. This instance of firmness and severity produced the desired effect; the rest of the officers promising to obey him with great alacrity.

The daring spirit of Cromwell only was capable of discharging men, who had been the principal instruments of his greatness. But it seems to have given him no disquiet. He was persuaded they could never join with the royalists, from whom alone he was apprehensive of danger: He did not indeed think it prudent to treat the chief officers, who were equally discontented, in so despotic a manner: he endeavoured to regain their favour by caresses; but was never able to remove the hatred they had conceived against the government. The wisest and richest of the royalists, lived upon their estates, pleased with observing the despotism which Cromwell had exercised over a parliament, who had treated them in so tyrannical a manner. They saw with delight the perpetual commotions of the public, from a persuasion that out of confusion order must at last arise. Their retirements, their studies, their reflections, tended happily to promote the good of their country. They had now sufficient leisure to reflect on the errors of the late king, and comparing them with the distractions of the government that succeeded. These they saw evidently were the extremes of legislation, and that in the mean between them true liberty was to be found.

The Spaniards, desirous of distressing the English government, had invited Charles to Bruges, where he appeared at the head of four thousand men, chiefly English, formed into four regiments. This revived the hopes of the royalists, and a general insurrection was projected. Ormond was secretly dispatched to England, in order to concert measures for the execution of this design. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and several more of the leaders of the presbyterian party had secretly entered into the engagement. The army was still infected with the general spirit of discontent; and, after the protector's violent breach with the late parliament, no hopes re-

mained of founding his power on the basis of legislative authority. His administration, so expensive both in military enterprizes and secret intelligence, had exhausted his treasury, and involved him in a considerable debt. All his arts of policy were exhausted; and having so often deceived every party by proud and false pretences, he could no longer hope that the same arts would be attended with the same success.

But notwithstanding all these promising circumstances, the conspiracy of the royalists was rendered abortive. Cromwell was informed of their design before it was ripe for execution. The marquis of Ormond was obliged to fly to the continent; and great numbers of the royalists were thrown into prison. Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Huet, were condemned and beheaded; and Mordant, brother to the earl of Peterborough, escaped the same fate merely by the accident of colonel Pride's being absent, till the sentence was pronounced in his favour. For the numbers were equal, and Pride, who was his declared enemy, entered the court just as the president had finished his determination.

Nor was the protector free from the fears of assassination; Sindercombe, one of the fifth monarchy-men, had undertaken to murder him, and it was only by the intervention of the most unaccountable accidents that he was prevented from executing his bloody purpose. His design was at last discovered; but though the clearest proof of his guilt was apparent to the jury, and though every man held the crime of which he was accused in the utmost detestation, it was not without the greatest difficulty they could be prevailed upon to find him guilty; so greatly were they dissatisfied with the protector's right of supreme government of the nation. This incident could not fail of giving Cromwell the utmost uneasiness; and which was greatly increased by the firmness of Sindercombe, who refused to discover any of his accomplices.

Mrs. Claypole, Cromwell's beloved daughter, a lady endued with every humane virtue, and the most amiable accomplishments, had entertained the highest regard for Dr. Huet, and made the most pressing instances to her father to save his life; but being refused his pardon, her temper, which was always enclined to melancholy, preyed upon her health; and after using the most pressing remonstrances to awaken the protector into a compunction for the heinous crimes into which his ambition had betrayed him, she paid the debt of nature amidst the tears of all who were friends to virtue. Her death greatly affected Cromwell. And her words now obtained their full force; they embittered the small remainder of his life. His old friend, the earl of Warwick died also about the same time, which greatly affected him, and he began to perceive, when it was too late, that the pursuits of ambition are not the pursuits of peace.

His composure and tranquillity of mind were now fled for ever. He saw that all his nearest and most beloved friends, Fleetwood, Desborough, Claypole, and Falconbridge, abhorred his principles; and he who had so lately the whole army at his call, could now hardly find five men in the whole nation to second his favourite designs. He was become a bankrupt both in his government and his private fortune; and notwithstanding all the mighty things he had done, he found himself no better than a splendid wretch surrounded with misfortunes, which the smallest grain of genuine virtue in his former career of glory, might either have prevented or removed. His dissimulation was at once so gross and odious, that had he now actually returned to the paths of virtue, not a man in England would have thought him sincere; even his professing it must only have tended to have increased the public detestation of his hypocrisy.

Amidst all these distresses of mind, he was seized, on the twenty-fourth of August, with a slow fever, which soon after changed into a tertian ague. No dangerous



dangerous symptoms, however, appeared for some time, and he was even able to walk abroad during the intervals between the fits. But the fever, as well as the force of the paroxysm of the disease, increasing at every return, Cromwell himself began to be apprehensive that his end was approaching. His thoughts were now turned towards a future state, which had formerly been the constant subject of his contemplations; but which the continual wars and affairs of government, had for some time totally interrupted. Goodwin, one of his enthusiastic preachers, constantly attended him, and endeavoured to remove from his mind that dependency in which he was now involved. One day, when he was closely engaged in this pious conversation, Cromwell asked him, with great emotion, "whether it was possible for the elect to fall, or suffer a final reprobation?" "It is impossible," replied the preacher. "Then," cried Cromwell, with an air of satisfaction, "I am safe; for I am sure I was once in a state of grace."

Fully sensible of the dangerous condition of the protector, the physicians were continually intimating to those about him, and even often to himself, that they thought it highly prudent to settle the affairs of government. On the other hand, his chaplains, by their prayers, visions, and revelations, inspired him with such hopes, that he believed he was no longer in danger. "I shall not die of this distemper," said he one day to his physicians; "I am well assured of my recovery. My supplications have prevailed; I am promised it from the Lord." Those strange enthusiastic notions seem to have prevailed among all his friends. "The Lord," said Fleetwood, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, "will soon restore him; and bring him forth with more vigour, life and zeal." His highness has himself had very great discoveries from the Lord. He hath received assurances of his being restored, and of being farther serviceable in the great work he hath begun." Goodwin was so thoroughly convinced of his being in no danger of death, that he used the following expression in his prayer: "Lord we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery." Even when the physicians absolutely despaired of his being able to support the next fit of his disease, Thurloe has the following expression in his dispatch to Henry Cromwell, "That which is some ground of hope is, that the Lord has, as on some former occasions, given to himself a particular assurance, that he shall yet live to serve him, and to carry on the great work he hath put into his hands."

At last the physicians were obliged to declare that all hopes were over. The council was now sufficiently alarmed; and a deputation was sent to know his pleasure with regard to a succession. But before they reached his apartment, he was speechless and almost insensible. They asked whether he did not intend that his eldest son Richard should succeed him; and a simple affirmation was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. He lived only a few minutes after, paying the debt of nature on the third of September, in the sixtieth year of his age, amidst a storm so dreadful all over Europe, that it seemed a general wreck of nature. This tempest happening at so critical a moment, gave occasion to many reflections both of his friends and enemies. The day on which he died was also much taken notice of, it being the anniversary of his most glorious successes at Dunbar and Worcester, which he always considered as the most fortunate events of his whole life.

The character of Cromwell has been often drawn both by his friends and enemies. The former seems dictated by panegyric, and the latter by invective. It must be owned, however, that both carry the strongest air of probability, because they are supported by striking circumstances in his conduct and fortune. "What, say his friends, can be more extraordinary, than that a person, of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, nor shining ta-

lents of mind, which have often raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the abilities to execute so extraordinary a design as the subverting one of the most ancient and best established monarchies in the world? That he should have the power and boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death? Should banish that numerous and strongly allied family? Cover all these temerities under a seeming obedience to a parliament, in whose service he pretended to be retained? Trample too upon that parliament in their turn, and scornfully expel them as soon as they gave him ground for dissatisfaction? Erect in their place the dominion of the saints, and give reality to the most visionary idea, which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppress that monster in its infancy, and openly set up himself above all that ever attained the appellation of sovereign in England? Overcome first his enemies by arms, and afterwards all his friends by artifice? Served all parties patiently for a while, and command them victoriously at last? Over-run each corner of the three nations, and subdue with equal facility, both the riches of the south and the poverty of the north? Be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a brother to gods upon earth? Call together parliaments with a word of his pen; and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce to subjection a warlike and discontented nation, by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army, by means of seditious and factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be pleased, at the rate of millions a year, to be hired as master of those who had hired him before to be their servant? Have the estates and lives of three nations as much at his disposal as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be as noble and liberal in the spending of them? And lastly (for there is no end of enumerating his glory) with one word bequeath all his power and splendor to his posterity? Die possessed of peace at home and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity? And leave a name behind him not to be extinguished but with the whole world; which, as it was too little for his praise, so it might have stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs?"

On the other hand his enemies have placed the actions of this extraordinary man in the most odious point of light. "What, say they, can be more superlatively wicked than for a person to endeavour not only to exalt himself above, but to trample upon all his equals and superiors? To pretend freedom for all men, and under the cloak of that pretence, to make all men his servants? To take up arms against taxes amounting to scarce two hundred thousand pounds a year, and to lay himself upon the nation the enormous load of above two millions? To quarrel for the loss of three or four ears, and strike off three or four thousand heads? To fight against an imaginary suspicion of two thousand guards for the king to be fetched from no body knew where, and keep up for himself no less than forty thousand? To pretend the defence of parliaments, and violently to dissolve all, even those of his own calling, and almost of his own chusing? To undertake the reformation of religion, and on that pretence to strip to the skin, and then to expose it naked to the rage of every sect? To establish councils of rapine and courts of murder? To fight against the king under a commission for him? To take him out of the hands of those for whom he had conquered him? To deceive him by protestations and vows of fidelity and when he had effected his purpose, to put him to death, in the face of the world? To receive a commission from the king and parliament, and murder the one and destroy the other? To fight against monarchy, when he declared for it,



and to declare against it, when he wished to acquire it in his own person? To defame perfidiously, and supplant ungratefully his own general, and afterwards most of those officers, who with the loss of their honour, had raised him to the summit of his unreasonable ambition? To break his faith equally with his enemies and with his friends? To make as frequent use of the most solemn perjuries, as the common people of customary oaths? To usurp three kingdoms without the least shadow of pretensions, and govern them as unjustly as they were acquired? To set himself up as an idol, and make the streets of London resemble the valley of Hinnom, by burning the bowels of men, as a sacrifice to himself? To endeavour to entail this usurpation upon posterity, and with it an endless war upon the nation? And lastly, by the severest judgment of the Almighty, to die hardened, mad, and without repentance, with the curses of the present, and the detestation of all succeeding ages?"

Such are the different characters given of Cromwell, and both are founded on facts and circumstances that cannot be controverted. But from the whole we may safely conclude, that he wanted nothing but honesty, to make him one of the greatest men in the world.

Cromwell was married to Elizabeth, daughter to Sir James Bouchier, by whom he had two sons, Richard who succeeded him, and Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and four daughters, Bridget, married to general Fleetwood; Elizabeth, to John Claypole, of Northamptonshire, esq; Mary, to lord Falconbridge; and Frances, to lord Rich.

The powerful, the dreaded Cromwell being now no more, some sudden revolution in the state, which must destroy the present ill-constructed fabric of government, was immediately expected. But this was not the case. The council, the army, the navy, even the whole country at once, acknowledged Richard Cromwell protector of the commonwealth. He was a plain, indolent, good-natured young man, brought up in the country, at a distance from business and intrigue, and neither formed by inclination, injured by habit, nor assisted by talents sufficient to enable him to supply the place of his father. Henry Cromwell, who governed Ireland with great popularity and applause, insured to his brother the obedience of that kingdom. General Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, proclaimed the new protector in the principal towns of that kingdom. Addresses flowed from every part of the kingdom, and Richard was treated with the same respect as his father.

But this external complaisance among the fanatical leaders of the different parties, was nothing better than a deceitful calm which suited the views of all, as a breathing time for concerting plans to promote their own interests. No person could have been found more unexceptionable for this purpose than Richard. The republicans did not fear him, nor the royalists hate him; and his advancement was of the utmost consequence to those who were in the present possession of the government. But a question was soon started in the council, whether Richard, according to the tenor of the humble petition and advice, was to be considered as general of the army. This was striking at the very basis of all his power, and the secret cabals against him were indefatigable in forming plans for his ruin.

A.D. 1659. But as supplies were wanting for the affairs of government it was thought necessary to call a parliament. The upper house, or house of peers, consisted of the same persons who had been nominated by Oliver himself, and thence considered as friends to his family. And in order to insure a majority in the commons, it was thought necessary to restore to the old boroughs their former right of sending members to parliament; while the counties were allowed no more than their accustomed members. By this means the ministry procured a major-

ity in the lower as well as in the upper house; and all the members signed, without hesitation, an engagement not to alter the present government.

On the first of February, secretary Thurloe presented to the commons, "An act of recognition of his highness's right and title to be protector and chief magistrate of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging." This act was very artfully drawn, the recognitory part being expressed in general terms, but it contained a very particular and ample abjuration of the royal family. A small debate only ensued on the first reading, but the republicans determined to oppose it with all their power when it came to be read a second time. They saw that it virtually contained a recognition of the petition and advice, which they were determined, if possible, to set aside, and consequently destroy the basis of the protector's government. Besides the republican and ministerial parties, there were two others in the house, who had views of their own, and though directly opposite to each other, agreed in one point, that of embarrassing both the others. The first was composed of men of desperate fortunes, and who wished to see Fleetwood commander in chief of the army, hoping that the government would once more fall into the hands of the military, and both king and protector be excluded. The ministerial party had, however, still a majority in the house. But the proceedings of this parliament afford a memorable instance, that a dead majority in an English house of commons, may carry their questions, and yet lose their purposes. The republicans were much bolder and far better speakers than their antagonists. In opposing this bill, they founded their arguments on the constitution settled immediately after the death of the late king, and Sir Harry Vane very pertinently observed, that if the government founded at that period was illegal, they were guilty of the blood of their late prince. The ministerial party, on the other hand, went no farther back than the instrument of petition and advice, which they contended to be the last, and only legal constitution of government. But even admitting that position, they found themselves embarrassed with another difficulty, that of proving that the privileges and authority granted by that instrument to the protector were not personal, and terminated with his life. Even if they did not, the republicans contended, that a free parliament ought to have no regard to the whole, or any part of that instrument, because it was voted by a power destructive of that constitution, which gave their assembly an existence as a parliament. Their arguments had great effect upon the people, especially as the answers given to them by the ministerial party were far from being thought sufficient.

Fleetwood, who had concealed his ambition under the veil of an obsequious behaviour to the new protector, could not help observing, that the army, by joining the republicans, might retrieve at once their power and popularity. But the greatest art was necessary to form this connection, as the protector's influence among the troops was very powerful. It was therefore contrived between him and Desborough, to introduce Lambert once more on the stage. That general ever since he had been deprived of his commission, had lived retired at Wimbledon in Surry; but he no sooner saw a prospect of regaining his former authority, than he resumed all his ambitious prospects. Many of the principal officers in the army thought he had been ungenerously treated by the late protector, and his sufferings had, in some measure, rendered him popular. Fleetwood therefore secretly made use of Lambert to strengthen the discontented party among the officers, while Desborough declared openly and violently for a republic. The meetings for carrying on their destructive schemes were held at Wallingford-house, where Fleetwood resided, and hence the assembly was called the cabal of Wallingford-house.



While the officers of the army were employed in these consultations, the debates in parliament were carried on with great vehemence by both parties. The republicans exerted all their power to have the militia and negative voice settled in the representatives of the people, while the ministerial party strenuously insisted on recognizing the protector. Many expedients were proposed for reconciling the two parties, but in vain; both continued firm to their principles. After the question had been debated for several days, with the utmost warmth and freedom, the ministerial party carried their point, by a majority of one hundred and ninety-one, against one hundred and sixty-eight. The republicans were not, however, discouraged. They procured the following resolution to be taken by the house, viz. "That before the bill of recognition be committed, this house doth declare such additional clause to be part of the bill, as may limit the power of the chief magistrate, and fully secure the right and privileges of parliament, and the liberties and rights of the people; and that neither this, nor any other previous vote, that is, or shall be passed, in order to this bill, shall be of force or binding to the people, till the whole bill is passed."

The carrying this resolution ruined the republicans: they fancied they were now a match for their opponents, and had recourse to methods that lessened their interest. They resumed the design of presenting a petition in favour of a republic, which was in great forwardness when Oliver Cromwell dissolved the parliament; and accordingly it was brought to the house a few days after, by a formidable body of citizens. Fleetwood's party had hitherto joined the republicans, in order to distress the government, being no friends to this petition, they joined the ministerial party; and it was voted by a great majority that no notice should be taken of it. The petitioners were told, that it was expected they should acquiesce quietly in whatever was done by the parliament.

By this time Fleetwood had so far reconciled the differences that subsisted between Lambert and Desborough, that it was resolved to present a remonstrance to the protector, on the present state of affairs. The instrument was accordingly presented under the title of "The humble representation and petition of the general council of officers of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Richard referred it immediately to the commons, who seemed not to regard it with the attention the officers expected. In this remonstrance the army complained "that large arrears of pay were due to the soldiers, by which they were reduced to necessity; that they who had borne the burden of the war, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers attending it, were now disregarded, divided and laid aside. That the good old cause was treated with contempt, and traduced by malignant and disaffected persons, who grew every day more insolent, because their numbers were every moment increasing, by the return of their friends from foreign parts, and had now several meetings in the city of London: that the names of all those who sat as judges upon the late king, had been printed and scattered in different parts of the kingdom, intimating that they were all consigned to destruction: that many suits were commenced at common law against honest men, for what they had transacted in the wars as soldiers: that those famous acts which had been performed by the long parliament, and the late protector, were censured, railed at, and vilified. By these means, they said, the good old cause, which they were resolved to support, was visibly declined. And therefore they besought his highness to represent their complaints to the parliament, and to require proper and speedy remedies."

The commons affected to treat this petition with great contempt. They imagined that while they continued united with the protector, their joint interest in the army would be abundantly sufficient to silence the factious officers; but the pusillanimity of Richard rendered all their hopes abortive. For some

time they took no notice of the petition; but upon receiving repeated accounts that the officers continued their meetings, and that it had been proposed to separate the military from the civil power, the commons voted "that during the sitting of parliament, there shall be no general council or meeting of the officers of the army, without the direction, leave and authority of his highness the lord protector, and both houses of parliament. That no person shall have or continue any command or trust in any of the armies or navies of England, Scotland or Ireland, or any of the dominions and territories thereto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, that he will not disturb or interrupt the free meetings of parliament, of any of the members of either house, or their freedom in their debates or councils."

This resolution of the commons excited the resentment of the cabal at Wallingford-house, and they seemed determined to carry things to extremity. Lord Broghill, aware of the consequence, prevailed upon Richard to repair to one of their meetings, and command them to dissolve. Surprized at this unexpected exertion of power in Richard, they immediately withdrew, but did not dissolve. Fleetwood and Desborough were now sufficiently alarmed; and upbraided lord Broghill with his conduct in the house of peers, and even threatened him with an impeachment. This threat did not in the least intimidate Broghill; he threatened to move the house to know who had consented to the calling of a council of war, without the knowledge and consent of parliament. His speech was so well received by the house, that the officers despaired of carrying any thing in parliament, and renewed their secret consultations.

Their designs were, however, known to those officers who were attached to the protector; and they offered, if Richard would promise to support them, to answer with their heads for the success; and to bring before him Fleetwood, Desborough, Vane, and other leaders of the opposition, dead or alive. Howard, who was one of Oliver's distinguished favourites, was among the foremost to push Richard to take this vigorous resolution, which might have been easily effected. But he declined the offer, and chose rather to pursue peaceable than violent measures. Nor did he possess any of those arts which were necessary to gain the love of an enthusiastic army. Some disgust being taken at the promotions he had made, he answered, "Would you have me prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldsbey, who can neither pray nor preach, yet I will trust him before you all." The pretended saints were highly offended at this imprudent speech, and vowed the protector's destruction.

The council of officers assembled, repaired to the protector in a tumultuous manner, and demanded the dissolution of the parliament. Richard wanted fortitude to deny, nor had he indeed the ability to resist. The parliament was dissolved, and by the same act the protector was effectually dethroned. A few days after, he signed his dismissal in form. His brother Henry, governor of Ireland, a man of much better parts, but not greater ambition, resigned his power at the same time. Such was the fate of Cromwell's family! That edifice of grandeur, erected at the expence of so much guilt and labour, disappeared in a moment. Richard retired into the country, where he possessed a small estate, and where he remained unmolested: his peaceable disposition defended him against the malignancy of every party. After the restoration of monarchy, Richard travelled for some years. The prince of Conti, governor of Languedoc, saw him at Prezenaz, without knowing him. They were speaking of English affairs, and the prince highly extolled the courage and talents of Oliver Cromwell. "But the poor, weak Richard," added he, "what is become of him? How could he be so great a blockhead as not to profit more by the crimes and fortunes of his father?" The poor, weak Richard, however, lived happy in a middle station, to a good



old age: and surely a man of common sense would hardly hesitate which state to chuse, his calm condition, or his father's harassed and hated fortunes. He died about the latter end of queen Anne's reign.

The military council being thus possessed of the supreme command, applied themselves to the establishment of some form of government; and, after many deliberations, it was determined to recall the long parliament, which had dethroned Charles, and was afterwards dismissed, with disgrace, by Oliver Cromwell. That assembly, it was asserted, could only be dissolved by their own consent; and though violence had interrupted, it could not destroy their rights to government. This parliament now consisted of no more than forty members, who, with their old speaker Lenthall at their head, proceeded immediately to business. The officers were persuaded that this parliament would govern wholly by their directions, and act in subordination to the general council of the army. They were mistaken; their first votes sufficiently shewed that they were resolved to exert themselves the supreme authority. They were, however, held in the highest contempt, both by the royalists and presbyterians, and stiled the Rump, by way of reproach. A secret reconciliation therefore took place between the rival parties; and it was agreed, that, laying aside former enmities, every effort should be used for the overthrow of the Rump parliament. The presbyterians, notwithstanding their religious prejudices, repented of that violent zeal by which they had been hurried away. They saw, that by carrying the love of liberty too far, they were brought into slavery; and were now as desirous as others to restore that crown to the royal family, which they had snatched from it, without increasing their own happiness. The nobility and gentry concurred in the same design; and a general conspiracy was formed in the nation, the success of which seemed infallible, had not Sir Richard Willis betrayed the common interest before the design was ripe for execution. The republican parliament was no sooner informed of the design, than they ordered Lambert to prevent its execution. He was remarkably active in obeying their commands, and the gaols were soon filled with prisoners of birth and fortune.

But this success proved the ruin of the parliament. The officers, at the instigation of Lambert, presented a petition concerning wounded soldiers, and the widows of those who had perished in the service. They also complained that they themselves were greatly neglected, notwithstanding the services they had done their country; and desired that Fleetwood should be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general, Desborough lieutenant-general of the horse, and Monk major-general of the foot. They likewise pressed for the punishment of those who had been concerned in the late insurrection; and that no officer should be dismissed from his employment but by the sentence of a court-martial.

Alarmed at these proceedings, the republicans determined to make one bold attempt in support of their power: they voted that Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelsey, and Corbet, should be cashiered; that Fleetwood's commission should be vacated, and the command of the army vested in seven persons, viz. Fleetwood, Ludlow, Monk, Haslerigg, Walton, Morley, and Overton, with powers to dispose of the forces in such a manner, that they might preserve the peace of the commonwealth, and the safety of the parliament. They also declared it high-treason to levy any money without consent of parliament. Sir Arthur Haslerigg moved, that Lambert should be impeached, but his motion was not seconded.

It was now evident, that either the power of the parliament or army must fall; and it required no great degree of penetration to foretel which would obtain the victory. Lambert led a party of his soldiers into the streets of Westminster, leading to the parliament-house; and when the speaker came in his

coach, they very civilly turned his horses; and conducted him back to his home. The other members were intercepted in the same manner, and the Rump parliament dissolved with as much ease by Lambert, as it had been before by Cromwell.

The dissolution of the parliament destroyed all government in England; and there was now a necessity of settling a new one, though it was not easy to determine of what species it should be. The consequence of this unsettled state was an universal anarchy over all England: both the magistrates and officers of the revenue refused to act; and the soldiers were under a necessity of returning to their former occupations, or procuring themselves subsistence by their swords. In this distressful situation, the eyes of the whole kingdom were directed to Monk, who, it was now foreseen, must be the arbiter of the fate of England.

That general, at first attached to the royal party, afterwards employed by Cromwell, and appointed governor of Scotland, had now, by his politeness, his integrity, and other virtues, obtained the love of the soldiers, and the confidence of the people. Whether he meant only to oppose the views of the ambitious Lambert, or secretly meditated the restoration of the king, is not known; but he declared in favour of the parliament against those who had dismissed it. His prudence, however, kept his intentions an impenetrable secret; but deeper designs, either in the king's favour or his own, were, from the beginning, suspected to be the motive of his actions.

In the mean time, the council of officers, in order to preserve some appearance of government, elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers. These they pretended to invest with the supreme authority, and called them a committee of safety. They promised to summon a free parliament, but took no steps to carry it into execution. On the contrary, they made some progress towards assembling a military parliament, composed wholly of officers, elected from every regiment in the service. Nothing but a dreadful prospect of ruin and slavery presented itself to the people. They were sufficiently convinced that the divisions or union of these sanctified robbers tended equally to extirpate from the British dominions all private morality, as well as civil law and justice.

The late suppression of the conspiracy seemed to have put a final period to all the hopes and expectations of Charles. Destitute of resources from his friends, he sought to interest foreign powers in his favour. He repaired to Fontarabia, where Mazarine was carrying on the negotiations for a peace with Spain. The cardinal even refused to see him; and Don Louis de Haro, the Spanish ambassador, shewed him barely common civilities. This was not a time, from a mere motive of generosity, to arm a powerful monarch in the cause of a prince who had been unfortunate. The treaty of the Pyrannees was concluded without the least mention of Charles. But fortune is always capricious; Charles passed, soon after, from this abject state, to the possession of a throne.

Desirous of discovering the real sentiments of Monk, whose designs were still impenetrable, Charles sent Dr. Monk, that general's brother, to solicit his services. The general asked him if he had trusted any person with the secret of his commission. "No body," replied the doctor, "but Brice your chaplain, in whom I know you confide." Brice was worthy of the highest confidence; and a zealous loyalist. But Monk thought proper to break off the conversation, and dismissed his brother, without discovering his intentions; persuaded, that in an affair of such importance, a secret intrusted to a third person is no longer a secret.

His conduct in every other particular was directed by the same prudence and reserve. Corbet, who had been sent by the committee of safety, under pretence



of communicating their resolutions to Monk; but in reality to debauch his army, was put under arrest; and all the officers who seemed inclined to favour Lambert and his party were cashiered.

It was no sooner known that the governor of Scotland had declared for the parliament, than many of the English followed the example. Whole regiments revolted. Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Walton and Morley, seized Portsmouth for the parliament. These circumstances served only to increase the public distractions, and confirm the anarchy in which the whole kingdom was involved. Fleetwood, the general, a man equally weak and enthusiastic, sought those resources in prayer, which his poverty of genius could not afford him. He would frequently fall on his knees in the midst of a council of war; and when he was exhorted to vigorous measures, he answered, that the Lord had spit in his face, and would no longer hear him. He became jealous of Lambert; he could not trust either Haslerigg or Vane; and would willingly have joined Monk, had not Ludlow, Whitlock, and others of great parts and experience, prevented him; by laying before him the danger that might attend so precipitate a step. They observed, that the unaccountable manner in which Monk had left Scotland, as well as his subsequent conduct, strongly indicated that his real intention was to re-establish monarchy. In this hour of dreadful perplexity, Lambert offered to march against Monk, and put the whole to the decision of a general engagement; and could Lambert have been trusted, Monk might possibly have been defeated. But the republican party, who formed the majority of the committee of safety, chose rather to be subdued by Monk than saved by Lambert. Under the specious pretence, therefore, of an accommodation, they procured letters from the city of London, the officers of the navy and army in England and Ireland, persuading Monk to join with the committee of safety in their endeavours to restore at once the parliament and the peace of the kingdom. Monk was pleased with these invitations: he knew that a negotiation, however short, must be the ruin of Lambert, who was destitute of money for the payment of his forces. Clerges was accordingly dispatched to Monk with proposals from the committee of safety. Monk, to gain time, agreed to send three of his colonels, Wilks, Cloberry, and Knight, to treat of an accommodation. The two latter employed this opportunity in forming connections with the royalists, particularly with Redman, one of the ablest officers in the army; and by that means secured the Irish regiments, who had received orders to serve under Lambert against Monk. Wilks, therefore, was chiefly intrusted with the negotiation. A treaty was soon concluded, but Monk refused to ratify it, declaring his officers had exceeded their commission. He desired, however, to enter into a new negotiation at Newcastle; and the committee readily accepted his fallacious offer.

While Monk amused the committee of safety with the hopes of an agreement, these military sovereigns were surrounded with distress. Anarchy prevailed in every part of the nation; and the people having refused the payment of all taxes, there was no money to pay the soldiers. Lambert had lost his time and his credit, both with the committee of safety and his own soldiers. Whitlock saw their danger, and proposed to Fleetwood two expedients; either to draw together all his forces, take possession of the Tower, and join with the city of London in their declaration for a free parliament; or to restore the king upon the best terms he could procure. Fleetwood would willingly have embraced the latter, but he was weak enough, even after he had given his consent, to be dissuaded from it by Sir Harry Vane, Desborough and Berry, all of them implacable enemies to the royal family.

These different cabals placed the settlement of government, which was considered as an indispensable

preliminary to whatever resolution should be taken, at a greater distance than ever. Vane had employed all his abilities in a noble scheme for reforming the practice of the law; and was so earnest in the cause, that he insisted on its being adopted in the new plan of government. He was obstinately opposed in this design by Whitlock, St. John, and all the lawyers whom they consulted. For Vane, Lambert, and other leaders of the independents, proposed a coalition with the papists, and hence they considered a general liberty of conscience as an indispensable preliminary to the new settlement. All the presbyterian clergy violently opposed this comprehension, and thus all the deep schemes of Vane were rendered abortive. These debates were carried on with so much acrimony and personal invective, were so generally known, and so generally condemned, that the committee of safety found it absolutely necessary to release the imprisoned royalists, to screen them from the fury of the people. This did not; however, prevent fresh plots and fresh insurrections of the royalists from breaking out almost every night in the city. They were, indeed, generally discovered and quelled by the army, before they arrived at any alarming height; but they sufficiently shewed that the people seemed determined to free themselves from the yoke of a military committee, whom they detested. Colonel Hewson, who, from the profession of a cobbler, had risen to a high rank in the army, was very active in this service, and had more than once entered London at the head of his regiment. In one of these expeditions, he fired upon and killed several of the city apprentices, who had assembled in a tumultuous manner, and declared for a free parliament. The magistrates of London were not, however, intimidated; they established a separate government, and assumed the supreme authority within the city. Admiral Lawson brought his fleet up the river, and declared for a free parliament. Haslerigg and Morley, informed of this important event, left Portsmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near the capital, being solicited by their old officers who had been cashiered by the committee of safety, revolted to the parliament. Desborough's regiment, being sent by Lambert to support his friends, no sooner reached St. Alban's, than they declared for the same assembly.

These events, the dissensions among the members of the cabal at Wallingford-house, and particularly the want of money, threw such a damp upon Lambert's army, that from being far superior, in all respects, to that of Monk, it was dwindled into a mere handful of men, when a resolution was taken to restore the parliament.

A.D. 1660: Lenthall, the speaker, being invited by the officers, again assumed his former authority, and summoned the parliament, which met on the sixth of January. The authority of Fleetwood was now so entirely lost, that not a single company or troop would obey his orders. His hand was too weak to support this ill-founded fabric of government, which was now every where falling into ruins. Lenthall, on this occasion, acted as general of the army; and both officers and soldiers were so submissive to his orders, that he discharged Fleetwood's lieutenant of the Tower, and put Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper in his room. He also ordered a general rendezvous of all the troops in and about London to be held in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, where they gave him all the military honours due to a general.

The first act of the parliament was to repeal the bill against the payment of excise and customs. They appointed commissioners for assigning quarters to the army; and, without taking the least notice of Lambert himself, they sent orders to his troops to repair immediately to the quarters assigned them. This had the desired effect. His soldiers obeyed the orders of the parliament, and he was left without more than an hundred horse about him. He himself



was soon after seized, and sent prisoner to the Tower. Sir Harry Vane, and the other members who had concurred with the committee of safety, were confined to their own houses; and the officers who had joined in subduing the parliament, were cashiered, and ordered into a like confinement. By these exertions of authority, the power of the parliament seemed built on a firmer foundation than ever.

The restoration of the Rump parliament did not, however, satisfy Monk, who still kept his army on the borders of England. Lord Fairfax had taken arms, and declared for a free parliament. This was going a step farther than Monk had yet proposed, notwithstanding he had made all the necessary dispositions for marching to the capital before contrary orders should be sent from the parliament. Though the reasons he gave for this march were very plausible, yet it tended to confirm the suspicions of the public, that he really intended to restore the king. He left major-general Morgan to command the troops necessary to preserve the peace of Scotland; and was received with open arms by lord Fairfax and his friends, who had actually taken possession of York for the use of a free parliament. The Rump parliament was now held in greater detestation than ever: and the general received, as he advanced to the southward, continual accounts of some fresh declaration or association of the counties for a free parliament.

Alarmed at these declarations, and desirous of keeping the power they had obtained, the parliament made some attempts to bring about a reconciliation between themselves and the cabal of Wallingford-house. They passed a vote, "That all officers who were in commission on the eleventh of October 1659, and all other officers and soldiers in the late defection and rebellion, who have already submitted, or may hereafter submit themselves, and return to their duty and obedience to the parliament, shall be pardoned, and indemnified for life and estate." Lambert was comprehended in this resolution; and both he, and all his officers, among whom was colonel Hewson, who had been so active against the city of London, made their submissions; but were ordered to be confined in their own houses.

The next business of the parliament was to pass a vote to justify Monk's marching into England. They also voted, that one thousand pounds a year should be settled on him; and that Scot and Robinson should be sent to compliment him on his arrival. These emissaries were soon convinced, from the universal wishes of the people for a free parliament, that the present assembly could not long subsist. Their discoveries occasioned great uneasiness to the heads of the faction.

Monk's army did not amount to more than six thousand men; but this force was sufficient to destroy a faction divided against itself; and the city of London was so confident of his declaring for a free parliament, that they sent a committee of the council to congratulate him on his approach to the capital. On his arrival at St. Albans, he was informed that near nine thousand soldiers were then in London, disposed in different regiments; but that most of their officers were confined by the parliament. He therefore imagined there would be no great difficulty in removing these troops; and accordingly wrote a very pressing letter to the house, that room might be made for his regiments. Had the members of parliament been united among themselves, or dared to trust the experienced officers that served under them, they would not, probably, have submitted to Monk's request; but their power was so precarious by their divisions, that they made no difficulty of complying, and orders were given for their own regiments to retire. Four of them, however, scrupled to obey: a mutiny ensued; and it was with the utmost difficulty they were prevented, either from joining with the royalists in the city, or marching out against the army of Monk. This mutiny being considered as a fresh insult upon their authority, the parliament pressed Monk to hasten

his march, and he accordingly entered London on the fourth of February.

Two days after the general was introduced to the house, and thanks were given him by Lenthall, for the eminent services he had done his country. Monk who was a prudent, though not an elegant speaker answered with great modesty. He told the house; that the services he had performed merited not such encomiums, he had done no more than his duty: that among many persons of greater worth who bore their commission, he had been employed as the instrument of Providence for effecting their restoration; but he considered their service only as a step to more important ones, which it was their part to render to the nation: that as he marched along he observed all ranks of men, in all places, to be in earnest expectations of a settlement after the violent convulsions to which they had been exposed; and to have no prospect of such a blessing but from the dissolution of the present parliament, and the summoning a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: that applications had been made to him for that purpose; but that he, sensible of his duty, had always told the petitioners, that the parliament itself, which was now free, and would soon be full, was the best judge of all those measures, and that the whole community ought to acquiesce in their determination: that though he expressed himself in this manner to the people, he must now freely inform the house, that the fewer engagements were exacted, the more comprehensive their plan would prove, and the more satisfaction it would give to the nation: and that it was sufficient for the public security, if the fanatical party and the royalists were excluded: since the principles of these factions were destructive either of government or of liberty.

The parliament were now convinced that some measures must be pursued in order to settle the tranquillity of the nation. It was indeed impossible that things could continue any length of time in their present situation. Every thing tended to bring on a crisis, which must be decisive. The people paid so very little regard to the orders of the parliament, that a small part only of the revenues could be collected. The common council of London absolutely refused to pay any obedience to their commands, and openly declared they would pay no assessment till it should be imposed by a free and lawful parliament, and then they should think it their duty to submit.

Determined to make at least one effort for supporting their power, the parliament sent orders to Monk to march immediately into the city and seize twelve of the magistrates whom they supposed to have been the cause of this alarming resolution, to remove the posts and chains from all the streets, and to demolish both the portcullises and gates of the city. Monk, to the astonishment of all men, obeyed the order. He apprehended many of the obnoxious persons and sent them to the tower: and notwithstanding the interposition of his friends, the remonstrances of his officers, and the cries of the people, he broke down the gates and portcullises of the city, and returned to his lodgings at Westminster in triumph.

A moment's reflection convinced him he had gone too far. Instead of supporting that cautious ambiguity he had hitherto maintained, his late conduct had sufficiently indicated that he had joined the parliamentary party, and that his design was to subject the whole nation to the arbitrary decisions of that contemptible assembly. These considerations determined him to alter his conduct, and to recover the good opinion of the citizens, which he seemed to have forfeited by his late precipitate conduct. He could not bear the thought of being considered as the minister of violence and usurpation. He repaired to the house and complained in the bitterest terms of the odious service he had been obliged to execute in obedience to their orders. But this was only part of the plan he had formed for retrieving his character. He wrote a letter



to the parliament, in which he reproached them in the severest terms of tyranny and oppression; of their forming new cabals with Lambert and Vane; and of giving encouragement to a fanatical petition presented by Barebone. He concluded with requiring them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and people, to issue writs immediately for filling up their house, and to fix the time for their own dissolution, that a new and free parliament might be assembled.

Monk waited not for an answer to this letter: he marched immediately into the city, at the head of his army, and ordered Allen, the lord-mayor, to summon a common-council to meet at Guildhall. As soon as the citizens were assembled, he repaired thither, and assured them that he was extremely sorry for the indignity he had so lately put upon the city, in complying with the orders of the parliament, and was now come to make them all the reparation in his power. He declared that he would always persevere in the measures he had adopted; and wished a firm union might be established between the city and army for their mutual defence, and for promoting the happiness and settlement of the kingdom.

It is impossible to express the applause and exultation with which this speech of the general was received. The news of this happy event was soon spread through the whole city, and excited the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. Every individual promised himself that the dreadful scenes of horror and confusion were over, and those of happiness and tranquillity would soon succeed. Even the rage of party was forgotten; the royalists and the presbyterians joined in the common joy. The populace, who in the gratification of their passions regard neither honour nor decency, roasted rumps at every bonfire, and where these could not be procured, pieces of flesh cut into the same shape were used as substitutes; in order, as the people expressed it, to celebrate by those symbols of hatred and derision, the funeral of the rump parliament.

The dispirited parliament exerted all their power to reconcile themselves to Monk and his officers; but he refused to trust them. He formed, in conjunction with his new friends in the city, a well-regulated militia, which were intrusted to men whose fidelity could be relied on; and the most proper measures were pursued for settling the nation. Several persons, equally desperate from guilt and fanaticism, offered to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his government; but he rejected their offers with contempt.

A declaration of the general's desire that the secluded members should resume their seats being published, they repaired in such numbers to the house, that they soon became the majority. Upon which most of the independent members retired. They immediately repealed all the votes that had been passed for their exclusion; released the royalists from their confinement, and restored them to their estates; renewed and enlarged the general's commission; and fixed an assent necessary for the support of the fleet and army. These votes being passed, they ordered writs to be issued for the immediate assembling a new, full, and free parliament, and then dissolved themselves. These proceedings gave the highest satisfaction. The long parliament had for some time been the general object of detestation, and their dissolution occasioned a general joy throughout the kingdom.

A new council of state was chosen and obtained the approbation of the people, as it consisted of men of dignity, moderation, and virtue. Their credit was so well established, that the city of London immediately advanced them sixty thousand pounds for the use of the army. Though every person of the least penetration perceived that the restoration of the king must be the consequence of a free parliament, yet no declaration of that kind had hitherto been made; the general's intentions were still impenetrable. But in the private meetings of the royalists, a

question was started with regard to the concessions that ought to be made by the king; and the treaty entered into with his late majesty during his residence in the Isle of Wight was proposed as a proper basis for the negotiation. This question would certainly have been carried could the persons have agreed with regard to the limitations; but that was far from being the case; and Monk still continuing to declare only for a free parliament, none had the courage to offer any thing upon that head to the public. The limitations were, therefore, neglected, and several writers have been very severe upon the memory of Monk, and other leaders of the royalists, on account of that omission. But when we consider the constitution of the English monarchy, the little regard paid by either party to concessions, when it is in their power to revoke them, the difficulties attending such limitations, the salutary authority of parliament when virtuous, its pernicious power when corrupted, and that it was in the breast of the members to bind the prerogative even after the king was restored, we shall perhaps be inclined to think that these clamours have no foundation. The wife and the virtuous part of the nation were placed between the two extremes of frenzy; that of fanaticism, which disclaimed even the shadow of monarchy, on one hand, and that of loyalty, which adopted all the absurdities of government, on the other. No terms could be invented rigorous enough to please the former, nor any mild enough to content the latter. And thus the design of the restoration, by an obstinate persistence in limitations, might have miscarried.

Unmoved by all the offers of faction, Monk pursued the plan he had formed with equal prudence and firmness. Among the friends of that prudent general, was Mr. Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, remarkable for a sedentary, studious disposition, and a sound judgment. With this friend only Monk deliberated concerning the great enterprize he had formed, and hitherto conducted with so much success. Sir John Granville, who was sent with a commission from the king to Monk, applied to Morrice, in order to obtain access to the general. He was desired to communicate his business to Morrice; but Granville refused every importunity, refusing to communicate his business to any one whatever, but the general himself in person. Monk was now convinced that Granville might be trusted, and therefore not only admitted him to his presence, but also communicated to him his whole design. But he still refused to commit any thing to writing: he only charged Granville with a verbal message, assuring his majesty of his services, and exhorting him immediately to quit the Spanish territories, and retire into Holland. Charles fortunately took his advice: had he staid a few hours longer he had certainly been detained under pretence of honour and respect, by the Spaniards, who would not have released him till the English had agreed to deliver up Jamaica.

The English in general were now so well cured of their jealousy against the prerogatives of the crown, that the new parliament was entirely composed of members devoted to it. The rage of the republicans, however, grew more violent, and Lambert, having found means to escape out of the tower, soon collected troops. No time was to be lost to reduce this active general. Colonel Ingoldsby was accordingly dispatched after him and overtook him at Daventry, where he had only assembled four troops of horse, one of which immediately deserted from him. Another quickly followed the example, and he himself, endeavouring to escape, was seized by Ingoldsby, to whom he made submissions not suitable to his former character and valour.

When the parliament met, they chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone their speaker, and the members chiefly exerted themselves in bewailing the late troubles, and in expressing their hatred of the memory of Cromwell. In the midst of these speeches Monk acquainted the house, that Granville was at the door

with



with dispatches from the prince. The whole house was in an extasy of joy. Granville was introduced. He presented a letter and a declaration from Charles. The declaration was well calculated to support the satisfaction inspired by the prospect of a public settlement. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatever, and that without any exceptions, but such as should afterwards be made by parliament. It promised a liberty of conscience, and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, should be offered for securing that indulgence. It submitted the inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations, to the arbitration of that assembly; and it assured the soldiers that their arrears should be paid, and that they should, for the future, receive the same pay they had hitherto enjoyed. Every one was satisfied. The concessions of the late king had limited the prerogatives too much, to give the real friends of liberty any uneasiness.

The two houses (for the peers had resumed their seats without opposition) assisted in proclaiming the king by the title of Charles II. A present of fifty thousand pounds was conferred on the king, ten thousand on the duke of York, and five thousand on the duke of Gloucester. And so universal a joy appeared throughout the nation, that the king said, it was surely his own fault that he had not sooner taken possession of the throne, since he found every body so zealous for promoting his restoration.

Monk repaired to Dover to receive the prince, whom he had the glory of placing on the throne. No revolution was ever more rapid, more advantageous, or less violent. So many evils, occasioned by civil contentions, had taught the people, that a legal government was the only support of the liberty and happiness of the subject.

The king was proclaimed on the seventh of May, and the intermediate time between that and the twenty-ninth, the day appointed for his entering London, was spent in preparing every thing for his reception. Magnificent beds, linen, chairs, robes, yachts, &c. were voted to his majesty. Every precaution was taken to prevent any farther waste of the lands, either of the king or royalists; and great care was exerted in securing the persons of the regicides, and the most criminal persons during the late government.

The public rejoicings were boundless, after the king was invited by the two houses of parliament to resume the regal function. The peers who were deputed to receive him were the earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex; the lord viscount Hereford, the lord Berkley of Berkley-castle, and the lord Brook.

The king, on his disembarking at Dover, embraced the general in the most cordial manner, and, perhaps, never subject deserved better of his king and country. Charles made his public entry into London on his birth-day, being the twenty-ninth of May; where he was received with such demonstrations of joy, and such display of magnificence, as shewed that the whole nation partook of the general satisfaction.

It will be proper to stop here for a moment, to survey the period we have finished. We have seen fanaticism lighting the flames that involved the state. That epidemical scourge visited the three kingdoms. England in particular was over-run with infatuated sectaries, determined to support their absurdities without law or controul. The republicans were so much the more terrible, as their religious principles enjoined a severity of manners too refined for human nature. Perhaps nothing contributed more to their triumph over the royalists, whom they called cavaliers, the greater part of them being men of pleasure, either in consequence of their birth and fortunes, or because, from a dislike of the fanatics, they fell into the contrary extreme of immorality. A parliamentarian saying one day to a royalist, "Your friends, the cavaliers, are very dissolute:" "Yes," (replied

the other) they have the infirmities of men; but your friends, the round-heads, have the vices of devils, tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride." The latter carried their severities so far, that they prohibited every kind of diversion.

Among the great variety of sectaries, the Quakers stand eminently distinguished. Their founder was George Fox, a shoemaker's apprentice: but though enthusiasts in the highest degree, they made no figure in the general commotions, because their principles forbade the use of arms. They thought the practice of civility a worldly refinement unworthy of christianity. They addressed themselves to every body by the monosyllables *thee* and *thou*; and gave no title but that of Friend, even to people of rank and fortune. Their dress was similar to their manners: they rejected all superfluities, not excepting plaits to their clothes, and buttons to their sleeves and hats, which they thought unnecessary. Their religious system consisted in following the letter of the gospel: they thought an oath blasphemy, even when taken in a court of justice. They allowed no sacraments, no church ceremonies, no churches, no priests. Every one affected inspiration, and made strange efforts to receive the Holy Spirit; and, from these trembling convulsions, they acquired the name of Quakers. These enthusiasts would sometimes rush into churches, disturb the service, and insult the ministers. They were sentenced to be whipped and pilloried; but in this they triumphed, and their obstinate patience appeared supernatural to the people. Some of them undertook to fast forty days, in imitation of the Saviour of the world, and actually perished in the attempt. All made a point of offering their cheek to them that would smite them, and never to return an injury. The consequence was, that by carrying their religious duties to the most extravagant height, they exposed their virtues to ridicule. Strange surely it is, that the gospel, calculated to inspire every social virtue, should have afforded so many pretences to folly and frenzy, to break the sacred bonds of society! But such is the weakness of the human mind; while men affect to quit the path marked out by the Author of reason, they wander through wildness and obscurity, till they lose themselves and their way together.

The different follies of these fanatical sects contributed greatly to multiply deists, men of rash and superficial minds, who attributing to religion the excesses of fanaticism, fall into the contrary extreme of incredulity. Cromwell called them heathens; but when in their company, laughed with them at the fanatics.

Under the commonwealth, the taxes amounted, one year with another, to more than two millions: the late king's revenues amounted to less than half that sum. In 1650, commissioners of excise and customs were appointed; but in 1657, Cromwell settled them according to the ancient usage, and eleven hundred thousand pounds a year were offered for them. They were of less value under the regulation of commissioners. The protector, notwithstanding all his vigilance and œconomy, left two millions of debts. The commonwealth, in 1652, had more than fifty thousand men in arms, whose ordinary pay was a shilling a day for the foot, and two shillings for the horse. It is not, therefore, surprising, that the army opposed the re-establishment of the civil government, because it must totally supersede so lucrative an employment. The parliamentary forces at the battle of Worcester, including the militia, amounted to eighty thousand men. The commerce of England had been greatly advanced under Charles I. before the civil wars. The East-India and Guinea trades were very advantageous. The annual return was seven hundred thousand pounds, and twenty thousand pieces of cloth were sent yearly into Turkey. The commonwealth restored this source of wealth, which had been lost in the civil wars. One of the chief things that made commerce flourish, was, that the principles of a democratical government had



had weakened the prejudices of vanity. People of fashion put their children apprentices to merchants, and that useful profession became honourable. In 1650, the interest of money was reduced to six per cent. Before the reign of Elizabeth, it had been at fourteen. This shews a great increase of specie, and a better system of policy. The colony of New-England increased by means of the puritans, who fled thither in order to free themselves from the constraint which Laud and the church-party had imposed upon them; and before the commencement of the civil wars, it was supposed to contain twenty-five thousand souls. For a similar reason the catholics, afterwards, who found themselves exposed to many hardships, and dreaded still worse treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and settled the colony of Maryland.

Learning, before the civil wars broke out, began to flourish in England. Shakespeare will ever be ranked in the first class of our English poets. His beauties are his own, and, in the strictest sense, original. The faults found in him are chiefly, those of the age in which he lived, his transcribers, and his editors. He not only excelled in copying nature, but his imagination carried him beyond it. He had all the creative powers of fancy to form new characters, and was more an original genius than any other writer. Like other great poets, he has had the felicity of having his faults admired for the sake of his beauties. He died in 1616.

Ben Johnson, poet-laureat to James I. and Charles I. was one of the greatest dramatic writers of his age. He was familiarly acquainted with the best ancient authors, from whom he has borrowed freely; and was the first that brought critical learning into repute. He was as defective in tragedy as he was excellent in comedy, and that excellence is confined to a few of his works. In Shakespeare we see the force of genius; in Johnson, the power of industry. He is frequently deficient in the harmony, and sometimes in the measure of his verses. What appears to be facility in his compositions, is generally the effect of uncommon labour. He died in 1637.

Edmund Waller, sometimes stiled the English Tibullus, excelled all his predecessors in harmonious versification. His love verses have all the tenderness and politeness of the Roman poet; and his panegyric on Cromwell has ever been esteemed a masterpiece of its kind. His vein is never redundant; we frequently wish he had said more, but never that he had said less. His personal qualities were as amiable as his poetical, and he was equally formed to please the witty and the fair. He not only enjoyed all his faculties, but retained much of his youthful vivacity at eighty years of age. He died in 1687.

The great Milton flourished also in this age. His *Paradise Lost*, though defective in its plan, though stiffened with foreign idioms, technical terms, and uncouth expressions, exhibits such a stupendous force

of genius, as amazes, confounds, and transports the reader; and it is with justice considered as equal to the first epic poem of antiquity. What is most astonishing is, that the author wrote it under the united oppressions of misfortune, blindness, poverty, and contempt. Nor is it much less surprising, that this sublime poem should remain for many years unknown in a bookseller's shop.

At the head of the philosophers who flourished during this period, is justly placed Sir Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, one of the greatest geniuses the world ever saw. If we consider the just and extensive views of this prodigious man, the infinite number of his objects, the nervousness of his style, his sublime imagination, and his rigorous exactness, we shall, perhaps, esteem him one of the greatest and most eloquent of philosophers. This penetrating genius discovered the emptiness of the visionary systems of philosophy, which had, for many ages, amused mankind, and taught the world, that the only method of discovering truth was by experiment. He had the glory of being the first adventurer in the new world of science, and of discovering such mines of knowledge as will never be exhausted.

Thomas Hobbs acquired a reputation for writings equally unphilosophical and irreligious. He despised learning; and said, if he had read as much as other men of letters, he should have been as ignorant. Man, according to Hobbs, is naturally wicked; a principle which certainly does him very little honour. He is also reproached with favouring arbitrary power. He died in 1679.

William Harvey, M.D. acquired immortal honour for his discovery of the circulation of the blood. He enjoyed the happiness, in his life-time, to find the clamours of ignorance, envy and prejudice, against his doctrine, totally silenced, and his discovery universally established. He died in 1657.

The polite arts flourished in England during the reign of Charles I. especially painting and sculpture. He was the patron of Rubens, Vandyke, Inigo Jones, and other eminent artists; so that, had it not been for the civil wars, he would probably have converted his court into a second Athens; and the collections he made for that purpose, considering the difficulties under which he laboured, were amazing. His favourite, the duke of Buckingham, imitated him in that respect, and laid out the amazing sum of four hundred thousand pounds upon his cabinet of paintings and curiosities. The earl of Arundel was, however, the great Mæcenas of that age; and, by the immense acquisition he made of antiquities, especially his famous marble inscriptions, he may stand on a footing, with regard to the encouragement and utility of literature, with the greatest of the Medicean princes. But during the civil wars, and the government of Cromwell, the polite arts were totally eclipsed, though, it is said, the protector himself was not an enemy to learning.





## B O O K XII.

From the Restoration of Charles II. to the Revolution.

## C H A R L E S II.

A.D. 1660. **T**HE universal joy that spread over the nation at the restoration of the king, seemed to promise a happy reign both with regard to the king and his people. The ancient order and discipline, both in church and state, were restored with the monarchy, and a round of magnificence and pleasures succeeded the gloomy ferocity which had so long taken possession of the minds of the English people. Charles introduced the spirit of gallantry into a palace yet stained with the blood of his father. The independents were hardly heard of, and the puritans retired from the fear of government. The manners of the English underwent so total a change, that the late civil war became a subject of ridicule: the austere and gloomy sectarists, who had filled the kingdom with their enthusiastic notions, were now the subjects of raillery to the gay licentious courtiers.

Charles II. was about thirty years of age, nursed in the school of adversity, acquainted with men and courts, a man of genius, acute, sensible, good natured, polite, never out of temper, and perfectly unaffected; but immoderately addicted to pleasure. It is easy to judge of the wisdom of a prince from the choice of those he honours with favour or his confidence. The council was at first composed of respectable persons, chosen indifferently from among the presbyterians and the royalists. Monk, created duke of Albemarle, proved that Charles was not tainted with that vice of courts, ingratitude. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, and appointed lord chancellor and prime minister, had few equals either in virtue or knowledge.

The duke of York, the king's brother, was of a vindictive temper, active, and violent, and so confirmed a bigot to the popish religion, that he thought nothing too much, to promote its establishment. He therefore laboured to extend the prerogative, that he might be able at last to establish an arbitrary government. This, joined with the indolence of the king, enabled the duke to extend the schemes he had formed, and which gave rise to all the troubles and animosities that distracted the close of this reign.

The two houses of parliament having met without a summons from the king, they were at first distinguished by the title of convention; nor did they assume the name of the parliament, till Charles had passed an act for that purpose.

The first object that engaged their attention was the amnesty, which had been promised by the king before he landed in England. The upper house, animated partly by repentment and partly by zeal, were for excluding many persons from the benefit of this act of oblivion. But Charles desired them to remember the sacred promise he had made, and to which he thought himself in some measure indebted for his good fortune. He therefore recommended clemency to them in the most pressing manner; an instance of the tenderness of his disposition, and which gained him universal applause. This interposition had the desired effect, and only the regicides, and the furious republicans, Lambert and Vane,

were excluded. Some others were indeed rendered incapable of the benefit of this act, in case of their accepting public employments, and some were rendered incapable of holding them. It would have been difficult to shew greater moderation, where there were so many criminals.

The act of amnesty being settled, the two houses took into consideration the royal revenue, and it was settled at twelve hundred thousand pounds a year; a sum greatly superior to that of any former king. But it must be remembered, that the expences of the crown were prodigiously increased, after the courts of Europe had adopted the example of Lewis XIV. in keeping up large standing armies. The maintenance of the navy, with some other articles, which formerly amounted to no more than eighty thousand pounds per annum, now required at least eight hundred thousand. It is not easy to imagine what advantage could be proposed by so great an augmentation of the forces. The people were more heavily taxed, and the prince not at all the more powerful. A handful of men formerly did what an hundred thousand were employed to do at present.

The people had been long so highly exasperated against the regicides, that their trial occasioned a general joy. But they firmly defended the cause for which they suffered: the terrors of death lost all their force. Harrison told his judges, that the pretended crime of which he was accused, far from loading him with guilt, was an act enjoined by heaven, that in his doubts he had implored the Lord with tears, to enlighten him, and that he had received incontestible assurances of his will; that human judgments were but darkness in comparison of divine illumination; that being determined not to injure the lowest man in the world for the greatest advantage in it, he was satisfied he had acted from a good conscience; that neither ambition nor fear had ever extorted from him the smallest token of approbation in behalf of the tyranny of Cromwell; that he had always been found firm in his principles of religion and integrity; and that this was not the character of a murderer and a villain. All the rest, who were ten in number, that were executed, shewed the same firmness and courage to the last. They considered themselves as martyrs to what they styled the cause of religion. The great lenity of the king respited the rest, and they were retained in different prisons. Lambert was sent to the island of Guernsey. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, were taken up and suspended during a whole day at Tyburn, and then cut down and buried under the gallows.

When the king passed the act of amnesty, he also gave the royal assent to an act for a perpetual thanksgiving on the twenty-ninth of May, the day of his arrival in England. In the mean time the parliament applied themselves to the necessary work of disbanding the army. It would have been an act of the highest imprudence to keep together a body of men so formidable by their numbers and valour, and so accustomed to outrage and violence. An assessment of seventy thousand pounds a month was therefore imposed





*Engraved for (Sydney's History of England.)*







imposed, in order to enable his majesty to disband these forces.

The rejoicings for the happy restoration of the royal family, were hardly over before the duke of Gloucester paid the debt of nature, in the twenty-first year of his age. He was a young prince of many amiable qualities. His judgment was clear, his perception quick, his ideas extensive. He was warmly attached both to the religion and constitution of his country, so that his death was considered as a loss of the utmost importance to the nation. The king was never so deeply affected by any incident in his life.

In the month of October the princess of Orange came over to England to complement her brother on his restoration; the queen-mother arrived the month following, bringing with her the princess Henrietta, her youngest daughter, who, by the king her brother's consent, was married to the duke of Orleans. The princess of Orange had not been more than two months in England, before she was seized with the small-pox, and died on the twenty-fourth of December, leaving only one son, William prince of Orange, who was afterwards king of England.

When Charles came to disband the army he was struck with their martial discipline, and would have been glad to have detained them; but Clarendon soon convinced him that it could not be done with any safety to the nation. Only five thousand men, and a few garrisons, were retained.

On the twenty-ninth of December, the king, after returning the parliament thanks for their assiduous attention to settle the nation, dissolved them. If we may credit some authors, the king had it in his power to raise two millions annually on the landed interest, exclusive of the excise and customs: a sum more than sufficient to have rendered the crown independent. The same authors add, that a member of the house of commons having proposed it to him, he rejected it by the advice of his chancellor. "Your majesty's best revenue," said Clarendon, like an honest subject, "is the hearts of your people." While you have those you will never want money." If such an offer ever was made, we may safely conclude it was not by the consent of the house; for though they gave largely to his majesty, yet it was done with such precautions as sufficiently shewed they had the rights of parliament at heart; and were determined to defend the liberties of the people.

The parliament had taken no care to settle episcopacy; it was considered as a kind of appendage to monarchy, and not having been established by any legal power it was restored without violence by the legal authority of the king only. In an affair so delicate and so odious to the presbyterians, Charles, from the very first, shewed himself extremely moderate, and determined not to infringe that liberty of conscience, which he had so solemnly promised. The episcopal jurisdiction was to be limited. Such parts of the liturgy as gave offence to the opposite party were to be expunged; and every man left wholly at liberty to pursue his own principles. But an insurrection of the Millenarians or fifth monarchy-men obliged the minister to recede a little from these benevolent principles. About fifty or sixty of these wretches, headed by one Venner, a cooper, broke out into open hostility, and proclaimed king Jesus. They declared that the personal reign of Christ upon earth was just going to commence; that they were called by God to reform the world and to make all earthly powers subservient to king Jesus; and in order to accomplish this pious work, they were never to sheathe the sword till all the carnal powers of the world became a hissing and a curse; and in the frenzy of their zeal, they declared, that one of them was alone sufficient to subdue ten thousand of their adversaries; and had very confidently planned, after having led captivity captive in England, to march into France, Spain, Germany, and other parts of the world, to prosecute in those countries their holy design. They were, however, soon subdued; but so strong was the force of enthusiasm, that they

maintained with their last breath, at the place of execution, that if they were in an error, it was the Lord that was to blame.

Clarendon imputed all the troubles England had suffered during the civil wars to the factious spirit of the presbyterians, and was therefore determined to take every opportunity of weakening them, that they might not be any longer capable of raising discontents and insurrections in the nation.

The affairs of Scotland were settled with less difficulty than those of England. They had so severely felt the consequence of their joining the English parliament, that they were determined not to follow such imprudent methods for the future. The people had also discovered, that their former resistance had proceeded more from the turbulence of the aristocracy, and the bigotry of their ecclesiastics, than from any fixed passion for civil liberty. The lords of articles were restored, with some important branches of the prerogative; and the royal authority, fortified with more plausible claims and pretences, was re-established in its full extent. The ecclesiastical affairs required more consideration; but it was at last determined to restore prelacy; and Sharpe, who had been commissioned by the presbyterians in Scotland, to manage their interests with the king, was persuaded to abandon that party; and as a reward for his compliance, was created archbishop of St. Andrews. The covenant, once revered as divine, was dissolved. The Scottish parliament testified the greatest difference for the pleasure of the monarch; but the people still retained the leven of discontent, which might one day occasion the worst effects. Charles would gladly have united the presbyterians with the natural church; and for that purpose procured a conference to be held in the Savoy between twelve bishops and an equal number of presbyterian divines; but as each party came absolutely determined to give no point up, the conference came to nothing.

A.D. 1661. The interests of the royalists was now so powerful in the different counties and boroughs of England, that it was found at the meeting of the parliament, which assembled on the sixth of May, that there were only fifty-six presbyterians in the lower house, a number much too small to prevent the commons from distinguishing their zeal for the church and crown. They voted every attempt to dethrone the king to be high treason; that to accuse him of heresy or popery, or to asperse him by libels; should be punished with an exclusion from all employments; that the power of the sword belonged to him; and that it was unlawful for a man to defend himself against him. The covenant, and other republican acts were condemned to be burnt. Though the hierarchy was already restored to their spiritual authority, they were still excluded from parliament by the law which the late king had passed immediately before the commencement of the civil wars. The greatest violence had been used both against the king and the house of peers at the passing of this bill; and on that account alone the partizans of the church were provided with a very plausible pretence for repealing it. It met with no great opposition except from the few presbyterian members, and it was observed that Charles expressed great satisfaction when he gave it the royal assent.

These acts being passed the assembly was adjourned to the twentieth of November, when both houses again applied themselves to repair all the breaches that had been made by the fury of faction and civil war. It was now thought proper to relinquish, in the most solemn manner, the violent pretensions of that parliament, and to acknowledge that neither one nor both houses, independent of the king, were possessed of any military or legislative authority. An act was passed for empowering the king to appoint commissioners for regulating all the corporations in the kingdom; and expelling from thence such magistrates as had either obtruded themselves by violence or professed principles dangerous to the constitution,



civil and ecclesiastical. It was also enacted, that all magistrates should renounce the obligation of the covenant, and declare their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the king, and of their abhorrence of the traitorous position of taking arms by the king's authority, against his person and government.

A. D. 1662. These bills paved the way for the act of uniformity, which now came to be debated in the house. By this bill it was enacted, that every minister, who had not received episcopal orders, should now receive them; that he should declare his approbation, without reserve, of the book of the common-prayer; that he should take the oaths of canonical obedience; and that he should abjure the covenant, and renounce its principles of taking arms, by any pretence whatever against the king.

This bill was a thunder-bolt to the presbyterians. Confounded with other nonconformists, and even with papists, they had the mortification of finding themselves exposed to penalties, after having seen their sect predominant during the commonwealth. The church of England was put upon its ancient footing; and the penal laws were revived. Liberty of conscience, so expressly promised by the sovereign, was annihilated. Experience shewed the dangers of these violent measures. They were attributed to the catholics, who were desirous either of sharing the benefit of toleration with the presbyterians, or that they should share with them the rigours of persecution.

But however desirous the commons might be of restoring the prerogative of the crown, they did not exert the same activity, where any demand was made by the crown for the pecuniary assistance. In the mean time the king's debts were become intolerable, and the commons saw at last the necessity of voting him an extraordinary supply of one million, two hundred thousand pounds, to be levied by eighteen months assessment. They also voted an additional imposition of two shillings on each hearth, and settled the tax on the king during life.

Before Charles put an end to the session, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who was just landed at Portsmouth. The marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp on the twenty-first of May; but the princess, had neither the graces of person or humour, to make herself agreeable to the king. She had a portion of three hundred thousand pounds, together with two fortresses, Tangier on the coast of Africa, and Bombay in the East-Indies.

Lambert and Vane were still in prison: they had not been concerned in the death of Charles I. but their professed hatred to the crown having occasioned them to be excepted from the amnesty, the royalists demanded that they should be brought to justice. They were accordingly tried, with great solemnity, before all the judges of the kingdom. The impeachment of Vane turned wholly on his conduct since the death of the king, in quality of counsellor of state, and secretary of the marine department. He alledged, in his defence, the necessity of obeying the established government, however illegal that establishment might be. "If that obedience be criminal," said he, "after the government is changed by force, every subject in the kingdom may be liable to punishment. The usurpers will punish some for their fidelity to the deposed prince, and the prince will punish others for their submission to the usurpers. To prevent these disasters, and to defend the life and liberty of the subject, an act of Henry VII. declares, that no person shall be held criminal for obeying the reigning prince. It does not belong to individuals to discuss the titles of those who govern. Besides, as the most respectable people were divided between the king and the commonwealth, ought a man to be condemned for following the party to which he was bound by the covenant, an obligation then sacred and indispensable?" Those arguments were not, however, suffi-

cient to efface the remembrance of Vane's seditious conduct. The judges kept to the letter of the law; and though naturally of a timid disposition, he died with all the fortitude of a fanatic. Vane had been noted, in all civil transactions, for temper, insinuation, address, and a profound judgment; in all religious, for folly and extravagance. He was a perfect enthusiast; and fancying that he was certainly favoured with inspiration, he deemed himself, to speak the language of the times, a "man above ordinances;" and by reason of his perfection, to be unlimited and unrestrained by any rules which govern inferior mortals. These whimsies mingling with pride, had so corrupted his excellent understanding, that he sometimes thought himself the person deputed to reign on earth for a thousand years over the whole congregation of the faithful. Vane had been a principal leader in the trial of Strafford, and he was the last victim to these sanguinary quarrels. Lambert was condemned at the same time, but reprieved at the bar. He lived above thirty years after, happier, possibly, in his exile, than he had ever been in the thorny path of fortune.

The act of uniformity produced a kind of ecclesiastical revolution. It was called the St. Bartholomew act, because it was to take place on the twenty-fourth of August, the feast of that apostle. Though it bore no resemblance to the St. Bartholomew's day in France, it shewed the invincible obstinacy of the enthusiasts. In one day, and by a concerted resolution, above two thousand presbyterian ministers resigned their livings, because they would not conform to the articles of the act. The church of England now triumphed over her persecutors. The presbyterians, in the time of their exultation, had left her at least one fifth of the livings; but they now refused the same indulgence, though it was solicited by the peers. They were even, some time after, prohibited from coming within five miles of those places where they had exercised their ministry, except on journeys, under pain of six months imprisonment, and paying a penalty of five pounds. This was cutting off their very livelihood; nor were these rigorous proceedings by any means agreeable to the king. Though strongly suspected of indifference for all religions, he was secretly inclined to popery, which he had, probably, embraced before his restoration. He was strongly solicited by his brother James to grant a general toleration; and the misfortunes of the presbyterians afforded a very plausible pretence. Charles embraced the opportunity: he proclaimed an indulgence to those scrupulous consciences that were afraid of conforming to the established worship; and as the parliament was now prorogued, he gave his royal word, that at the approaching session, he would endeavour to procure a confirmation of that indulgence.

A prince without economy is at all times exposed to the most cruel necessity. The principal faults of Charles II. were an excessive love of pleasure, and prodigality in the gratification of his darling passion. Prudence and good policy were therefore very necessary; but these were not in the catalogue of Charles's virtues. The parliamentary supplies, together with the portion of his new queen, were all squandered away; nor had he yet paid the portion of his sister Henrietta to the duke of Orleans. Urged by necessity, he had recourse to a measure which exposed him to the severest censure, and is still regarded as one of the greatest blemishes of his reign. He offered the French ministry to deliver up Dunkirk, on their paying a valuable consideration. Clarendon and Southampton, though virtuous ministers, were concerned in this transaction; though there is the greatest probability to think, that the expedient was first proposed by Charles himself. The resolution being taken, a negotiation was opened with d'Eftrades, the French ambassador; and the French monarch purchased Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, for four hundred thousand pounds. The annual expence of the garrison amounted to



one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; and the advantages arising from it were by no means answerable to such a charge. The transaction, however, occasioned great murmurings among the people; and Lewis XIV. soon converted Dunkirk into a port equally advantageous to France, and formidable to England.

A. D. 1663. On the 18th of February, the parliament assembled, pursuant to their prorogation, and Charles endeavoured to fulfil his promise with regard to the liberty of conscience. But the parliament, who strongly suspected that he had another, and much deeper design in view, determined to defeat his intentions. The avowed design of gratifying the dissenters, and the secret resolution of supporting the catholics, were equally disagreeable. They accordingly drew up a remonstrance against the late declaration of indulgence, which they presented to his majesty, and both houses joined in desiring him to issue a proclamation against all popish priests and jesuits. To this request the king returned a very obliging answer; but in the proclamation afterwards issued, the terms were couched in so artful a manner, as to render it of little or no effect. This seeming complaisance of the king, however deceitful, was so pleasing to the parliament, that, upon his application, they voted him a supply of four subsidies, and this was the last time taxes were raised in that manner. The clergy also granted as much as the parliament; both parties being satisfied with the king's complaisance.

Gratitude was not one of Charles's principal virtues. The royalists, who had ventured so much, and suffered so deeply in his service, were wholly neglected. When application was made to him for relieving their distress, he seemed not at all affected, but lavished his favours on those who had been enemies to his family. The parliament, however, had more generosity: they took some notice of the poor cavaliers, and distributed among them above sixty thousand pounds. Mrs. Lane and the four Penderells had also some presents and pensions assigned them, for their eminent services to the king after the battle of Worcester.

A. D. 1664. At the meeting of the parliament, which was fixed for the sixteenth of March, a motion was made in the lower house for repealing the act for triennial parliaments. No great opposition was made to this motion: the act was repealed; and thus all the security of the subject against the influence of the court was at once destroyed; and Charles failed not to take advantage of these concessions to baffle opposition, from whatever quarter it might arise.

Nor was the parliament more servile in their compliance with regard to the request of royalty, than rigorous and uncharitable with regard to the people. The true spirit of persecution seemed to actuate all their proceedings on religious subjects. They had, possibly, forgotten, that the same rigid maxims of intolerance adopted by Laud had been one of the principal causes of the dreadful calamities from which the nation had been so lately delivered. They were not contented with the penalties contained in the act of uniformity; they now passed the famous conventicle act, whereby it was enacted, that if any one should repair to conventicles, the name they gave the meeting-houses of all dissenters, he should be fined five pounds for the first offence, or suffer three months imprisonment; for the second offence, ten pounds, or six months imprisonment; but for the third offence, after being convicted by a jury of his peers, he was to be transported to some foreign plantation, or pay the penalty of one hundred pounds.

A dispute had, for some time, subsisted with the states of the United Provinces, in relation to commerce. The royal African company, in particular, had been opposed in establishing their settlements on the coast of Guinea. Sir Robert Holmes had been sent the preceding year with a fleet of two-and-twenty ships to the coast of Africa, to protect the English

traders, and expel the Dutch from some places they had seized, contrary to the faith of treaties. Holmes executed his commission with equal spirit and success. After taking from the Dutch Cape Verd, the island of Goree, and several of their trading ships, he sailed to America, where he made himself master of Nova Belgia, since known by the name of New York, where the Dutch had been settled several years. Warm remonstrances were presented by the Dutch against these hostilities; but receiving no satisfactory answer, they resolved to do their subjects justice by force. De Ruyter was accordingly dispatched, with a strong squadron, to the coast of Guinea, where he soon re-established the Dutch in possession of the settlements from which they had been driven by the English admiral. He afterwards attempted to take Barbadoes, but without success. These hostile proceedings, which could only be considered as preludes to a rupture between the two nations, were not displeasing to Charles, whose growing necessities, the natural consequences of a blind prodigality, induced him to embrace every pretence for drawing money from his parliament. The dispositions of the commons were very favourable to his design; for on taking the state of the trade of the kingdom into consideration, they voted, "That the wrongs, dishonours, and indignities offered to the English by the subjects of the United Provinces, had greatly interrupted the commerce of these kingdoms: that his majesty should be humbly requested to demand and obtain reparation for those damages; and that in the prosecution of this affair, the house would assist him with their lives and fortunes against all opposition whatever." This vote was considered as a sufficient sanction for those vigorous measures which the court had adopted, and the parliament was prorogued till the month of November.

The naval preparations were now carried on with great vigour, and the whole nation seemed desirous of humbling the pride of the Dutch. But as the parliament had granted no supplies, the city of London advanced one hundred thousand pounds, that no stop might be put to the preparations. Charles visited the ports in person, directed the operations himself, and animated the workmen by his presence and liberality.

The navy was soon in a respectable condition; and in the month of September, admiral Lawson sailed with orders to seize all the Dutch ships he met with in his cruise. He was so successful, that in a very short time one hundred and thirty-five of their merchant ships fell into the hands of the English. On the twenty-fourth of November the parliament assembled, and voted two millions five hundred thousand pounds for carrying on the war; a much larger supply than had ever before been granted to any English monarch.

A. D. 1665. Strengthened by this vote of the commons, Charles declared war against the Dutch in the beginning of March; and soon after prorogued the parliament. In this session the clergy gave up the right of taxing themselves in convocation, and have ever since been taxed by the parliament, in common with other subjects. In consequence of abandoning the above privilege, they obtained votes at the elections of members of parliament.

The great preparations made in England alarmed the Dutch, who sent an ambassador extraordinary to the court of England, in order, if possible, to prevent an open rupture, so destructive to the interests of a trading people: but finding all their endeavours were in vain, they exerted themselves in making preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. John de Wit, a minister equally distinguished for the extent of his capacity and the integrity of his manners, now directed all the measures of the Dutch republic, and infused spirit into that phlegmatic people. Though remarkably modest in his private behaviour, he well knew how to support, in his public conduct, that magnanimity which becomes the minister of a power-  
ful



ful people. It was always his opinion, that no independent government should ever make any mean or unreasonable concessions to another; and that all such compliances, instead of preventing the miseries of war, served only to invite farther insults and indignities. By his management, a spirit of harmony was preserved in all the provinces of the republic; large sums were raised; and a powerful fleet, consisting of larger ships than the Dutch had ever built before, was fitted out with the utmost expedition, in order to contest with the English the empire of the sea.

On the eighteenth of March, the duke of York, as lord high-admiral of England, sailed with a fleet of one hundred and fourteen sail, exclusive of fire-ships and bomb-ketches. He was assisted by prince Rupert; and the gallant earl of Sandwich commanded one of the divisions. Two and twenty thousand men served on board this powerful armament. The Dutch navy consisted of one hundred and twenty sail of men of war, besides fire-ships. Opdam, an experienced sea-officer of undoubted courage, commanded this numerous fleet, and received orders to seize the first opportunity of giving battle to the English.

The two fleets met on the third of June, and a furious engagement ensued, in which the Dutch were defeated, with the loss of twenty of their men of war. The ship on board of which the brave admiral Opdam had hoisted his flag, was blown up, and he himself perished, with all his crew. The English lost only four men of war; but several persons of distinction were slain, and others dangerously wounded. A thanksgiving was appointed in England for this victory, and medals of the duke of York were struck on this occasion. He had, indeed, displayed amazing courage and conduct during the whole engagement.

When the news of this defeat reached Holland, the Dutch were seized with terror and dismay; it required all the abilities and constancy of De Wit to revive the drooping spirits of his countrymen. He visited the fleet in person, rectified all disorders, and repaired the damages sustained in the late engagement. While he was thus employed in fitting out the navy for another battle with the enemy, a large fleet of Dutch merchant-ships from Turkey and the East-Indies, having sailed north about to avoid the English cruisers, anchored in the port of Bergen, in Norway, in order to wait there till a proper convoy could be sent to bring them into the ports of Holland.

This was no sooner known in England, than orders were sent to Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy at Copenhagen, to persuade his Danish majesty to seize this rich fleet, in revenge for the shameful conduct of the Dutch, who had involved him in a troublesome war with Sweden. Tempted by the value of the prize, his Danish majesty listened to the reasons of the English ministry, but declared he was not in a condition to execute the design. Talbot promised to procure assistance from England, if his majesty would agree to give the captors half the value of what should be taken. The conditions were accepted, and the earl of Sandwich was ordered to sail immediately to Bergen. Persuaded that part of his squadron would be abundantly sufficient to seize a fleet of merchantmen, Sandwich sent Sir Thomas Tiddeman, with a few ships, on that service. He attacked the Dutch with great impetuosity; but the governor of Bergen having then received no orders to remain neutral, joined the Dutch, and gave the English so warm a reception, that Tiddeman was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having received considerable damage. Charles was greatly provoked at this disappointment: he ordered the earl of Sandwich, to whose conduct he imputed the whole cause of the miscarriage, to return to London, where he deprived him of his command, and sent him ambassador to Spain.

During these transactions at sea, a dreadful plague raged in the city of London. It continued eleven months, and during that time swept away above one

hundred thousand souls. The dead was carried out in carts during the night, and buried at Holy-well mount. Charles at its first appearance removed to Hampton court, and afterwards to Salisbury. The session of parliament was held at Oxford; and the capital seemed for a time to be deserted.

Alarmed at the miscarriage of Tiddeman, and ashamed of his conduct, the king of Denmark concluded an offensive alliance with England against the states; but reflecting on the great power of the English navy, and the fatal consequences that might attend the destruction of a power, whose fleets were only capable of disputing the sovereignty of the ocean, he sent orders to his resident at the Hague to conclude a defensive alliance with the states against England. He adhered to the last alliance, and seized and confiscated all the British ships in his harbours. This was a sensible check to the advantages Charles had obtained over the Dutch. The English commerce was not only affected, but the naval force of the king of Denmark was also considerable, and there was the greatest reason to imagine that his ships would soon join the fleets of the republic.

Nor was Denmark the only power that was alarmed by the success of the English; the king of France could not behold their triumphs without uneasiness. He was already engaged in a defensive alliance with the states; but his naval force was yet in its infancy. He was resolved to support the Hollanders in the unequal contest in which they were engaged; but protracted his declaration, and employed the interval in naval preparations both in his ports on the ocean, and those in the Mediterranean. The king of Denmark was, however, made acquainted with his design, and stipulated to assist the Dutch with a fleet of thirty sail; in consequence of which he was to receive an annual subsidy of one million five hundred thousand crowns; three hundred thousand of which were to be paid by France.

Encouraged by these favourable circumstances, the Dutch continued to exert all their power in their own defence, and to support that power on the ocean, their fleets had obtained. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from the coast of Guinea: their India fleet was returned in safety: their harbours were crowded with merchantmen: Domestic faction was appeased: the young prince of Orange had put himself under the tuition of de Wit, who executed his office with the strictest honour and fidelity: and the whole republic was so exasperated against the English, that they thirsted for revenge, and promised themselves that their next enterprize would be attended with better success. Their merchant-ships were not suffered to sail; and even the fisheries were suspended, that no impediment might retard the manning of their fleet.

The English parliament assembled at Oxford, declared their intention of supporting his majesty in the war against the Dutch. Accordingly they voted him twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be levied in two years, by monthly assessments. The independents, anabaptists, and republicans, encouraged by the emissaries of the Dutch, had formed a scheme for a general insurrection; but their whole plan was rendered abortive. Exasperated by these practices the parliament brought in a bill, known by the name of the five-mile-act, and which has given occasion to many heavy and just complaints. Under the specious pretence of supporting the throne, against the attempts of its most inveterate enemies, the church persevered in her project of wreaking her vengeance on the non-conformists. By this bill it was enacted, that no dissenting teacher, who refused to take the oath of non-resistance, should, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had discharged the offices of a minister after the act of oblivion, under the penalty of fifty pounds. Violences like these could only be considered as preludes to the most furious persecution; but the spirit of the nation had undergone a change.



change, and the intolerant spirit was nipped in its bud: the commons rejected the bill for imposing the oath of non-resistance on the whole nation.

A. D. 1666. France was now openly engaged on the side of the states, and declared war against England. The contest was now unequal. But the English still enjoyed one advantage: their country lay between the fleets of her enemies, and might be able, by speedy, and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But such was the want of intelligence in the ministry, or the want of conduct in the commanders, that this favourable circumstance became rather prejudicial. Beaufort, the French admiral, had received orders to sail from Toulon with his squadron, in order to join the Dutch, and it was supposed that he was already in the channel. The English fleet, consisting of seventy-four sail, was commanded by Monk, earl of Albemarle, and prince Rupert. The former, from the repeated defeats of the Dutch during the government of Cromwell, had rashly entertained too despicable an opinion of their courage; and it was determined in a council of war, to detach prince Rupert with a squadron of twenty ships, in order to intercept Beaufort.

The Dutch fleet, commanded by de Ruyter, was now riding at anchor between Newport and Dunkirk, expecting, as it was supposed, the arrival of the French squadron. Albemarle determined to force them to an action, and accordingly stood immediately towards them. The Dutch, who did not expect this visit, prepared for the engagement, and cut their cables, that they might be the sooner in readiness to receive the enemy. Sir George Ascue, who was well acquainted with the bravery of the Dutch, cautioned Albemarle of his danger, but it was now too late. The battle which ensued is one of the most remarkable recorded in history, whether the duration, or the desperate courage with which it was fought, be considered. It continued four days, and each was marked with events of the most astonishing nature. Albemarle, conscious of the mistake he had made with regard to the courage and conduct of the enemy, exerted all his great abilities on this memorable occasion. Though now in the decline of life, he appeared the youthful hero, and seemed to have forgot his years as well as his danger.

Sir William Berkeley, who led the van during the first day's engagement, fell into the thickest of the enemy, and was obliged to yield to superior force. When the victors entered the ship, they found the gallant commander dead in his cabin and covered with blood. The advantage which the English had acquired by gaining the weather-gage of the enemy, was of very little consequence, occasioned by the wind blowing so high, that they could not use the guns on the lower deck. A discovery made by de Wit was of the utmost consequence to the Dutch. This was chain-shot, which tore the rigging of the English to pieces. Sir John Harman attacked the Dutch admiral Evertz, and obtained the victory: Evertz was killed in the engagement. Night at last put an end to the contest.

It was somewhat calmer the next morning; by which the battle became at once more steady and dreadful, and it was now perceived that valour alone is not sufficient to compensate for a defect of superiority, when the enemy is not wanting either in courage or conduct. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, at once enemies from faction, and rivals in glory, exerted themselves in this memorable battle. The latter being surrounded by the English, was relieved by the former, when reduced to the last extremity. During the action sixteen fresh ships joined the Hollanders. This addition was decisive. The English, whose ships were dreadfully shattered, and reduced to twenty-eight, found themselves obliged to retreat towards their own coasts, whither they were followed by the Dutch, and their whole fleet must have been taken had not a sudden calm, which happened a little before night, prevented a fresh engagement.

As soon as the morning appeared, they continued their retreat. The shattered ships were ordered to set all their sails, while sixteen of the most entire, drawn up in order, followed them, and kept the enemy in play. Albemarle himself closed the rear, and presented an undaunted countenance to the enemy flushed with victory. The admiral confessed to the young earl of Ossory, who served a volunteer, that he was determined to blow up his ship, and perish gloriously in the bed of honour, rather than strike to the enemy. Ossory agreed with him, and highly applauded this desperate resolution.

Just as the Dutch were come up with the English, and were preparing to begin the engagement, a new fleet appeared to the southward, crowding all their sails to reach the scene of action, and join in the dreadful contest. De Ruyter was persuaded that Beaufort was arrived to assist in the total defeat of the enemy: while the English flattered themselves that prince Rupert was coming to snatch the laurel wreath from the brow of the conqueror. Albemarle was soon convinced that they were the prince's ships; and stood immediately towards them. The whole fleet followed the admiral; but Sir George Ascue, whose ship carried one hundred guns, and was the largest in the fleet, unfortunately ran ashore upon a sand called the Galloper, and was obliged to strike to the enemy.

It was now determined in a council of war, to make another attempt against the Dutch, and accordingly the engagement began the next morning with more fury than ever. The ships were grappled to each other, and the men fought hand to hand, as if on firm ground. In this manner the contest continued till a thick mist obliged them to separate; when the English retired to the mouth of the Thames.

The Dutch claimed the victory, but had little reason to boast. The English fleet was soon in a condition to face the enemy; and de Ruyter having repaired the damages his fleet had sustained, stood to the mouth of the Thames, in order to block up the English, and facilitate his junction with the French admiral. It could not be expected that the English would tamely bear so vile an insult. Albemarle and prince Rupert hastened to attack the enemy. The two fleets, as well as the courage and conduct of their leaders were nearly equal; each consisted of about eighty-eight sail. They met on the twenty-fourth of July, and the engagement began with incredible fury. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron attacked the van of the Dutch, with so much fury that they were entirely routed, and the three admirals who commanded that division were slain. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action he was separated from the main body commanded by de Ruyter, who with the utmost conduct and valour maintained the fight against the principal force of the English; and the fight continued till night put an end to the engagement. He proposed to have renewed the battle as soon as the morning appeared, but instead of finding his ships in a situation for attacking the enemy, he saw them scattered, and unwilling to renew the battle. In this alarming situation neither his courage nor his presence of mind forsook him. He made so noble a retreat, that he acquired as much honour by his prudence as he would have done had he gained the victory. But he could not bear the thought of flying from the enemy. He often exclaimed, "What a wretch am I, that among so many thousand shot that fly near me, not one will put an end to my miserable life!" He however persevered in his duty, and by his amazing efforts, the Dutch fleet were conducted into their own harbours. On his return to Holland he complained loudly of Van Tromp's conduct, and that gallant admiral was dismissed the service.

This victory rendered the English the undisputed masters of the ocean, and admiral Holmes was detached with twenty sail of ships, to insult the coasts of Holland. He accordingly entered the road of



Uke, where he destroyed one hundred and forty sail of merchantmen, and two ships of war. He afterwards burnt Brandorus, a rich and populous village on the coast. These losses exasperated the merchants: they exclaimed loudly against the administration, and joined the Orange faction. The firmness of de Wit was hardly sufficient to stem the furious tide of popular resentment.

Alarmed at the victory of the English, the king of France hastened Beaufort to join the Dutch, left his friend de Wit might not be able to support himself in the administration. De Ruyter's fleet was soon refitted; he put to sea, and again cruized in the straits of Dover. The English fleet, now stronger than ever, failed, under the command of prince Rupert, to attack the enemy. Ruyter thought proper to decline the engagement, as he every day expected to be joined by the French Squadron, and retired into St. John's road near Bologne, where he was sheltered from a terrible storm which soon after arose. Rupert was not so fortunate: his ships received considerable damage, and he was obliged to retire to St. Hellens to refit. In the mean time the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, proceeded up the channel, and passed the English fleet unperceived. But before he reached the place where he expected to join de Ruyter, that commander had been seized with a fever, and the states had thought proper to recal their fleet. Anxious for his navy, which he had raised with so much care and industry, Lewis sent orders to Beaufort to make the best of his way to Brest, and to continue as near as possible to the French coast. Beaufort obeyed, and was fortunate enough to pass the English without being perceived. One of his ships only, being separated from the fleet, fell into the hands of the enemy.

While the fleets were thus inactive, the city of London was laid in ashes by a dreadful fire which broke out on the second of September. It began at a broker's house near the bridge, and diffused itself on all sides with such rapidity, that nothing could resist the progress of the flames. The dreadful conflagration lasted three days and nights; nor did it stop, till the greater part of the capital was destroyed. Eighty churches, several of the city gates, and four hundred streets, containing above thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling houses, were consumed. The ruins covered a space of four hundred and twenty-six acres, extending along the banks of the Thames from the Tower to the Temple church; and from the north-east gate along the city wall to Holbourn-bridge. It was at last extinguished by blowing up a number of houses. Both the king and the duke of York attended, and exerted all their endeavours to put a stop to the progress of the flames, but without success.

This dreadful calamity gave occasion to various conjectures with regard to its cause; no person being inclined to think it casual. Some imputed it to the malice of the republicans; but the greater part ascribed it to the papists; and in order to comply with this popular prejudice, an inscription engraved by authority on the monument, imputed this calamity to that hated sect. Both these suspicions, however, seemed to have owed their rise to the violent animosities that possessed the minds of the different parties which divided the people at this period. Their posterity, who behold this, and other events of that time, through the cooler medium of reason, see no cause for ascribing this dreadful accident either to treachery or malice. The streets of London were then extremely narrow; the houses were almost all built of timber, or lath and plaister; the season was remarkably dry; and a violent east wind happened to blow at that time. To these causes, and to these only, the astonishing progress of the flames ought to be ascribed.

But however dreadful this calamity proved to the inhabitants, it has since been attended with very be-

neficial consequences. The new streets were much wider than the old; the houses were built with brick and stone, lath and plaister, as well as timber in the walls, being forbid by authority. By this means the city became much more healthy than before; and the plague, which so often swept the greater number of inhabitants, has not once appeared since this dreadful conflagration. The parliament voted a supply of one million, eight hundred thousand pounds, to be levied partly by a poll-tax and partly by assessments.

A.D. 1667. The king was by this time convinced that it would prove a much more difficult task than he at first imagined to humble the Dutch. He was therefore desirous of opening negotiations for a peace; but concealed his intentions till the parliament had granted the supply, which had been postponed from time to time, on the most trifling pretences, notwithstanding the king sent repeated messages to the house, requesting that the business might be finished. At last, on the eighteenth of January, the bill for raising the above sum passed the commons, and received the royal assent with several other acts, about the middle of February.

Charles now determined to bring about a peace, and accordingly proposed the opening conferences for that purpose. The Dutch, who by their riches and navigation, were on a better footing than the English, proposed the alternative, that things should be restored to the situation they were in at the beginning of the war, or that the two nations should retain all their acquisitions. The last was accepted, and no difficulty remained but with regard to the possession of the Isle of Polorone in the East Indies, once famous for its spices. Holles and Coventry, the English plenipotentiaries at the congress, proposed that a cessation of hostilities should be concluded, till the several claims could be adjusted; but de Wit refused the offer. That sagacious and enterprising minister, who was no stranger to Charles's necessities, had planned an expedition, which, if successful, he knew would be of more weight in the negotiation than any arguments whatever.

Persuaded that there was not the least reason to fear the success of the negotiation, and that no attempt would be made by the enemy, while the conferences were open, the king had laid up his large ships, in order to convert to his own use the greater part of the money granted him by parliament. De Wit, who had the best intelligence from England, determined to take advantage of this negligence of the British monarch. He ordered de Ruyter to sail with a fleet of ships and surprize the English, lulled in a fatal security. De Ruyter executed his commission with equal conduct and success. He entered the mouth of the Thames, and threw the English into the utmost terror and consternation. The mouth of the river Medway was defended by a chain, and some fortifications had been added to Sheerness and Upnore castle. But the former was soon taken, though defended by the brave Sir Edward Sprague. The wind blowing fresh at east, the vice-admiral, Van Ghent, broke the chain drawn across the entrance of the Medway, and burnt the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles V. all capital ships, and all taken from the Dutch during the war. He also possessed himself of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the English had set on fire, and advanced with six men of war and five fire ships as far as Upnore castle, where he burnt the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James, all of them capital ships.

After performing this exploit without receiving any considerable damage, the Dutch fell down the Medway, and it was apprehended that they would proceed up the Thames next tide, and destroy all the ships in the river. The capital was in confusion. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall: platforms were raised in several places, and furnished with artillery: the trained-bands were called out, and every precaution taken to render the attempt



attempt of the enemy abortive. But de Ruyter did not think proper to proceed; the danger, he thought, was too great, and the hopes of success too precarious. He left the mouth of the Thames, and stood to the westward, and made an attempt to destroy the shipping at Portsmouth and Plymouth, but was repulsed at both places with loss. He was not, however, intimidated: he returned again to the mouth of the Thames, and advanced as far as Tilbury-fort; but found the English so well prepared for his reception, that there were no hopes of success. He next insulted Harwich, and kept the whole southern coast of England in perpetual alarms till the conclusion of the peace, which happened on the tenth of July, when the treaty was signed at Breda. Arcadia was yielded to the French, who agreed to restore St. Christophers, and some other islands which they had taken in the West-Indies. The island of Porerine remained with the Dutch. The colony of New-York was the only advantage the English derived from a war, that had cost the nation such immense sums, and in which the folly, negligence, and avarice of the sovereign, had been so singularly displayed.

A war so ruinous, and terminated with so little advantage, exasperated the English; and it was thought necessary to make some sacrifice to appease the people, before the meeting of the parliament. Clarendon, the chancellor, was, at this time, no favourite with either party. The king respected the merit of that great minister, but his virtues were troublesome. The chancellor, incorruptible in the midst of a dissolute court, still retained his integrity of manners. He had no complaisance for the king's mistresses. He was a restraint upon his pleasures, and opposed his prodigalities. The people, less grateful for the good he had done them, than exasperated at the circumstances that displeased them, were so far from thinking themselves obliged to Clarendon for his conduct, that they considered him as the author of their sufferings. The presbyterians reproached him with persecution on one hand, and the Roman catholics with cruelty on the other. Tho' the war with Holland was undertaken contrary to his advice, yet the misfortunes were attributed wholly to him, because it was determined to find him guilty at all events. The earl of Southampton, high-treasurer, and the virtuous friend of Clarendon, who had been dead about three months, had done justice to his character. "This man," said he, in full council, "is a true protestant, and an honest Englishman: while he enjoys power, we are secure of our laws, liberties, and religion: if he is removed, I tremble for the consequences." But the virtues of Clarendon, instead of preventing, occasioned his fall. The seals were taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman.

His enemies were not, however, satisfied with his disgrace; they were determined to complete his ruin. As soon as the parliament met, a charge was opened against him in the house of commons, by Sir Edward Seymour. It consisted of seventeen articles; but the principal, and indeed the only one, that could affect him, was his advising the sale of Dunkirk, and even this amounted to nothing more than an error in judgment. When the charge was carried up to the peers, it was so ill supported, that they refused to put him under arrest. But Clarendon perceiving that the tide of popular clamour ran strongly against him, and that he was entirely abandoned by his master, whom he had so long and so faithfully served, withdrew to Rouen, in Normandy, and put himself under the protection of Lewis XIV. The French, more judicious and more humane than his countrymen, received the illustrious fugitive with every mark of respect. He lived six years in this retirement, employing his leisure time in writing a history of the civil wars, a work worthy of the statesman and the illustrious citizen. The early part of his life had been spent in the study of the laws. His father often exhorted him never to advance the prerogative at the

expence of the public liberty, and died of an apoplexy just after he had repeated that lesson to his son. This affecting incident imprinted it strongly on his memory. His loyalty to Charles I. was that of an Englishman firmly attached to the principles of the constitution; and he died with the character of a nobleman of unblemished virtue, an incorruptible judge, and an able minister, equally valuable for his attachment and integrity.

The ministry of Charles was now totally changed; the treasury was put into commission; and Sir Richard Clifford, a declared papist, was made first commissioner. Sir Henry Bennet, created earl of Arlington, a concealed papist, was made secretary of state. The duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of spirit and humour, but of an abandoned character; and Wilmot, earl of Rochester, the lewdest, and most licentious poet of the age, were the king's chief favourites, and ministers of his pleasures. With these, and his mistresses, Charles spent the greater part of his time.

The dreadful conflagration having laid the Royal Exchange, built by Sir Thomas Gresham, in ashes, it was determined to rebuild it in a most splendid manner. A model of the intended building was accordingly presented to the king; and it being approved of, Charles laid the first stone in the beginning of October, with great solemnity.

The banishment of Clarendon not having fully contented the people, the king had recourse to another expedient more deserving of praise; and had it been steadily pursued, would, probably, have rendered his reign happy; at least, it would have rendered his memory glorious. This was the triple alliance; a measure which gave entire satisfaction to the public.

Lewis XIV. as proud as he was powerful, and passionately fond of glory, particularly that of conquests, unworthy of a great prince, filled Europe with uneasiness and apprehensions. Notwithstanding the renunciation of his queen, Maria Theresa, of Austria, he seized Flanders and Franche Comté, pretending he had a legal right to them both. The United Provinces were sufficiently alarmed. England was enraged at the assumed superiority of France; and Charles projected the triple alliance. Sir William Temple was sent to negotiate the treaty. A philosophical minister could not fail of being agreeable to De Wit. The same frankness, sincerity, and greatness of mind, distinguished them both. It was not between ministers of such a character that politics degenerate into finess and chicanery. They undertook to mediate between France and Spain, and to engage them in a treaty that should leave to Lewis part of his conquest, but that he should absolutely renounce the rights of his queen. Sweden entered into this alliance. According to the laws of the States General; all the towns were to consent to the treaty; and this it was possible the intrigues of Lewis might have power to prevent. His ambassador, d'Estrades, was so sure of this, that, on being informed of the negotiation, he said, "We will talk of it in six weeks." But De Wit, foreseeing the danger of delay, and persuaded that, in a case of so much importance to his country, the good of the public ought to over-rule even the laws themselves, boldly urged the states to ratify the league the very day it was signed, and prevailed. Sir William Temple received the most flattering encomiums with a degree of modesty that added to his merit. He answered, that to remove things from their element, or their centre, force and labour were necessary; but that they would return of themselves. The triple alliance, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, put an end to the conquests of Lewis XIV. He kept what he had gained in the Low Countries, but Franche Comté was restored to Spain.

Philip IV. of Spain had been succeeded by his son, Charles II. then a minor, and his mother held the reins of government, with the title of regent. The court of Spain, though it was forced to submit to the terms of the triple alliance, by no means ap-

proved



proved of that treaty; because certain concessions were to be made to France, by no means agreeable to the haughty spirit of the Spaniards. That court even declared, that they were ready to relinquish all the Low Countries, rather than submit to the articles of the treaty. This was, however, nothing more than a passionate declaration; it was found in vain to resist, and the treaty was accepted.

A. D. 1669. Peace being thus restored on the continent, Charles formed a scheme for attaching both the presbyterians and papists more strongly to his interest. To effect this, he proposed to incorporate the presbyterians with the church of England, and to obtain a toleration for all the other sects of non-conformists. The lord-keeper was accordingly directed to procure a conference between some of the most eminent of the episcopal and presbyterian ministers; and to offer proposals for a comprehension of such dissenters as could be brought into communion with the church of England. The episcopal divines, either from a spirit of christian charity, or a desire to please their sovereign, were very compliable on this occasion; they even made large concessions; and nothing remained to put a final hand to the accommodation, but the re-ordinating the presbyterian ministers, which was at last settled by the consent of both parties. Matters being thus adjusted, lord chief-justice Hales undertook to draw up a bill of comprehension, and the lord-keeper engaged to support it in parliament.

The archbishop of Canterbury, who was not intrusted with the secret, determined to render every scheme of this kind abortive. He wrote circular letters to the suffragan bishops in his province, enjoining them to make an exact enquiry into the number of conventicles in each particular diocese. Provided with these necessary informations, he repaired to court, and obtained a proclamation to be published, for putting the laws against dissenters in execution, particularly the act for restraining non-conformists from residing in corporate towns. But the king soon rendered the intentions of the bishop abortive, by ordering the non-conformist ministers to be told from him, that he was very desirous of making them easy; adding, that if they thought proper to petition the crown, they should be favourably heard. They embraced the offer; a petition was presented; and the king, in his answer, told them, "That he would use all his interest to get them comprehended in the public establishment."

The parliament was, however, averse to any concessions; and when they met in October, they presented an address of thanks to his majesty for his proclamation, and appointed a committee to make a strict enquiry into the conduct of the non-conformists. A great number of informations were accordingly laid before them; and they reported, "That several conventicles and seditious assemblies were held, even in the neighbourhood of the house, tending to insult the government, and endanger the peace of the kingdom." This report set the house in a flame; and the following declaration was immediately voted, "that they would adhere to his majesty, for the support of the government, both in church and state, against all adversaries whatever." They proceeded no farther at that time, and the king prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of February.

A. D. 1670. The king, when he opened the session of parliament on the fourteenth of February, demanded a supply in the most pressing terms. But the commons, before they complied with the king's desires, passed the conventicle act, by which every member of a conventicle, or assembly of non-conformists, consisting of more than five persons, exclusive of the family where it was held, was liable to a fine. And contrary to the principle received in criminal matters, what appeared doubtful was always to be interpreted in the least favourable light. This severity of the commons was the more extraordinary, as the same spirit of persecution had, a little before,

occasioned a rebellion in Scotland. About two thousand presbyterians, after renewing the covenant, took up arms; and the flame which despair had kindled was quenched in blood. One Maccail, who had joined in this insurrection, expired under the torture, in a kind of triumph of joy. The moment when his soul was taking her flight, he cried out, "Farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell world, and time; farewell weak and frail body: welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God, the judge of all!" The spectators were struck with a fortitude like this; a man expiring under the most cruel torments, and rejoicing in the dreadful conflict, was truly astonishing; it increased their hatred against such inhuman persecutors.

Though prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, secretary Trevor, and the lord-keeper Bridgeman, on whose honour and integrity the people could rely, still continued in office, yet they enjoyed but little power: they were seldom admitted to the cabinet council, or consulted on the most pressing affairs of the nation. Equally suspicious and suspected, a slave to pleasure and a dupe to artifice, Charles neglected the cares of government, and exposed himself to the danger of a fatal revolution. Five ministers shared his confidence, and directed all the affairs of government. Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftsbury, distinguished by his learning, but of the most violent passions; the duke of Buckingham, with all the advantages of wit, figure, and fortune, but without either conduct or principles; the duke of Lauderdale, a man of parts, but opinionated, a sycophant to the prince, and a tyrant to the subject: the bold and impetuous Clifford; and the earl of Arlington, well versed in business, and worthy of the place he enjoyed, had his resolution been sufficient to follow his own sentiments, rather than the influence of the court. The ministry was called the Cabal, from the five initial letters of their names forming that word. Their political system seemed to be that of complying with the king's inclinations, and supporting the interest of the duke of York.

As soon as Charles had given the royal assent to the bill against dissenters, the commons passed an act for granting one million seven hundred thousand pounds to his majesty; but this money had the same fate with other sums he had already received from parliament. It was squandered away upon his mistresses and favourites; and he was so far from making good his engagements with the States-General, that he entered into measures for forming a closer union than ever with the king of France. Desirous of rendering himself absolute, by shaking off the yoke of dependence on the supplies of parliament, he determined to secure the friendship of Lewis XIV. as the only method of executing his purpose. To this chimerical project he sacrificed every sentiment of honour, justice and humanity. He knew he had nothing to fear from his ministers; their servile flattery, and the licentiousness of their manners, were ill calculated to support the interests of their country. They were desirous of rendering the king independent of the parliament; and thought the only way to effect it, was to enter into a new war with Holland, and depend upon Lewis for assistance of men and money.

Pursuant to this resolution, it was determined to renew the war with Holland on the slightest pretences. The duke of York entered heartily into this scheme, which he was persuaded could not fail, if successful, of establishing the catholic religion in England. But the alliance with France was to be kept an impenetrable secret, till Charles had procured a vote of parliament for arming the nation, under pretence of being ready, at all events, to protect the commerce, and support the independence of the nation against the attempts of any power whatever, great preparations being making in the ports of France and Holland.



But however fond Charles might be of the French alliance, it does not appear, till an event determined him to pursue the scheme with the utmost vigour. The triple alliance had put an effectual stop to the conquests of Lewis, and that ambitious prince was very desirous of revenge. Could the English be prevailed upon to enter into a new war with the Dutch, that difficulty would be removed; and he flattered himself that this was not difficult to be accomplished, as the reduction of Holland would remove the object of emulation to the English, who were jealous of their privileges. Full of these ideas, he took a journey to Dunkirk, accompanied by his whole court, and the dutchess of Orleans took that opportunity of visiting her brother. Lewis was no stranger to the address of that amiable princess, and the ascendant she had acquired over the English monarch, and had prevailed upon her to exert all her interest to draw her brother from the triple league. This young princess, then only twenty-five years of age, was accordingly selected as the plenipotentiary for concluding this important treaty. Charles met his sister at Dover, where they spent ten days together in the utmost harmony. In their conferences she artfully insinuated, that nothing was wanting to render him the greatest monarch in the world, and to recompense him for all the misfortunes he had suffered, than that of making himself as absolute in England, as the other princes of Europe were in their dominions. This glorious end she observed could never be obtained while his subjects had any prospect of being assisted by the Dutch, whose republican principles led them to support the liberty of the subject. It was therefore necessary for him to humble the Hollanders, which would effectually remove the only difficulty of keeping his own subjects within the bounds of obedience. She added, that he might rest assured, the king of France would assist him with men and money sufficient to quell any commotions that might be raised in England, by pursuing this design. Blinded with the love he bore his sister, and intoxicated with the desire of governing with unlimited authority, Charles agreed to every thing proposed by Lewis, and laid the foundation for the ruin of his allies, in the midst of feasting and diversions.

But Lewis was no stranger to the natural inconsistency of Charles's temper, and therefore artfully determined to fix him firm to his engagements by the bands of pleasure. He sent over with the princess Henrietta, mademoiselle de Querouaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty and accomplishments. Charles wanted power to resist her charms. She accompanied him to London; was soon after created dutchess of Portsmouth, and maintained her empire over his heart during the whole course of his life. She kept him firm in his connections with France, and continued to be the reigning favourite, while his former mistress was honoured with the title of a dutchess, as some recompence for the favour she had lost.

But the joy which Charles derived from this new alliance was greatly lessened by the loss of his sister, who died soon after her return to France. This event, however, made an alteration in the resolutions of the two monarchs. The duke of Buckingham was dispatched to Paris to put a finishing hand to the treaty, by which the spoils of the Dutch, devoted to destruction, were to be shared between France and England.

It was soon found impossible to keep this treaty a secret: too many persons had been concerned in its execution. But though it was generally suspected, and perhaps known to most of the courts of Europe, it occasioned no alarm. The emperor was fully employed with seditions in Hungary; the Swede lulled asleep with negotiations; and the Spanish monarchy, weak and irresolute, and always slower in its motions, permitted Lewis to follow the career of his ambition without restraint.

The marquis of Crequi made an irruption into

Lorraine; the duke, not dreaming of hostilities, was forced to abandon his territories. He flattered himself that he should find a powerful advocate in Charles, in return for the many favours he had received during his exile: but he was mistaken. His envoy was told, "That the king was extremely sorry for the misfortunes of his master, but that the present violence, like the misfortunes of a sudden inundation, had no remedy but patience."

Such glaring partiality in favour of the French monarch alarmed the Dutch, and they began to fear for the safety of their country. Their misfortunes were increased by two factions which divided the commonwealth. One composed of rigid republicans, to whom the least shadow of absolute authority seemed a monster, contrary to the laws of human society; the other of republicans of a more moderate disposition, who were desirous of investing the young prince of Orange, afterwards the famous William III. with the posts and dignities of his ancestors. The grand pensionary John de Wit, was at the head of the rigid republicans, but the party of the young prince began to gain ground in the state. These domestic dissensions were more regarded than the foreign danger that threatened the destruction of their liberty.

The French monarch had not only gained the English monarch over to his interest, but also the famous Van Galen, bishop of Munster, whose delight was war and plunder, and naturally an enemy to the Dutch. Lewis had formerly assisted them against this warlike prelate; he now joined him for their destruction. The Swedes, who had united with the republic to stop the projects of a conqueror, who had then no designs against them, abandoned her when they saw she was threatened with ruin, and renewed their old connections with France, on condition of receiving the former subsidies.

But among all the powers engaged against this little state, not one of them could alledge a lawful pretence for hostilities. Their desire of sharing in the ruins of a people, who had enriched themselves by commerce and oeconomy, was the only reason for their uniting in their destruction.

On the twenty-fourth of October, the parliament met pursuant to their prorogation, and the session was opened with a speech from the lord-keeper, who represented the pressing exigencies of the state, and the absolute necessity of an immediate supply. He told them, "That France and the states-general were collecting powerful armies by sea and land; were assiduously employed in building ships, and filling their magazines with all sorts of warlike stores and provisions: that since the beginning of the last war with Holland, France had increased the strength of her marine more than three times what it was before; and that Holland, also since the conclusion of the peace, had applied herself diligently to the augmentation of her fleets: that in so critical a conjuncture, common prudence required that his majesty should make some suitable preparations: that he had accordingly given orders for fitting out fifty sail of his largest ships against the spring, besides those which were necessary for the security of trade, foreseeing, that if he neglected to put his navy in a respectable condition, it might prove a temptation to those who seem not now to intend it, to offer an affront at least, if not do a real injury to the nation." He next expatiated on the several advantageous leagues he had entered into for the defence of his kingdom, and the benefit of commerce. He particularly mentioned the triple alliance concluded with the Dutch and Swedes, and those with Portugal and Denmark. And concluded with assuring them, that the king would prorogue the parliament at Christmas, and therefore wished they would regulate the proceedings accordingly.

The commons were deceived by this shameful peravacation, and either unacquainted with, or not crediting his engagements with France, voted him two millions



millions and a half: a much larger supply than had ever been granted by parliament, and certainly never less deserved. Sir William Temple was still at the Hague, where he had acquired so great a reputation for honour and integrity, that the Cabal were persuaded no orders from his majesty could prevail upon him to promote or countenance measures destructive of the interest of his country. He was therefore recalled. De Wit, who admired the great and noble qualities of the English resident, took leave of him with the highest regret. The Dutch saw through the flimsy veil of pretence made use of to remove him; and were now fully convinced of the insincerity of Charles. They even ordered their ambassador at London to signify to the English ministry, that they should look upon their recalling Sir William Temple, as an undoubted proof of their having changed their measures.

A. D. 1672. Though the parliament had voted a large supply to his majesty, the bills for it were not passed when the parliament was prorogued. They met again the latter end of January, and a few days after the king sent a message to the commons, desiring that the money-bills might be hastened; but instead of passing the acts they joined with the lords in a solemn address to his majesty, upon the alarming increase of popery, and desired that no papist or reputed papist might enjoy any office civil or military. The king, unwilling to give them an absolute denial, published a proclamation against the catholics, but never intended to carry it into execution.

When the first of the money bills was carried to the house of peers, Lucas severely animadverted on the enormous grants made to the crown, and the shameful manner in which these supplies were squandered away. "While we are continually giving," said he at the conclusion of his speech, "and the king is continually asking, it is necessary to make some estimate for ourselves. Would his majesty be pleased to request a quarter of our estate, I would, for my part, cheerfully resign it. Were it half, upon good occasions, I should resign it freely; but then let us have some assurance of quietly enjoying the residue, and know what we have to trust to." The king was in the gallery when Lucas spoke with such boldness, and was highly offended; but he was so exasperated when he found the speech was printed and dispersed in every part of the kingdom, that he ordered it to be burnt by the hand of the common executioner.

It had, however, such an effect upon the lords, that they made some alterations in the money bill sent up by the commons. This was highly resented by the latter, who considered it as an infringement on their undoubted right of regulating all acts of subsidy. Several conferences were held between the two houses, in order to terminate the affair; but instead of coming to an amicable agreement, they carried the dispute to so great a height, that the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament, and lose the large supply that had been voted by the commons.

During this session of parliament, a tax on plays was proposed. This was objected to by the court party, who said the players were the king's servants, and administered to his pleasures. Sir John Coventry pleasantly asked, "Whether the king's pleasures lay among the male or female actors?" Charles, who besides his other mistresses, entertained two actresses, Mrs. Davis, and Nell Gwin, was hurt by this sarcasm, and took an unworthy revenge. Some of his guards attacked Coventry, and slit his nose. The commons expressed their indignation, by passing what is called the Coventry act, by which maiming and deforming was made a capital crime, and those persons who had assaulted Coventry were rendered incapable of receiving the king's pardon.

About the same time one Blood, a discarded officer who had served under Cromwell, and the most daring villain recorded in history, found means to steal the crown, and several other parts of the regalia

from the Tower. He had some time before attempted to assassinate the duke of Ormond, but failed in his design, and escaped without being discovered. He was not so fortunate in his second villany. He was detected; but by a strange lenity, or rather weakness in Charles, he not only gave him his pardon, but settled on him five hundred pounds a year. When he was taken, he confessed his crimes, but refused to discover his accomplices. "I will never," said he, "disown a crime, nor betray a friend." The king had the curiosity to see so daring a villain. He was accordingly brought into his presence, and had the impudence to tell his majesty, that if he ordered him to be executed, his friends, who were both able and willing, would not fail to revenge his death. Whether this declaration intimidated the king, or whether he thought so intrepid a person might be of use on some future occasion, is uncertain; but Charles took him into his favour, and even treated him with distinction, while many of his faithful servants, who had lost their fortunes in his service, were unrewarded and forgotten. Princes are not easily forgiven for neglecting those who have served them faithfully, especially when they lavish their favours on unworthy objects.

But this imprudent action was only a prelude to others of a more dangerous tendency. Charles was always in want of money, and the failure of the last supplies voted by the commons, had greatly increased his necessities. In this exigency, the Cabal advised him to shut up the exchequer. Their advice was followed; the exchequer was shut up, and continued so for a year and some months, to the great distress and ruin of many families, who had lent their money upon government security. No English monarch had ever before dared to commit so flagrant an act of injustice; and at any other period he might perhaps have fallen the victim of his own folly. Every part of the kingdom resounded with complaints. The most severe libels against the king and his ministers were published. But Charles was deaf to the complaints of his people. Immersed in pleasure, he regarded not the reproaches incurred by his avarice and injustice.

It has been already observed that Charles had published a proclamation against the papists; but he now determined to change his conduct. Accordingly, as head of the church, he issued a proclamation for suspending the penal laws, which had been made against all non-conformists and recusants whatever; and for granting to the protestant dissenters the public exercise of their religion, and to the papists the liberty of celebrating mass, in private houses. The lord-keeper Bridgeman refused to put the seals to the edict for suspending the penal laws. Exasperated at this opposition, the king deprived him of his office, and gave the seals to the earl of Shaftsbury.

The nation could not, however, still believe that the king had entered into a treaty with Lewis for the destruction of the Dutch. A yacht had been sent from England to bring over the lady Temple from Holland. The captain insisted that the Dutch admiral Van Ghent should pay the honours due to the English flag. This the Dutchman refused, declaring that it was never known for an admiral in his own harbour to strike his flag to a small vessel, especially as the commander had nothing more than a captain's commission. Though this reason was irrefragable, the Cabal laid hold of the incident to quarrel with the states. Unwilling to enter into a war with England, the Dutch offered to make any concessions: But the ministry, determined to declare war against the republic, pursuant to the conditions stipulated in their famous treaty with Lewis, refused every satisfaction.

It was now generally believed, that the vast naval preparations making in the different parts of England were intended against the Dutch; but before any declaration was published, a perfidious attempt was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet, amounting to  
seventy



seventy sail, and valued at a million and a half sterling. The design was, however, rendered abortive, by the gallant behaviour of the Dutch, who repulsed all the attacks of the English during three days successively. These hostilities were followed by a declaration of war. But surely never reasons more absurd and ridiculous were employed to cover so flagrant a violation of the late treaty. Complaints were made of injuries offered to the East-India company; a charge which that company themselves disowned. The detention of some English subjects in Surinam was also alledged, though it was known that their continuing in that colony was voluntary. The refusal of a Dutch fleet to pay the honours of the flag to an English yacht, was also urged as an unpardonable offence; and to complete the ridiculous catalogue of affronts, mention was made of some abusive pictures, reflecting on the English nation. It was some time before the states could discover the meaning of the last charge against them. At last it was found, that the complaint related entirely to a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the pensionary, who had distinguished himself in the expedition, when the English ships were burnt in the Medway. On the back ground of the picture was a representation of several ships on fire. Such were the injuries which nothing less than the blood of a whole people could obliterate. Lewis, with more dignity, though not with more solid reason, alledged nothing but his displeasure with the states.

All the efforts which ambition could dictate, or prudence devise, were now to be put in practice for the destruction of a state, whose only crime was their opposition to the conquests of Lewis XIV. Near two millions sterling were expended by that ambitious monarch in making preparations against the Dutch republic. Thirty men of war, of fifty guns each, joined the English fleet, which consisted of an hundred sail. The French monarch, accompanied by his brother the duke of Orleans, marched, at the head of one hundred and twelve thousand men, towards Maastricht and Chaleroi, on the frontiers of Spanish Flanders and Holland. The bishop of Munster, and the elector of Cologne, had about twenty thousand men. The prince of Condé and marshal Turenne were the principal generals of the French army: the duke of Luxembourg commanded under them: Vauban, the famous engineer, was appointed to conduct the sieges.

Against so formidable a force, commanded by such consummate generals, and furnished with immense treasures to bribe the commanders of garrisons, what had the republic of Holland to oppose? A young prince of a weak constitution, who had never seen a battle, and about twenty-five thousand ill-trained foldiers, who formed the whole military force of the country. In a word, the total annihilation of the republic appeared inevitable.

Lewis soon made himself master of all Guelderland, and the towns upon the Yssel. The inhabitants of Utrecht sent the keys of their city to the conqueror, and the whole province of that name capitulated. Lewis made a triumphal entry into Utrecht on the twentieth of June. The provinces of Holland and Zealand only remained to conquer, and Amsterdam itself seemed but to wait the hour of its slavery or destruction. A little more alacrity on the part of Lewis would have put that important fortress into his hands. The capital once taken, not only the republic itself must have fallen, but there would have been no longer such a state as Holland. Some of the richest families, and those who were zealous lovers of liberty, were preparing to fly their devoted country, and embark for Batavia.

Nor were the Dutch distressed in this manner by land only; the combined forces of France and England threatened the destruction of their marine power, and the total annihilation of their navy. The states had not, however, been negligent in fitting out their ships; and De Ruyter, with a fleet of ninety sail,

was sent in quest of the English and French fleets, commanded by the duke of York, and the marshal d'Etrees. They were riding carelessly in Solebay, little expecting the appearance of a ship from an enemy, whose whole force was far from being sufficient to defend their own frontiers. Cornelius de Wit was on board, as deputy from the states. The English were very near being surprized; but recovering themselves, they slipped their cables, and stood out to meet the enemy. A dreadful engagement ensued, in which both the commanders and seamen displayed the greatest courage and conduct. The earl of Sandwich, who commanded under the duke of York, led the van, and was soon engaged in a close fight with the enemy. Several Dutch ships attacked him at once; but he bravely defended himself against their joint attempts, killed the Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, and beat off his ship. Astonished at the valour displayed by this gallant officer, and desirous of silencing the dreadful fire he kept up with such amazing vigour, three fire-ships were sent successively to destroy him; but he sunk them all, together with another capital ship of the enemy, that had ventured to lay him aboard. At last, when his ship was almost torn to pieces, and six hundred of his men were slain, another fire-ship grappled him, and he perished with the remainder of his crew. In the mean time, De Ruyter engaged the ship on board of which the duke of York had hoisted his flag, with the utmost fury, and one of the fiercest encounters recorded in history succeeded. At last the duke's ship was shattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and hoist his flag on board another. But he was so overpowered by the enemy, that had not Sir Joseph Jordan brought the Blue squadron to his relief, he must have been taken, with several ships that were closely engaged with the enemy. This reinforcement rendered the contest equal, and it was continued with the same fury till night obliged them to separate. The Dutch retired; nor did the English think it prudent to follow them.

Both sides claimed the victory; and, perhaps, with equal reason. The loss was greatest on the side of the English; but the Dutch first retired. De Wit, who knew that nothing less than a complete victory could save his country, thought it prudent to retire when he found that this was impossible to be obtained. The English complained loudly that the French were wanting in their duty, for they separated from the fleet, and fought only at a distance. This conduct was ascribed to secret orders given to the marshal d'Etrees. Nothing could tend more to promote the ambitious projects of Lewis, than the total destruction of both the English and Dutch fleets, while his own ships were spared.

The Dutch were now reduced to despair; and to add to their misfortunes, the state was distracted by the divisions which commonly arise among an unfortunate people, who impute to each other the calamities of their country. John de Wit was persuaded, that the only way of saving the small remains of the wretched republic, was by making a peace with the conqueror. Full of a republican spirit, and jealous of his personal authority, which had always been exerted for the good of his country, he dreaded the power of the prince of Orange, little less than the ambition of the French monarch. While the prince, who was equally attached to the interest of the state, exerted all his interest to induce the states to elect him stadtholder, an honour so long enjoyed by his ancestors. He strenuously opposed a peace with Lewis, as he knew it could now only be obtained on terms that must annihilate the power and opulence of the republic. But the interest of the pensionary prevailed; and a resolution was taken, in an assembly of the states, to sue for peace. Deputies were accordingly sent to the French camp, to implore mercy in the name of the republic, who, six months before, looked upon herself as the arbiter of kingdoms. Lewis received the deputies with an arrogance that



was an insult upon humanity; but at length designed to dictate the terms on which he would permit the Dutch to exist as a state. His demands, however, were little better than articles of slavery; and a peace on such conditions was absolutely insupportable. Inspired with a desperate courage by the haughtiness of the conqueror, it was determined, that if a peace could be obtained on no better terms, to perish with their liberties.

The first step necessary to be taken, pursuant to this desperate resolution, was to stop the progress of the conqueror; and accordingly the sluices of the province of Holland were opened, whereby the whole country was laid under water. The eyes of the people were now fixed upon the young prince of Orange, whom they considered as the deliverer of their country: while the grand pensionary, by having prevailed upon the states to send deputies to the French king, was considered as the betrayer of the state. The fury of party zeal now rose to the greatest height; and Cornelius de Wit, being accused of a design to murder the prince, was committed to prison, where he underwent the most cruel torture, in the height of which he repeated those verses of Horace, which so elegantly express the duty of a true citizen. His brother, the pensionary, failed not to visit him in prison, determined to share his fate. The outrageous populace followed him, and glutted their brutal fury on the mangled bodies of these two illustrious citizens.

The murder of the De Wits extinguished, for a time, the party distinctions which had divided the state. The prince of Orange was declared stadholder, and shewed himself worthy of the power with which he was intrusted. He exhorted the citizens to firmness, assuring them that the other powers of Europe would not fail to send them assistance. He represented to them, that it was in vain to flatter themselves with being able to disarm, by submission, an enemy whose ambition would keep no measures: that now was the time to sacrifice every thing to support that precious liberty which their ancestors had purchased with their blood: that, for his own part, he would tread in the steps of his fathers, and devote himself, without reserve, to the preservation of the state. Buckingham, the English envoy, asking him whether he did not see that the republic was infallibly ruined, answered, with great vivacity, "I have one sure method of never seeing the ruin of my country; I will die in the last intrenchment."

His conduct shewed that he spoke the real sentiments of his heart. He exerted all his power against the common enemy. He overflowed all the passes by which the French could penetrate into the rest of the country. He sent envoys to the different courts of Europe; and by his negotiations, roused the emperor, the empire, the Spanish council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy; and even induced the court of England to be less desirous of supporting the ambitious designs of the French monarch. Affairs now began to wear a different aspect. Lewis entered Holland in the month of May; and before September, the greater part of the powers of Europe were forming a confederacy against him. Montercy, governor of Flanders, sent privately a few regiments to the assistance of the States; the emperor Leopold dispatched Montecuculli, at the head of twenty thousand men; and the elector of Brandenburg took the field with forty thousand troops, whom he paid himself. In a word, while the subjects of Lewis were every where erecting monuments of his conquests, the powers of Europe were forming confederacies for snatching them from his hands. They rightly considered the reduction of Holland as a prelude to their own slavery. It would be impossible, they thought, to defend themselves against the exorbitant power of France, should it be increased by so great an accession.

A.D. 1673. The states depended greatly on the English parliament; they were persuaded that the in-

terest of the nation would prevail over the ambitious views of the court. Charles, for near two years, had been free from the uneasiness of parliamentary remonstrances; but the want of money rendered it absolutely necessary for him to summon that assembly. His speech to both houses at the opening of the session, full of confidence and cordiality, disguised the real sentiments of his heart. Shaftsbury, the chancellor, insisted on the necessity of carrying on the war against a republic so essentially an enemy to the English. "The parliament itself," said he, "acknowledged that Carthage was to be destroyed: the present hostilities therefore may more properly be called the war of the parliament, than that of the king." The commons, however, entertained a different opinion, and were determined that his majesty should purchase the supplies by particular compliances.

The cabal had usurped the whole power of the government, and the chancellor, contrary to the established custom, had issued writs for electing new members in the room of those who were deceased. The first vote of the parliament declared these elections void, and the members accordingly withdrew. It was now evident that there was a large majority against the court, and that without remarkable firmness in the king the whole plan formed by the cabal must fall to the ground, and a change in the ministry be the consequence. Shaftsbury, before he communicated his plan to Charles, had determined within himself, that if he found the king wanted resolution to execute it, he would immediately join the country party, in order to prevent a prosecution by the commons, as the adviser, or at least the promoter of a step that threatened the destruction of the constitution. The example of the earl of Clarendon was yet too recent to be forgotten, and he doubted not but his sovereign would as readily sacrifice him to the indignation of the parliament and people, as he had done that faithful servant.

The parliament now proceeded to take into consideration the proclamation of indulgence, by which the penal laws against non-conformists and catholics were suspended, and it was voted, that it tended to alter the constitution, and change the legislative power, which the two houses shared with the king. Charles at first appeared determined to support his declaration, and in case of resistance, to apply to France for assistance. But he now saw the danger of his resolution. He perceived that a civil war must be the consequence of his breaking with the parliament; and the remembrance of the miseries that had attended his family nearly affected him. His natural indolence, his love of pleasure and repose, added to his want of money, were motives too powerful to be withstood, and he determined to comply with the parliament. He, however, consulted the peers in order to give an air of deliberation to the business; after which he broke the seals of the obnoxious declaration with his own hand, and promised to assent to all bills that had a tendency to remove abuses.

Shaftsbury saw his danger, and immediately joined the country party, and his great talents soon placed him at the head of the opposition. The parliament were now determined to put the king's declaration to the proof. They passed a bill entitled, "An act to prevent the dangers which may happen from popish recusants," commonly called the Test Act, whereby all persons, enjoying any office, or place of trust or profit, were required to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and also an oath against transubstantiation in these terms, "I declare that I believe that there is no such thing as transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, either before or after consecration by any person whatever." They were likewise to receive the communion, according to the rights of the church of England, in some parish church. Nor were the parliament contented with passing these bills, they also presented two petitions concerning grievances; and the king having promised to redress them, they passed the money-bill, but without mentioning



tioning any thing of the war, which they highly disapproved; but they added a clause to it, importing, That no papist should be capable of holding any public employment.

In consequence of the Test Act all the popish officers resigned their employments, and among the rest the duke of York his post of lord high-admiral. The lord Clifford also resigned his treasurer's staff, and died soon after. Shaftsbury was deprived of the seals, which were given to Sir Heneage Finch; and Sir Thomas Osborne, created earl of Danby, succeeded lord Clifford in the office of treasurer.

The duke of York had some time since lost his dutchess, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, and was now determined to marry Mary, sister to the duke of Modena, a princess educated in all the superstition of the Romish religion. This alliance was warmly opposed by the parliament, who, on this occasion, presented a petition to the king, conceived in the strongest terms, and expressive of their apprehensions of the dangerous consequences that might result from such a marriage. The duke of York, however, paid little regard to their petition. He declared he would not be contradicted in a measure he thought so essential to the happiness of his life. He accordingly married that princess on the twenty-first of November.

The war was still carried on with great vigour against the Dutch, and prince Rupert was appointed commander of the fleet, in the room of the duke of York. As soon as the prince had joined the French admiral, they failed in quest of the Dutch to force them to an engagement; and as the latter were far from declining the offer, a battle ensued, and proved very obstinate and very bloody; but without either gaining any very great advantage. The principal loss fell upon the French, whom the English, dissident of their attentions, took care to place under their own squadrons, and by that means exposed them to the thickest part of the fire of the enemy. This engagement was fought on the eighth of June; and was renewed on the fourteenth, when the fortune of the day remained as doubtful as before.

Both nations now exerted all their force, and seemed determined to put the whole to the event of a general engagement. The prince of Orange had found means to reconcile de Ruyter and Van Tromp, a son worthy of the gallant father from whom he sprung. These two celebrated admirals now commanded the Dutch fleet, and on the eleventh of August the battle began at the mouth of the Texel. De Ruyter singled out prince Rupert, Tromp opposed himself to Sir Edward Sprague, the English vice-admiral, and Brankert, the Dutch rear-admiral bore up to attack d'Etrees. The engagement was conducted with astonishing fury and emulation by the English and Dutch officers; but the French kept at a distance and left the English to sustain the whole fury of the battle. In vain did prince Rupert make a signal to d'Etrees to bear down to his assistance; he took no notice of any thing that passed, and kept his whole squadron far from the scene of action. Sprague, when the battle began, had hoisted his flag on board the Royal Prince; but she being soon disabled he left her, and displayed his flag on board the St. George, while Tromp for a similar reason, quitted his own ship, and went on board the Comet; and the fight was immediately renewed with the same fury as before. Both the ships of these gallant commanders were soon shattered, and Sprague was leaving the St. George in order to hoist his flag on board a third ship, when a cannon ball passing through his ship, struck his boat, and the gallant admiral was drowned. It is worthy of remark, that in all the engagements these brave admirals always singled out each other, as the only antagonist worthy of them; and when the brave Sprague perished Van Tromp generously paid him the tribute of a tear.

Had the French done their duty a total victory must have been the consequence. But by this refusal in the Frenchman, and his own ships having received

so much damage by the enemy, prince Rupert could not pursue the advantages he had gained by his valour. He therefore stood away for the English coast, leaving the victory undecided. The Dutch, however, gained every thing they wished. By the retreat of the English, a rich fleet of East-India ships, which had been for some time expected, arrived unmolested in their ports. An expedition which had been planned against the coast of Zealand, was also rendered abortive. This was the last engagement fought betwixt those rival nations. The English became very desirous of putting an end to a war which had exhausted them of men and money, without the least prospect of honour or advantage.

The parliament met on the twentieth of October; but the king, finding he had nothing to expect from their deliberations, sent the usher of the black rod to the commons, commanding their attendance in the house of peers. But before they would suffer him to enter, they voted, that a standing army is a grievance; that the evil counsellors about the king are a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be employed in any office of trust. They had hardly finished these votes before the usher of the black rod entered, the speaker leaped from the chair, and the house broke up in the utmost confusion.

In the mean time the Dutch began to recover from their astonishment. Lewis by not destroying the forts, as Condé and Turenne had proposed, greatly weakened his own army by the number of garrisons he was obliged to detach. The prince of Orange, by a masterly piece of military conduct, joined the army of the empire, and the French were obliged to evacuate the three Dutch provinces with as much precipitation as they had conquered them; but not before the inhabitants had paid dear for their deliverance. The intendant Robert had raised in the single province of Utrecht no less than sixteen hundred and sixty-eight florins. All the triumphant monuments of Lewis's conquest erected in the Netherlands were destroyed, and that prince, considered by all the powers of Europe as one who had enjoyed the honours of a transient triumph with too much precipitation and pride; which had now involved him in a bloody war with the united forces of the empire, Spain and Holland.

A. D. 1674. On the seventh of January the parliament met agreeable to their prorogation, and it was soon evident that they had not changed their opinions during the recess. Aware of the dangerous designs of Charles, they were determined to exert all their power to render his plans of arbitrary power abortive. They seriously debated on the grievances of the nation, and both houses were persuaded that there was a necessity for their being removed. They began with addressing the king for a general fast to implore the blessing of the Almighty on their endeavours against the dangerous errors of popery; and then resolved to grant no more supplies till the grievances they enumerated were redressed, and the protestant religion, as well as the liberties and properties of the people, secured. Both houses joined in an address to the king, for the removal of the duke of Lauderdale from his majesty's presence and councils for ever. The commons examined the duke of Buckingham on several particulars of government, and not being satisfied with his answers, they passed the same vote against him, as they had done against Lauderdale. Arlington was next questioned; but his answers were so satisfactory to the house, that notwithstanding an impeachment was prepared against him, they thought proper to drop the prosecution.

These vigorous proceedings intimidated Charles; who, finding it would be impossible to carry on the war without supplies, began to listen to the terms proposed by the states general, for a separate peace. The French minister exerted all his power to keep Charles firm to his engagements, but in vain. The king chose rather to reconcile himself to his people and



and parliament, by agreeing to a peace they so much desired, than to depend upon France for support. A treaty was accordingly signed with the states, by which they again gave up the honours of the flag, and agreed to pay three hundred thousand pounds towards defraying the expence of the king's naval armaments. Several attempts were made for concluding an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland. Most of the European princes solicited this measure as the only infallible means of putting a stop to the alarming progress of the French monarch. The two houses of parliament supported these solicitations with all their power. Their hatred to the French was indeed so great, that they would gladly have relinquished the enjoyments of the new peace for a time, to see their king armed against the common disturber of the tranquillity of Europe; nor would they have thought any supplies too great in order to prosecute a war which had so evidently tended to increase the good of the public. Charles, however, paid no regard to their solicitations. Prompted equally by his hatred to the Dutch, and the hopes of still receiving a powerful assistance from France, he refused to sacrifice his ally to the resentment of his enemies. He suffered ten thousand of his men to engage in the service of that crown, and made a merit with Lewis of the necessity which had drawn him from his alliance, and offered his mediation for concluding a general peace.

Soon after the treaty with the states was signed, Sir William Temple was again sent to Holland with the title of ambassador. But before he embarked he nobly represented to the king the inconvenience which the system of the Cabal must occasion; how difficult, not to say impossible, it was, to establish in England the government and religion of France; that the genius and principles of the people were not to be suddenly or easily changed; that force of arms alone could compel them to submit to a yoke they beheld with horror; that an English army could never be prevailed upon to promote those ends; that the catholics did not compose the one hundredth part of the nation; that foreign troops could not be levied or maintained in any considerable number; and that if a few were retained, they could do nothing more than excite the hatred and revolt of the people. He concluded with referring him to the observations of Gourville, a French writer much esteemed by Charles, who says, "A king of England that chuses to be a man of his people, is the greatest monarch in the world; but if he chuses to be something more, he is nothing at all." Though the king was highly displeased at this discourse, he knew how to dissemble. "Tis very well," said he, "I will be the man of my people." Events soon shewed that he spoke, not the dictates of his heart.

The defection of England was followed by that of the bishop of Munster, and even the elector of Cologne. Lewis was, however, successful in several places. Francke Comté was again reduced. Turenne was able, with a much inferior force, to baffle all the attempts of the allied army in Alsace. By a sudden and unexpected march he attacked and defeated, at Sintzheim, the duke of Lorraine and Copara, the imperial general. Seventy thousand Germans invaded Alsace, and took up their quarters in that province. He attacked and routed a body of the enemy at Mulhausen. He drove from Colmar the elector of Brandenburg. He obtained a new victory at Turkheim: and having cleared the province entirely of the allies, he compelled them to repass the Rhine with great loss and dishonour. The French were not so fortunate on the side of Flanders where the prince of Orange commanded. That young general shewed himself nearly equal to the great Condé, in the bloody battle of Senefse. "The prince of Orange," said Condé, "has conducted himself through the whole action like a great general, except in exposing his life like a young soldier."

A.D. 1675. After a recess of fourteen months

the parliament assembled on the thirteenth of April, and immediately voted a bill to be brought in for preventing the growth of popery; in which it was declared, that the saying mass should be a sufficient evidence of a person being a popish priest; and that a penalty should be inflicted on all who assisted at the catholic service. They also framed a bill declaring it treason to levy money without consent of parliament; another for vacating the seats of members who accepted of offices; and a third for securing the liberty of the subjects, and preventing their being transported as prisoners to distant islands.

On the other hand the ministry exerted all their influence in the upper house, and passed a bill for a new test, by which every member of parliament, and all persons in office, were to take an oath in the following terms: "I declare, that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the king; and that I abhor the maxim, as treasonable, which holds, that one may take up arms, by the authority of the king, against his person, or against those who act by virtue of his commission; and I swear that I will never use any effort to change or alter the government in church or state." This bill was vigorously opposed; some maintained that it was founded upon false principles; others, that it would revive dangerous disputes: even in the house of lords, it was carried only by two voices. The opposition would have been stronger in the commons, had not an unforeseen quarrel between the two houses suspended all business of that kind. Dr. Shirley having appealed to the house of lords from a decree in chancery given in favour of Sir John Fagg, a member of the commons, the latter asserted, that this proceeding was a violation of their privileges; that none of their members could be cited to appear before the lords; and that the lords could not even receive appeals. On the other hand, the lords resolved, "That it was the undoubted rights of the lords in judicature to determine, in time of parliament, appeals from inferior courts, where the members of either house were concerned, that there might not be a failure of justice." Several conferences passed between the two houses, but with so much rancour and animosity, that the king, alarmed for the consequences, came to the house of peers on the ninth of June; and after reproaching both branches of the legislature for carrying their differences to such an indecent height, he prorogued the parliament to the thirteenth of October.

The coffee-houses, whither the people resorted in crowds, were filled with censures on the government. The ministry was at once alarmed and exasperated; and a proclamation was published, commanding all the coffee-houses to be shut up: a strange method of quieting the fears of the people, by giving them fresh cause of complaint. The keepers of the coffee-houses promised not to suffer any seditious discourse in their houses, and on this condition they were soon opened again. But the general discontent continued to increase.

The war on the continent was still carried on with great vigour, and the French arms were, in general, successful. Though Turenne fell by a cannon-ball, and the prince of Condé had left the army; yet the defeat of the marshal du Crecqui, at Confabrick, near Treves, was the only misfortune of that kind the French had experienced for sixty years.

On the thirteenth of October, the king opened the session of parliament with a very short speech; in which, after recommending unity between the two houses, he demanded a supply sufficient for building several new ships, and clearing off the anticipations of his revenue. The commons absolutely refused to give any money for paying off the debts of the crown, but voted three hundred thousand pounds for defraying the expence of building twenty ships of war, and appropriated the duties of tonnage and poundage to the support of the navy. But the business of the nation was soon after suspended by the revival of the dispute



dispute between the two houses, in the case of Shirley and Fagg. The commons were as resolute and determined as ever in maintaining their privileges; and the king, to prevent the consequences that might ensue from these alarming disputes, prorogued the parliament for fifteen months.

A. D. 1677. When the two houses met, pursuant to their prorogation, they acted as if they had forgotten these unhappy heats and animosities which had put an end to the two last sessions. The commons voted his majesty six hundred thousand pounds for the use of the navy, and a continuance of the duty of excise upon ale and brandy for three years. In a word, every thing seemed to promise a happy union between the king and both houses of parliament. But unfortunately, these pleasing appearances were soon over; the rapid progress of the French on the continent filled the nation with the most alarming apprehensions. At the same time, it was evident, that Charles had it in his power to give peace to Europe whenever he pleased, by declaring his intention to join the allies, unless Lewis would accept of a peace upon reasonable terms. The parliament had therefore recourse to every method to induce the king to take up arms. They promised that the most affluent supplies should be the reward of his compliance. This offer was a powerful motive; he seemed willing to comply with the wishes of his people. He gave the princess Mary, daughter to the duke of York, to the prince of Orange in marriage, and displayed some proofs of firmness with regard to France. He even made preparations for war with the supplies he received from parliament. But ever fluctuating and irresolute, sometimes gained by the promises of Lewis, and sometimes absorbed in the charms of pleasure, he neither fulfilled the expectations of the English, nor that of the allies.

A. D. 1678. Weary of the war, and finding there were no hopes of any assistance from England, the States General signed a separate peace with Lewis, on the tenth of August. By this treaty it was agreed, that each party should retain what they were possessed of, except Maastricht and its dependencies, which Lewis was to restore to the Dutch, and were indeed all the French possessed of their conquests in the United Provinces; and by a secret article, Lewis engaged to restore all that belonged to the prince of Orange in France, Franche Comté, Charleroi, and Flanders. Spain and the Empire soon after accepted the conditions, and peace was restored in every part of Europe.

This peace, which was signed at Nimeguen, furnishes a memorable instance how greatly projects are contradicted by events. Holland, against whom alone the war was undertaken, and whose ruin seemed inevitable, was so far from losing any thing, that she gained a barrier; while every other power that had interposed to snatch her from destruction, found themselves considerable losers, and obliged to accept the terms prescribed them by Holland. It may, however, with great truth, be affirmed, that it was owing to the fault of the English monarch alone, that the allies had not a more advantageous peace; since the parliament were both ready and desirous to furnish very ample supplies for carrying on the war against France, would Charles have acted agreeable either to the interest of Europe in general, or of England in particular. This strange conduct can be ascribed only to his passionate desire of executing his darling scheme, that of rendering himself the absolute master of his people. Some have accused him of labouring to introduce the popish religion into England; but this is a crime of which he was not guilty. All religions were alike to Charles; and the concessions he often made in favour of the catholics, seem rather to have been the effect of his love for his brother, and ready compliance with any councils he adopted, than his own attachment to that particular mode of faith. He cared not whether popery or protestantism was the reigning religion in

England, if he could enjoy his beloved ease and pleasure.

During these transactions, Scotland had groaned beneath a load of tyranny. The duke of Lauderdale, in quality of royal commissioner, had been sent into that kingdom. By his arts and influence, he prevailed upon the Scottish parliament to declare, that the whole exterior power of the church was vested in the crown. He also induced them to establish a militia of twenty-two thousand men, ready to act in every enterprise where either the power or the grandeur of the sovereign were concerned. The duke was as fond of persecution as his master was of toleration. The former strained the laws in favour of the first, and the latter suspended their force in favour of the second. He did not reflect, that persecution was the most dangerous of all remedies against the presbyterian fanaticism disseminated thro' every part of Scotland. It would be endless to particularize all the instances of oppression in that unhappy kingdom. Let it suffice to say, that they were at once cruel and impolitic. Because the law for prohibiting conventicles, had called them "Seminaries of Rebellion," he treated those counties as rebellious where the conventicles most abounded; and the troops he detached into those parts were guilty of the most horrid and shameful disorders. By an old Scottish law, every person who was accused, and did not appear, was liable to be condemned for contumacy, and outlawed; and whoever afterwards held the least communication with them, though only to give them the common assistances of humanity, was liable to the same penalties. This law, too odious to be executed with rigour, occasioned a great number of outlawries. Fearful of appearing in a court where they could expect no mercy, they incurred, perhaps, a greater punishment by their absence. In a word, the whole nation became a prey to the rapacity of the duke and duteches of Lauderdale. Fearing that the complaints of the people might find their way to the throne, Lauderdale forbade all who were possessed of lands in Scotland from leaving that kingdom. Bishop Burnet tells us, that Charles one day said to his friends, "I hear that Lauderdale behaves very ill to my people in Scotland, but I do not find he has done any thing contrary to my interest." It is no wonder, when a prince makes a distinction between his own interest and that of his people, that the people follow the example.

We are now come to a period, when a transaction happened which has given occasion to many politicians to exercise their critical sagacity in supporting the truth, or exposing the falsity of this remarkable incident, according as they were attached to this or that party. It must, indeed, be granted, that the whole is replete with contradictions, so that it is impossible, perhaps, to unravel the whole. It will be sufficient, however, for an historian, to give a plain narrative of facts, and leave the reader to make his own reflections. The oppressions of the duke of Lauderdale in Scotland; the desire Charles had always shewn with regard to procuring the catholics the free exercise of their religion; and his secret connections with Lewis XIV. which even the offer of the largest supplies could not induce him to abandon; all tended to confirm the people in an opinion, that he intended to introduce popery and arbitrary power.

When the minds of the people are thus prepossessed, it is no wonder that they listen to every thing that has a tendency to confirm their suspicions. At this juncture, a conspiracy for establishing the catholic religion was discovered by one Titus Oates. This man was originally a clergyman of the church of England, and of a very indifferent character. At length he turned papist, and lived for some time with the Jesuits at St. Omers. Thence he went into Spain, where he was admitted to the councils of the Jesuits; but being at length discharged from that society, his resentment induced him to turn informer. He now



gave out, that his conversion to popery was a mere pretence, to enable him to discover the secrets of the Jesuits; and the substance of his depositions was, that the pope claimed the sovereignty of England, and had commissioned the Jesuits to exercise his rights. In consequence of which, the general of the order had, by patents under the pope's seal, disposed of the principal offices, civil and military. That in a council of fifty Jesuits, held at London, it was unanimously resolved to kill the king; and that father de la Chaise, confessor to Lewis XIV. had promised a reward of ten thousand pounds to the regicide: that the crown was to be offered to the duke of York, on condition of his submitting to receive it from the pope; but on his refusing, he was to share the fate of his brother. They (the Jesuits) had formed a plan for setting fire to the city of London, and executing a general massacre of the protestants in every part of the kingdom. In a word, that they designed to overturn the whole constitution, and establish by blood and desolation the dominion of popery.

It is impossible to describe the universal confusion of the nation, when the information given by Oates was known. Coleman, secretary to the dutchess of York, being arrested, copies of his correspondence with father de la Chaise, the pope's nuncio, and some other papists, increased the alarm, and seemed to confirm the truth of Oates's narrative. In one of Coleman's letters to the French king's confessor, is the following passage: "We have a great work on our hands; nothing less than the conversion of the three kingdoms: God has given us a prince (meaning the duke of York) who is marvelously ambitious of being the instrument of this design; but as we must expect to meet with opposition, it behoves us to secure all the assistance possible." And in another letter he says, "Money will persuade the king to every thing: there is nothing we may not obtain from him by this means. Money has an irresistible influence over him; that logic has more power in his court than all the arguments in the world." He therefore desired de la Chaise to furnish him with three hundred thousand pounds, which would, he said, engage the king to dissolve the parliament, whose resolutions were unfavourable to France. A new incident seemed to confirm the guilt of the Jesuits, whose known bigotry had before rendered it probable. Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, the justice of peace who had taken the deposition of Oates, was found dead in a ditch, with his rings on his fingers, and his money in his pockets; a sufficient proof that he had not been killed by robbers. This assassination, the author of which was never discovered, was considered as the act of the papists. The whole city was in alarm: every individual thought himself in danger, and the same precautions were taken as if an enemy had been at the gates. Whether Charles believed the truth of this conspiracy, or thought the whole a forgery of Oates, is uncertain; but he mentioned it to both houses, and recommended vigilance to the magistrates in discovering and prosecuting all who were concerned in so black an action. Danby, the prime minister, moved, in the house of lords, that the affair might be taken into consideration, and his motion was agreed to. Oates was called before the house, and strictly examined; and on his persisting that the narrative he had before given to Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey was strictly true, the house resolved, that the popish recusants had formed an infernal plot against the king, the government, and the protestant religion. An apartment in Whitehall, with a pension of twelve thousand pounds a year, was assigned to Oates; and every method that prudence could dictate, was taken to discover the particulars of this alarming contrivance.

While the parliament were engaged in this business, one Bedloe accused several papists, in the service of the queen, of being concerned in the murder of Godfrey. He also added some circumstances to

the depositions of Oates. Several noblemen, accused by these informers, were apprehended, among whom were the earl of Powis, the lord viscount Stafford, and the lords Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bel-lasis, who were sent to the Tower.

The depositions of Oates and Bedloe being published, excited such a ferment in the kingdom, that Charles was obliged to issue a proclamation, commanding all popish recusants, under the severest penalty, to repair to their own houses, and not venture farther than five miles from thence, without a particular licence. Another proclamation was also published, offering a reward to any person who should apprehend a popish priest or jesuit. The test which declared popery to be idolatry, was now instituted, and all who refused to take it were excluded from parliament. The duke of York, with tears in his eyes, requested of the upper house an exemption in his favour, declaring, that his religion should be altogether between God and himself, and never appear in his public conduct. It was with difficulty he carried his point by two voices. "I would not" said one of the lords, "have any thing of popish principles here; neither man, woman, dog, nor cat."

The commons proceeded still farther. Finding that Sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of Scotland, had countersigned several commissions to popish recusants, and being a member of the lower house, they committed him to the Tower. Charles, highly incensed at this commitment of his servant, without making any application to him, immediately ordered him to be released. He, however, revoked the commissions that had given offence, and the commons were satisfied with this instance of royal condescension.

During these transactions in parliament, Montague, ambassador in France, hastily returned, and laid open a new scene. He produced a letter written by the high-treasurer Danby, during the late negotiations for a peace on the continent: by which it appeared, that the king had, in some measure, sold the interests both of England and the allies. Among other particulars, it imported, that if the conditions of the peace were accepted by the allies, Charles was to be paid six millions by France, within three years after the treaty should be signed. Danby, who, it seems, disapproved of writing this letter, endeavoured to secure himself, by procuring it to be authenticated by the king, who had added, with his own hand, "This letter is written by my order, C. R." The commons now no longer doubted that Charles had acted in concert with France; and though they perceived that the letter reflected greater dishonour on the king than his minister, yet, in order to discover the whole truth of this provoking mystery, they impeached Danby of high-treason, but the lords refused to put him under arrest. The dispute now became violent between the two houses; and Charles, to prevent the disagreeable consequences that might result from a breach between two branches of the legislature, first prorogued, and afterwards dissolved the parliament, now justly suspicious and dissatisfied, though at first very favourable to the interests of the crown. The alteration in the sentiments of the commons was wholly owing to the conduct of the king, and the spirit of the nation.

The trials of the conspirators now wholly engrossed the attention of the public, and Coleman was the first that felt the weight of popular indignation. On the twenty-seventh of November, he was brought to the bar of the king's bench, where lord chief-justice Scoggs presided. The evidences against him were Oates, Bedloe, and his own letters. Oates and Bedloe swore that he had received a patent from the general of the Jesuits, to act as secretary of state; and that he had agreed to the assassination of the king. He was accordingly convicted of high-treason, and suffered on the third of December, but declared his innocence to the last. Father Ireland also suffered, though he alledged he was in Staffordshire at the very time the accusers swore he attended the meetings of the conspirators.



conspirators in London. Every Jesuit was considered as a villain, and that lying and mental reservation made a part of the principles of their order. Several other persons were impeached, among whom were Thomas Pickering, a priest; John Grove, a lay-brother; Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits in England, and who, according to the evidence of Oates, was to have been created archbishop of Canterbury; Harecourt, Fenwick, Gaven, and Turner, all Jesuits; and Langhorne, a catholic lawyer. These were all found guilty, and executed.

A.D. 1679. A new parliament being summoned to meet on the sixth of March, it was soon evident that a very considerable majority was on the side of the country party. Charles was alarmed; and in order to ingratiate himself with this new assembly, he prevailed upon his brother, the duke of York, to submit to an order for his leaving England. He deprived Danby of the treasurer's staff, and gave it to the earl of Lauderdale; but in order to prevent the former, either through resentment or fear, from discovering secrets he wished to be concealed, he granted him a free pardon.

Shaftsbury, and the other leaders of the popular party, determined to avail themselves of the popular commotions, and the majority in the commons, to carry into execution the plan they had formed for excluding the duke of York from the throne. Shaftsbury's object was to give the English crown to the duke of Monmouth, one of Charles's natural sons. It was already reported, that a marriage had been contracted between the king and Lucy Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother. It therefore became necessary for Charles either to disapprove or confirm this report; and accordingly, he solemnly declared, in full council, that it was false, and that Monmouth was illegitimate. The duke of York, who had obtained assurances from the king, before his departure from England, that he would support his succession to the crown, took up his residence at Brussels.

Foiled in this attempt, the commons renewed the impeachment of Danby, notwithstanding the king had granted him a free pardon, and assured the house that the minister had done nothing but by his particular orders. They insisted, that a pardon from the crown was no arrest of judgment with them; and it was voted, that if Danby did not appear on a day appointed, he should be declared guilty. He did not chuse to provoke farther the indignation of the commons; he appeared, and was committed to the Tower.

Alarmed by these violent proceedings, Charles summoned Sir William Temple, whose virtues he knew were revered by the public, to attend his duty in council. More attracted by the charms of philosophy than those of ambition, Temple had retired into the country, where he cultivated his favourite studies in a quiet retreat. But he no sooner received the royal mandate, than he hastened to court, always preferring the good of his country to his own. He proposed to form a council, composed chiefly of the favourites of the people. By this means (said he) the parliament will be less assuming, or, at least, we shall have a strong party in the house against the discontented and the factious. His reasons were thought to be well founded, and the scheme was carried into execution. But, contrary to his advice, Charles appointed Shaftsbury president of this new council. The king flattered himself, that by conferring so honourable a post on that dangerous man, he would become a friend to the measures of the court. He was mistaken. Shaftsbury perceiving that the king's conduct towards him was less the effect of sincerity than policy, changed not his conduct. He cultivated a still closer correspondence with the leaders of the opposition; and by being acquainted with all the secrets of government, became a more dangerous enemy than ever.

Having acquired so able a leader, the commons seemed determined to carry their resentment to the

greatest lengths. They resolved, that the duke of York's zeal for popery, and the hopes of seeing him on the throne, occasioned popish conspiracies. The king, who saw the design of this resolution, endeavoured to prevent it, by proposing conciliating measures. He offered to pass a bill for restricting the power of a catholic prince, if ever one of that persuasion should fill the English throne. He was not to have the right of conferring church dignities. The members of the privy-council, the judges, the lord-lieutenants of counties, and their deputies, together with all the officers of the navy, were neither to be appointed nor removed without consent of parliament. These extraordinary concessions, which must so greatly have limited the prerogative, were not sufficient to appease the house, which was constantly enflamed by the cabals of Shaftsbury.

It was therefore resolved by a considerable majority to bring in what was called, "The Exclusion Bill," by which it was declared, "That the crowns of England and Ireland belonged to the next heir, the duke of York excepted; that if he appeared in either of these kingdoms, he should be declared guilty of treason; and that those who defended his title should be deemed enemies and traitors." Nor was this the only popular act of the commons; they expelled all such as possessed lucrative offices, in order to weaken still farther the influence of the crown. They declared standing armies, and even the royal guards, illegal; and they passed the famous Habeas Corpus bill, which is still considered as the principal security of the subject. By virtue of this noble act, no person can be sent to prison beyond the sea. No judge can refuse a prisoner his habeas corpus, which obliges the goaler to produce the prisoner before any court the writ shall appoint, and there shew cause for the imprisonment. The prisoner is to be tried at the time appointed; and if he is discharged by a court of justice, he cannot be imprisoned again upon the same account. This bill soon after passed the upper house, and received the royal assent.

Having passed these bills, the commons resumed the prosecution of Danby; and resolved, that to maintain the validity of the royal pardon in his case, was an infringement of their privileges. They also demanded, that the bishops, who were considered as entirely devoted to the court, should absent themselves during this trial. This was opposed by the upper house; and the commons prepared a remonstrance. Charles was alarmed by these proceedings; and fearful lest they should present a remonstrance to him, which might have the most dangerous consequences, he repaired to the house of lords on the twenty-seventh of May; and after giving the royal assent to five bills, he prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of August. By this means the exclusion bill was dropped for a time, and the schemes of Shaftsbury rendered abortive.

The presbyterians in Scotland were treated with as much rigour as the catholics in England. They bore their persecutions for a long time; but at last, seeing no prospect of an end to their miseries, they lost all patience, and determined to take a full revenge on their persecutors. Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, who had made his fortune by deserting their party, and was now become as great a persecutor as Lauderdale himself, was marked out for destruction. A large body of the covenanters accordingly lay in ambush for him; and, as he was returning in his coach from the council at Edinburgh, they attacked him near a little village called Magus, about two miles from St. Andrews: they immediately dragged him out of his carriage, and, regardless of the prayers, tears, and supplications of his daughter, who happened to be with him, put him to death in the most inhuman and brutal manner.

This assassination, considered as an action worthy of the faithful, was the signal for the covenanters to fly to arms. They accordingly assembled from every quarter, proclaimed the covenant at Rutherglen, surprized



surprized the city of Glasgow, issued a proclamation, commanding the magistrates to drive all archbishops, bishops, and curates, out of the kingdom immediately; and inviting all their brethren to join them, and finish the good work they had so happily begun. They were soon joined by a vast multitude of people; but instead of confining themselves to the redress of grievances, they fell to plundering the adjacent country. This gave time to the magistrates to provide for the security of Edinburgh. The duke of Monmouth was sent, at the head of an army, to reduce them, and soon executed his commission. He came up with them at Bothwell-bridge; and falling upon them with incredible fury, soon gained a complete victory. Near a thousand of the insurgents were left dead on the field of battle, and twelve hundred taken prisoners, among whom were several of those concerned in the murder of archbishop Sharp. These were all hanged up immediately; a few more were afterwards tried and executed; but the greatest part were sent to the plantations. Monmouth, desirous of gaining the affections of the Scots, treated the people with great humanity.

While this rebellion subsisted in Scotland, the king was seized with a violent fever, which threw the whole kingdom into the utmost confusion. The council assembled; and notwithstanding the opposition of Shaftsbury, and several other members of the country party, they resolved to send for the duke of York from Brussels. He soon arrived; but, in the interval, the king was pretty well recovered. The opposition was not, however, idle, during the king's sickness: they demanded that the parliament should be immediately assembled; and the court party, as a counterpoise to their petitions, presented the most respectable addresses. This opposition in the two parties gave occasion to the introduction of the names of Whig and Tory. The former, which had before been given to the Scotch fanatics, was now given to the opposition; and the latter, which had been originally applied to the rebels in Ireland, was now applied to the courtiers. These odious appellations served no other purpose than that of fostering malignity and discord, and of widening the breach, already too large, between the two parties.

The behaviour of Monmouth in Scotland alarmed the duke of York, who used every method in his power to procure the disgrace of that popular nobleman. He succeeded in his attempts, and Monmouth was obliged to retire to the continent; while he himself, under pretence of quieting the minds of the English, obtained permission to retire into Scotland, but made himself more enemies than friends in that kingdom. Shaftsbury, whose designs were now sufficiently known, was dismissed from his post of president of the council, and the earl of Radnor was appointed in his room. The earl of Essex resigned his post as treasurer, and Lawrence Hyde was appointed in his room. Lord Russel, one of the most popular and virtuous men in the kingdom, quitted the board, and Sir William Temple retired into the country.

The papists, exasperated at the prosecutions carrying on against them, determined to be revenged upon their prosecutors, and turn the late odium from themselves to the presbyterians. They had accordingly recourse to one Dangerfield, a fellow who had suffered almost every punishment that the law can inflict on the most abandoned miscreant. This man, who enjoyed the first place in the chronicles of infamy, was tutored for the purpose. He was confined in Newgate for debt when he was pitched upon as the leader in this scene of action. The catholics released him, and found him sufficient employment. He pretended to have been privy to a design for destroying the king and royal family, and changing the government into a commonwealth. The king and his brother countenanced the information, and rewarded him for his discovery with a sum of money; but certain papers which he produced as evidences of

his assertions, appearing to be forged by himself, he was sent to prison. His character was alone sufficient to create suspicions; all his haunts were ordered to be searched; and in the house of one Mrs. Collier, a Roman catholic, his particular friend, they found the model of the plot fairly written in a book, tied with a ribband, and concealed in a meal-tub. From this incident it was called the Meal-tub Plot. Finding the whole discovered, the miscreant made a general confession. He said the whole had been contrived by the counsels of Powis, the earl of Castlemain, and the five lords confined in the Tower, in order to invalidate the evidences of Oates, Bedloe, and others, against the papists. He added, that he was instructed to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Hallifax, and others, of being concerned in a conspiracy against the king and the duke of York. This discovery being made, lord Castlemain and lady Powis were committed to the Tower; and the people did not fail to censure both the king and his brother with being concerned in this perfidious scheme.

A. D. 1680. The new parliament met on the twenty-sixth of January, when the king endeavoured to inspire the members with sentiments of unanimity, so necessary for the public welfare. "All Europe," said he in his speech at the opening of the session, "has its eyes on this assembly, and seems to think its fate involved in it, as well as ours. Let us beware of strengthening our enemies, and disheartening our friends by unseasonable disputes. Should these arise, the reproach will not fall upon me, for I have neglected nothing that might contribute to keep you in peace while I live, and to leave you so when I die." But the commons were far from entering into these views: they began with acts of violence against the Tories: no respect was paid to the habeas corpus bill. Arbitrary imprisonments became so common, that the whole nation complained of the violence. One Stowel had the courage to resist an officer of justice, who attempted to imprison him by order of the house. He said, in his defence, that he knew no law by virtue of which he could be deprived of his liberty. The commons did not think proper to proceed any farther; and in order to free themselves from the embarrassment, they gave out, that Stowel was sick, and they had granted him a month for his recovery. They now revived the exclusion bill, and sent it up to the lords for their concurrence. A violent debate succeeded, in which the eloquence of Shaftsbury was eclipsed by that of Hallifax, his nephew, a zealous partizan of the court. At last the question was put, and the bill was rejected by a considerable majority. This decision rendered all the hopes of the commons abortive; and they discharged their resentment on some catholic peers, whom they impeached as abettors of the popish plots. Five of them had been, for some time, confined in the Tower. The first they attacked was the old lord Stafford. Oates deposed, that he had seen a commission sent to him, signed by father Oliva, general of the Jesuits. Two other witnesses swore, that he had engaged to kill the king; and Stafford was found guilty by his peers upon a majority of twenty-four voices. His courage, supported by conscious innocence, did not forsake him in the dreadful trial. Being very old and infirm, on going to his execution, he desired a cloak: "I may tremble with cold," said he; "but, thank heaven, I shall never tremble through fear." He declared, on the scaffold, his abhorrence of the corruptions of the church of Rome. "I die," said he, "in hopes that the delusion will soon vanish, and that truth will oblige the world to do me justice at last." "We believe you, my lord," replied the weeping populace; "God bless your lordship." The executioner was melted into tears, and it was with the utmost difficulty he performed his duty. The circumstances of this execution shook the general belief of the conspiracy; and though it still continued to alarm



alarm the people, no more blood was shed upon that account. The commons perceived the passions of the people were turned against them; and they began to act with less resolution.

They were, however, still determined to pursue the plan they had formed, and flattered themselves the flexibility of Charles, and his necessities for money, would at last render them successful. They accordingly proposed several inflammatory bills; and at last voted, that they would grant no supplies till the exclusion bill was passed into a law. Convinced that nothing was now to be expected, Charles dissolved the parliament.

A.D. 1681. But though he had thus abruptly parted with one assembly, he hoped to have better success with another; and accordingly summoned a new parliament to meet at Oxford, where the unfavourable dispositions of the capital could have no effect on the members. This measure occasioned the strongest resentment in the citizens. The old members were re-chosen, and thanked by their constituents for their enquiry into the popish conspiracy, and for their attempt to exclude the duke of York from the throne: "for (added they) we look upon him as the principal cause of that ruin which threatens the nation." The duke of Monmouth, at the head of fifteen peers, opposed the design of holding the parliament at Oxford; and said in his petition, "That the two houses would be exposed to the swords of the papists and their adherents, several of whom had crept even into the king's guards." This was followed by a more open attack; the spirit of rebellion no longer hid itself under the mantle of darkness. The heads of the party arrived at Oxford strongly escorted; and the representatives of London in particular were followed by crowds of citizens, with cockades, on which were written, "No popery, no slavery." In a word, both parties endeavoured to make a pompous display of their strength; and the meeting of this parliament had rather the appearance of those in the distracted times of Henry VI. at Clarendon, Oxford, and Coventry, than the peaceable and amicable meeting of the sovereign and his people.

Exasperated at these appearances, Charles began to exert his authority with a vigour of which he was thought incapable. He opened the session with a noble and elegant speech; in which, after complaining of the disrespectful proceedings of the last parliament, which were such he said, as few princes besides himself would have borne with equal patience; he declared, that as it was neither his desire nor intention to exercise arbitrary power over them, so he would not allow it to be exercised over himself. He again inculcated moderation in their debates, as it was by that means alone the ends of the nation, who had deputed them as representatives, could be answered. He told them he was willing to give them every satisfaction in his power, with regard to their fears of a popish successor, by joining with them to establish any practical scheme for putting the government entirely into the hands of protestants, during the reign of such a prince. In a word, that as he would, on his part, perform every thing that could reasonably be desired of him, so he expected that they should lay aside their animosities, and concur with him in that salutary intention; and not, by a revival of their past irregularities, inspire him with a disgust to parliaments.

This speech, however, produced not the desired effect. Equally indifferent to the menaces and soothing of the king, they elected the same speaker that filled the chair in the last parliament, and adopted the same measures, namely, the impeachment of Danby, the enquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion. They were so determined to carry the last measure, that they rejected every expedient. Ernelly, one of the king's ministers, in order to remove all their fears with regard to a popish successor, proposed, "That the duke of York should be banished five hundred miles from the British dominions:

that the government should be wholly vested in a regent: that this regent should be the prince of Orange; and in case of her death without issue, in the prince's Anne: that if the duke should have a son educated in the protestant religion, then the said prince's respectively to succeed in the regency, during the minority of such son, and no longer: that notwithstanding these kingdoms, out of respect to the royal family, and for preserving the right of succession, might be governed in the name of James II. yet no man should take arms from him, or by virtue of his commission, on pain of being capitally punished: that all officers, civil or military, shall take an oath to observe this settlement of the government; that acts of a similar nature should pass in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland: that if the duke of York should come into any of the three kingdoms, he should be absolutely excluded; and the government devolve to the regent: that all papists of any consideration should be banished by name, and their children be educated in the protestant religion." But even this proposal, which amounted very near to an exclusion; was rejected. They were determined on their object; and no palliative expedients would be accepted.

While the parliament was thus employed, one Fitz-Harris, an Irish catholic, had insinuated himself into the favour of the court, by giving information concerning the schemes of the opposite party. He joined with one Everard in composing an infamous and injurious libel; apparently with a view of getting money by the information: A traitor never spares his associate when it is his interest to give him up. Everard impeached Fitz-Harris, and he was immediately arrested. The prisoner had now no hopes of escaping from the hand of justice, but by changing his party. He accordingly declared, that he had been engaged by the court to write the libel in question, to throw the odium on the partizans of the exclusion bill. He added some other circumstances concerning the popish plot, and pretended he could make very important discoveries. The commons, hoping to obtain fresh matter for declamation, afforded him their protection; and their first measure was to rescue him out of the hands of justice. In order to this, they sent up an impeachment against him to the lords, who thought proper to reject it. Exasperated at this refusal, the commons complained of a violation of privilege, and declared, that if any judge should presume to try Fitz-Harris, he should be held guilty of that violation.

The dispute between the two houses continued to increase, which afforded Charles a very favourable opportunity of putting a period to a parliament, whom he found were determined to oppose him in every particular. He, however, kept his design a secret even from his most intimate friends; and on the twenty-eighth of March, the very day the exclusion bill was to be read the second time, he repaired, with the utmost privacy, to the house; and before they had received the least intimation of his design, dissolved the parliament. This resolute behaviour in the king disconcerted all the measures of the Whigs. He afterwards published a proclamation, in which he gave his reasons for dissolving the two last parliaments; and accused the commons of a design to wrest from him the regal authority, and totally subvert the constitution of England.

Convinced from experience that he had nothing to hope for from the commons, he determined not to expose himself any longer to parliamentary storms. He retrenched the expences of his government, relinquished the town of Tangier in Africa; though the fortifications had cost him very considerable sums, and seemed resolved to maintain the triumph he had gained over the opposition by his vigour. The clergy now boldly propagated the favourite maxims of the crown; and the whigs were represented as sectaries and republicans of the most dangerous kind. Doubts were thrown out with regard to the truth of the popish



pish conspiracy; and could the king have maintained the same moderation in his conduct, he had hitherto done, his triumph had been worthy of him; but he suffered reprisals of too rigorous a nature to be made by the tory party. The spies who had served the parliament, now offered their services to the court, and were accepted. Fitz-harris was tried and executed. He declared before his execution that the libel was his own, and that he had composed it merely to give it up to the ministry for the sake of a reward. The duke of York was recalled from Scotland, and resumed his seat at the council board.

In order to preserve the transactions of England entire during this busy period, we have omitted to mention those of Ireland. That kingdom had for some years been governed by the duke of Ormond, a zealous royalist, and a true friend to his country. He professed the principles of the protestant religion, but was no bigot to his tenets: he was indulgent to those of other persuasions, and provided they did nothing that tended to disturb the peace of the government, was willing they should worship their Maker in a manner most agreeable to their conscience. Ormond had served Charles faithfully; he never forsook him in his banishment; but, disdaining the meanness of flattery and adulation, he was long neglected by that prince who could not number gratitude among his virtues. Dillon, an Irish colonel, once requested the duke to assist him on some particular occasion with his interest at court, adding that he had no other dependence but on God and him. "I am heartily sorry for you," replied the duke, "you could not possibly have two friends of less credit at court." During his government, his whole study was to preserve peace, and render the people happy. But his virtues were not sufficient to defend him against the malice of Shaftsbury. He attacked him in parliament with all the powers of eloquence, and insinuated crimes of which he was wholly a stranger. Ormond's only defender was his own son, the earl of Ossory. He invalidated all the insinuations of his adversary, and after many just encomiums on the conduct of his father, added, with a boldness that did him honour, "He never advised to break the triple alliance; he never advised to shut up the exchequer; he never advised the declaration in favour of the non-conformists; he never advised to break with Holland, to preserve the alliance with France: let my father enjoy the privilege that all honest men ought to enjoy; let him be judged by his counsels and his actions." Shaftsbury felt the poignancy of the sarcasm, having been the author of those evil counsels which the king had followed. The lords applauded the noble defence of Ossory, and his true and simple narrative of facts prevailed over the artificial eloquence of his adversary. Ossory did not long survive this triumph. His father was sincerely affected with his death, and said on that melancholy occasion, "I would not change my dead son, for any living son in Christendom."

The duke of York while he resided in Scotland, practised all the severities of arbitrary power. He established a test, by which the royal prerogative, the supremacy, and passive obedience were expressly acknowledged. But the oath was drawn up in so prolix and ill-digested a manner, that Argyle thought some explanations necessary, before he could be prevailed upon to take it. This conduct exasperated the duke, who determined to make him feel the weight of power. Argyle was arrested and condemned; but found means to escape. Above two thousand presbyterians were prosecuted on this account with the most horrible severity. An inquisition more cruel than that of Spain was carried on in various parts of Scotland. The people complained; but without redress; the duke of York, who now directed the affairs of the kingdom, stifled all their applications.

A. D. 1683. The mutual animosity of the two parties in the kingdom was now enflamed into rage and rancour; and Charles, who should have conducted himself as the common parent of all his people,

openly headed a faction. Very extraordinary measures were taken to humble the city of London, whose power and political intrigues had given great umbrage to the court. A quo warranto, or an order to produce the charters of the city, was issued. If it should appear upon a strict enquiry, that any of the conditions prescribed in either of these charters, had been violated in any essential point, the privileges of the city might be taken away. Two facts were cited to prove that the city had actually broken the conditions of the charter. This was denied by the council for the defendants with very strong reasons; but the judges, devoted to the court, passed sentence agreeable to its intentions. Struck with consternation, the common-council assembled to consult the most proper measures to be taken on this alarming exigency. It was proposed, that an entire submission should be made to the ministry, as the only means of preventing the total extinction of the liberties of the city. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the whigs. They represented the late action of the court as a most notorious violation of their rights and privileges; and added, that they should be, in some measure, accessory to this act of usurpation, if, by a dastardly submission, they acknowledged the unjust authority. Fear, blended with interest, however, prevailed over that firmness and resolution which might have been expected from the capital of the English nation. An humble deputation was sent to his majesty, requesting the restoration of their charter. Their petition was granted, but not till they had made such concessions as, in effect, annihilated even the shadow of liberty.

Terrified by the example of the capital, all the other corporations in the kingdom tamely resigned their charters into the king's hands: nor could they obtain a restoration of them till they had paid considerable sums; and even then all the places of power and profit were, like those of the capital, left entirely at the disposal of the crown. This may truly be considered as the triumph of despotism. The English were no longer that bold and resolute people who, in defence of their ancient privileges, had made their monarchs tremble on the throne; they were dwindled into slaves, who covered the yoke of oppression, and offered the incense of adulation to the tyrant that trampled upon their liberties.

Shaftsbury, in conjunction with the duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, and several other noblemen, had formed a plot for an insurrection. After the dissolution of the parliament at Oxford, Shaftsbury had been imprisoned, and an indictment for high-treason had been preferred against him; but the bill was rejected by the grand jury. After the seizing of the city's charter he found means to renew the scheme; and it was proposed to excite insurrections in different parts of the country, and even to attack the king's guards. All their measures were taken, the time fixed, and a manifesto ready for justifying the revolt. But some unforeseen accidents occasioning delays, Shaftsbury, who knew the danger, despaired of success. He therefore abandoned the enterprise, and retired into Holland, where he died soon after, disregarded both by friends and enemies.

The defection of Shaftsbury did not, however, intimidate the conspirators: they determined to pursue their plan; and hoped for success from the universal dissatisfaction that prevailed in every part of the nation. While they were employed in concerting measures for carrying their design into execution, another plot was formed by a set of inferior conspirators. The principal of these were colonel Rumsey, colonel Walcot, both republican officers; Goodenough under-sheriff of London; West, Tyler, Norton, Ayliffe, Ferguson, Rouse, Home, Keiling, Holloway, Bourne, Lee, and Rumbald. The last, who was a maltster, possessed an estate in the road to Newmarket, called the Rye-house farm. Here the conspirators frequently met, and from this circumstance the conspiracy is generally known by the name of the Rye-house plot. The design was to attack the king's guards, and seize the



the persons of the king and his brother in their return from Newmarket. This being effected, the conspirators were to have repaired, with the utmost haste, to London, in order to join their brethren in the city, assemble their forces, and break out into open rebellion.

But before the design could be carried into execution, the whole was discovered by the confession of Keiling. Orders were immediately issued for seizing the conspirators. Terrified at their danger, West and Rumsey surrendered with an intention of becoming evidences. The former had been admitted into the secret of the plot formed by the noblemen, and orders were accordingly issued for arresting them. Ruffel, Essex, Howard, Sidney, and Hambden, grandson to the celebrated republican of that name, were apprehended, and sent to the Tower. Monmouth absconded.

Walcot, Home, and Rouse, were first tried. The evidences against them were Rumsey, West, and one Bourne, a brewer, who concurred in deposing, that they were all frequently at the meetings held the preceding year on the business of the plot. Walcot, in his defence, alledged, and offered to prove by undoubted testimony, that he was ill of the gout all the time the king was at Newmarket. The evidence against him was, however, greatly strengthened, by a letter he himself wrote, while under confinement, to secretary Jenkins; wherein he promised to reveal all he knew relative to the plot against his majesty, provided he might be assured of the royal pardon. The jury found them all guilty, and they were soon after executed at Tyburn.

The trial of lord Ruffel, son to the earl of Bedford, followed that of Walcot. Howard, a man of a very profligate character, condescended to purchase his pardon, by turning evidence against his friends. But his conduct rendered him so universally odious, that not a man of character or reputation in either party would afterwards admit him into their company. In adhering to the letter of the laws of England on the subject of treason, it was difficult to constitute the crime of the peers. According to the famous statute of Edward III. there are two species of treason, the intention or attempt to take away the king's life, and the actual attempt to make war against him. According to a statute of Mary, either of these crimes must be proved by the concurrent testimony of two evidences, with regard to any act tending to such purposes. The refinements of the lawyers rendered the definition less limited, and, consequently, the proof more easy. This was what condemned Ruffel, who had long been the idol of the people. Too honest to deny that he had any concern in the proposed insurrections, he insisted only in saying, that he had no design against the life of the king. Monmouth offering to surrender himself a prisoner, if he thought that action would save his life, the earl nobly answered, "By no means; I should gain nothing by seeing my friend die with me." He also rejected the offer of lord Cavendish, who was desirous of changing dresses with him, in order to facilitate his escape.

On the morning of his execution, after winding up his watch, he said, "We have done with time, we have nothing now to think of but eternity." It was thought he would have been pardoned, could he have been prevailed upon to abandon a principle he had always maintained, and which was thought by the court incompatible with the duty and loyalty of a subject. This principle was, that the power of every king of England is limited by the laws; and that if he goes beyond these bounds, the subjects have a right, in their own defence, to bring him back. But he always declared, that he was incapable of the base design of assassinating the sovereign. He often declared, that he preferred a violent death to any other; because, after being exposed a few minutes to the eyes of the populace, every thing was over: and that there was less to be suffered than

in the drawing of a tooth. He was attended in his last moments by Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Burnet. He suffered on a scaffold erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on the twenty-first of July; and died like an Englishman, without shewing the least weakness, though surrounded by a populace drowned in tears.

The celebrated Algernoon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester, was the next victim. His prodigious genius, his insuperable courage, and his passion for liberty, gave him a distinguished place among the republicans. He opposed the restoration of monarchy with the same zeal he had before opposed the usurpation of Cromwell. Finding that his opposition would be in vain, he withdrew into Holland; but desirous of revisiting his native country, he took the benefit of the act of indemnity, and returned to England. He soon joined the country party, and warmly supported the bill of exclusion. In a word, he opposed, with all his interest and eloquence, every design and measure of the court. Howard was the only evidence against him: his papers were therefore produced, in order to supply the rest. Some writings, in which he declared his own sentiments on the national contract, on the resistance to tyrants, on the advantages of a republican government, were considered as supplementary evidences, more than sufficient to convict him. In vain did Sidney represent, that the resemblance of a hand-writing, a proof rejected in England, was the only evidence that those works were his; that besides, they had never been published or communicated to any person; that they proved no recent conspiracy, because it was clear the writing was of an older date. He was, however, condemned; the duke thought him too formidable an enemy to escape. His sentence had, however, no power to terrify him; he gloriéd in dying for the cause he had embraced from his infancy. This illustrious man must for ever be lamented, as, under a republican government, he must certainly have merited the highest applause.

The earl of Essex was found dead in prison; and it was strongly reported that he was murdered by order of the king and his brother; but there were afterwards found sufficient proofs that he had put an end to his own life. This was the less surprising, as he had always been a strong advocate for suicide. The principal friends of the duke of Monmouth being dead, that nobleman wrote two letters to the king, filled with the most humble and submissive expressions. Monmouth was the favourite son of Charles, who now felt all his tenderness revive. He accepted of the guilty youth's submission, and permitted him to come to court. He even indulged him so far, that he was excused from giving evidence against any of his friends; but was required to sign a paper, owning the plot in general, and tacitly justifying the evidence against those who had suffered. In a few days, however, Monmouth repented of the step he had taken, and, with the greatest earnestness, intreated the king to return him the paper. Charles was so highly incensed at his behaviour, that he banished him from court. Monmouth passed over into Holland, where the king, notwithstanding all that had passed, corresponded with him by letter, unknown to the duke of York, and privately made him considerable remittances of money.

Charles now enjoyed an almost unlimited authority in peace. The plot that had been formed against him rendered him dearer to his people, who imputed all the late severities to the duke of York. The doctrine of absolute submission and passive obedience became the prevailing system; and the university of Oxford condemned for those propositions which before had been established as principles. Among these were the following: "All civil authority is derived originally from the people: the sovereignty of England consists of three estates, the king, the lords, and the commons, and the king has a power equal to that of the two houses. Self-preservation is a fundamental law of nature, and over-rules other laws,



laws, when put in competition with it." These propositions were now condemned. Such is the instability of human opinions!

The duke of York, conscious that the severities lately practised by the government, were imputed to him; and being desirous of doing some action that might recover a part at least of his popularity, relaxed, for a time, the furious measures he had embraced; but his attempt was in vain; the veil was too thin to hide the enormity of his late conduct. Charles was more successful. He knew the fear of popery had caused the most alarming apprehensions in the minds of the people, and was desirous of dissipating their terrors. He thought proper to bestow his niece, the princess Anne, daughter to the duke of York, on prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. But though he gratified his people in that particular, he never could be prevailed upon to call a parliament, or trust the nation with the election of new representatives, who might, in their collective capacity, become formidable to his newly assumed despotic power. York strongly supported this resolution of his brother; and at the same time prevailed upon him to pursue such measures, as rendered it highly imprudent to convene that assembly.

The earl of Danby, who had remained several years a prisoner in the Tower, was now admitted to bail; the four popish lords that still remained in confinement, were admitted to the same privilege. Lord Petre had died in the Tower about a month before. On his death-bed he wrote a letter to the king, assuring him on his hopes of salvation, that he was entirely innocent of the plot with which he was charged.

But all the flattering ideas of power were not sufficient to drive remorse from the breast of Charles. Conscious of being the oppressor of a free and generous people, he pined beneath the oppression under which the whole nation groaned. He had pursued measures he secretly condemned, and yielded to counsels which his own heart told him were equally inconsistent with his honour, and the happiness of his people. Naturally of an easy temper, and a gentle disposition, he had suffered arbitrary, and even cruel proceedings, to receive the sanction of his authority, and the seal of royalty had been stamped on actions he never approved. He now saw, but it was too late, that while he compelled his people to submit to his desires thro' fear, he had lost their affections as subjects. Penetrated with these reflections he formed a design of changing his conduct, and restoring the neglected intercourse between himself and his parliament. The duke of York proposing some measures which were extremely disagreeable to the king, Charles said to him, with some vivacity, "Brother, I am now too old to go a second time upon my travels; you may do it if you please." But he lived not to carry the generous plan he had formed into execution.

A.D. 1684. He was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit on the seventh of February, and four days after he expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign, computing from his restoration. Some believed that he was poisoned; but there seems very little foundation for their opinion. The papists, however, bore the odium of the act, and were said to have perpetrated the

execrable deed, in order to prevent his carrying on the reformation he had proposed.

Charles would have been more worthy of a throne, had not indolence, and the indulgence of his passions, perverted his natural talents. He was an enemy to labour, forgetful of services, attached to no person from esteem, and negligent of every duty. His conduct gave sufficient room for the censure of one of his intimate friends, that he never uttered a foolish sentence, nor ever did a wise action. Most of his faults as well as his vexations, flowed from one source; his excessive love of pleasure. To obtain the pecuniary assistance of France he formed an alliance with that power, which gave sufficient room to suspect that his real intention was that of making himself absolute. This opinion gave rise to all the disputes between him and his parliament, and seemed even to threaten him with the loss of his crown. He was guilty of the same mistake that had involved all the Stuart family in distress; they thought their authority equal to that of the most powerful monarchs on the continent, and thence paid no regard to the English constitution. Their principles and conduct could not therefore fail of alarming a people whose liberties were founded on Magna Charta, and were now grown excessively jealous of their privileges. Had the Stuarts paid more respect to the laws and constitution of England their own prerogatives would have been secure, and they would have reigned with more honour to themselves, and advantage to the people. In private life Charles had fewer faults. He was an obliging husband, a generous lover, a tender father, a kind master, but gratitude was a virtue to which he was totally a stranger: the royalists served him faithfully from affection; but he remembered not their services; nor took any care to restore that fortune they had so generously spent in the support of his family.

Charles had no children by his queen, Catherine of Portugal, a virtuous princess, who could never engage the affections of her husband. He, however, left a numerous progeny the fruits of his illicit love.

By Mrs. Elizabeth Walters, one son, James, duke of Monmouth, born in 1646.

By Mrs. Elizabeth Killegrew, viscountess Shannon, one daughter, Charlotte-Maria-Jemima-Henrietta-Maria Fitzroy, married first to James Howard, and afterwards to the earl of Yarmouth.

By Mrs. Catharine Peg, one son, Charles Fitz-Charles, earl of Plymouth, born in 1658.

By Mrs. Barbara Villers, dutchess of Cleveland, three sons, and as many daughters; Charles Fitzroy, created duke of Southampton, and, after his mother's death, duke of Cleveland; Henry Fitzroy, duke of Grafton; and George Fitzroy, duke of Northumberland: Anne Fitzroy, married to the earl of Suffex; Charlotte Fitzroy, married to the earl of Litchfield; and Barbara, who took the veil in the nunnery of Pontoise in France.

By Loise de Querouaille, dutchess of Portsmouth, Charles Lenox, duke of Richmond.

By Mrs. Eleanor Gwynn, an actress, one son, Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans. And

By Mrs. Mary Davis, a lady of the same profession, one daughter, Mary Tudor, married to the earl of Derwentwater.









*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



## J A M E S II.

A.D. 1685. **A**S the bill of exclusion had failed in parliament; James, duke of York, mounted the English throne without any opposition. His speech to the privy-council gained him great applause, being filled with wise and moderate principles of government. After paying some eulogiums to the memory of his brother, and declaring that he proposed to take him for his model, he proceeded in the following manner: "I have been represented as infatuated with principles of arbitrary power; nor is this the only calumny that has been thrown upon me. But I now declare that I will endeavour to maintain the government both in church and state, as by law established. I am sensible that the church of England is favourable to monarchy, and that all the members of it have shewn themselves faithful subjects. I shall therefore apply myself to support and defend it. I am sensible, at the same time, that the laws of England make me as powerful a prince as I can wish to be; and my object is to preserve the prerogative of my crown without invading the privileges of my subjects. I have often exposed my life in defence of the nation, and am still ready to expose it for the maintenance of its just rights and privileges."

This speech, which was printed and dispersed through the kingdom, revived the spirits of the English, who had formed the most alarming apprehensions of his conduct. He had established his courage and conduct as a seaman; and he was considered as one of the most able persons in Europe, with regard to maritime affairs. His friends magnified his probity to the skies; and the people readily believed them, because they wished it to be true. Addresses were sent from every quarter of the kingdom, filled with the warmest expressions of duty and respect. Even the quakers followed the general practice, and waited on the king with a congratulatory address, in which was the following remarkable paragraph: "We are come to signify our affliction for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy to see thee made the ruler of the people. They tell us, thou art not of the church of England any more than we; so we hope thou wilt allow us the same liberty that thou takest thyself; and if thou doest, we wish thee all manner of prosperity."

But it was too soon evident that James never intended to support the church of England, and secure the privileges of the people. The very first Sunday after his accession he went publicly to mass, though contrary to the established laws of England, and the priests and jesuits became his principal confidants. He also published a proclamation for levying the duties of excise and customs granted to his predecessors, as if given by parliament, though he well knew that the grant expired with the life of his brother. He, however, took care not to shew much partiality to those of his own communion, in settling the officers of his household. All who possessed posts under the late king were continued in their respective offices by proclamation.

But the number of priests and jesuits who now basked openly in the sunshine of the court, gave great offence. Pope Innocent XI. to whom he sent his submission, blamed his conduct, and desired him to proceed with more caution. The Spanish ambassador also desired him to be more circumspect in his proceedings, adding, that so many priests about the

court might do hurt by their counsels. James asked him whether the king of Spain did not consult his confessor, "Yes," answered the minister, "and for that very reason our affairs are badly managed."

Though the king had entertained the greatest disgust against parliaments, it was absolutely necessary to summon that assembly at the commencement of a new reign, unless it had been determined to introduce at once a despotic government. The utmost pains were taken to procure a parliament wholly devoted to the court. Their endeavours were in general successful, few besides Tories being elected. James opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he repeated his promise to govern according to the laws, and to support the protestant religion. But the manner in which he demanded that his revenue should be established for life, in the same manner as in the preceding reign, gave the patriots no very favourable opinion of his designs; they thought he spoke the language of a despotic prince rather than that of an English monarch, whose actions are limited by the laws, and who can levy no taxes without the consent of parliament. "It may possibly be supposed," said he, "that to grant me supplies from time to time, would prove an infallible means of frequent parliaments; but as I now speak to you from the throne, for the first time, I tell you, without reserve, that such an expedient would be ill received, and that the best means to engage me to assemble you frequently is to treat me well."

This speech wanted no comment to explain its meaning. It was sufficiently evident, that he had already formed a resolution of setting parliaments wholly aside, in case he met with any opposition. The parliament, however, thought proper to dissemble their apprehensions, and voted the king the fixed revenues of his predecessor; but added, that they depended upon his royal word for the performance, with regard to his maintaining the religion of the church of England, as it was beneath the dignity of a king to falsify his promise.

It could not be expected that Oates, who had occasioned so many reflections to be thrown on the Catholics, could long escape the vengeance of his majesty. He was tried in the court of king's-bench on two indictments for perjury, and found guilty on both. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; to stand five times every year on the pillory, and to be whipped first from Aldgate to Newgate, and the second day after from Newgate to Tyburn. But notwithstanding this dreadful punishment, which was executed with such severity that he fainted away several times, he would confess nothing. He continued in prison till the revolution, when he obtained his liberty, and a pension of four hundred pounds a year.

Dangerfield, his principal associate, was also tried for writing a seditious libel, and convicted. He was sentenced to stand twice on the pillory, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn another; and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. As he was returning in a coach from his second whipping, he was insulted by one Francis, a barrister of Grays Inn. Dangerfield resented the unmanly treatment, and spit in his face. This so provoked the barrister, that he pushed his cane with the utmost violence in the face of Dangerfield, and striking him directly on the eye, he died in



torture a few hours after. Francis was immediately apprehended, tried for the offence and executed at Tyburn.

On the twenty-third of April the Scottish parliament assembled, and the session was opened by the duke of Queensberry, as king's commissioner. His grace assured them that they were equally included in his majesty's declaration in council with their brethren in England. At the same time he caused a letter from James to the Scottish parliament to be read. In this letter the king inveighed strongly against the fanatics, or rigid presbyterians; whom he called horrid murderers and assassins; and desired the states to take proper measures against their intrigues. The parliament shewed the most abject submission to the royal pleasure: they presented an address to the king full of the grossest flattery: they confirmed the act passed in the preceding reign for maintaining the established religion: they gave the crown the duties arising from the excise: they passed a bill, by which the taking of defending the solemn league or covenant, was declared high treason: and another for suppressing house or field conventicles, by which all who should preach or be present at such conventicles, were to be punished with death: and in a vote which they called an offer of duty, they professed their abhorrence of all principles and positions that tended in any wise to derogate "from the king's sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute authority and power."

These pleasing concessions both in the English and Scottish parliament, seemed to flatter James with an opinion that no opposition would be made to his measures; and that he should be able to re-establish the Romish faith in all his dominions. He soon found himself fatally mistaken in imagining no commotions would interrupt the tranquillity of his reign. The earl of Argyle, who had been obliged to fly from Scotland on being accused of having engaged with Monmouth and his friends in the late design for raising a rebellion in England, thought this a fair opportunity for being revenged upon James, whom he considered as the sole cause of his disgrace and misfortunes. He imparted his design to the duke of Monmouth, who, as well as himself, was an exile in Holland. Monmouth, always beloved by the people, listened to Argyle, and precipitately engaged in an attempt to dethrone his uncle. They hired a few ships of the Dutch, and collected between two and three hundred of the English exiles in Flanders, all persons of desperate fortunes, and who had no other prospect of retrieving their affairs, than by bringing about a change of government at home. The duke flattered himself, indeed, with being joined by the whig party in England, provided a successful landing both in England and Scotland could be effected.

The plan being concerted, the two chiefs separated in order to carry the design into execution. Argyle, with a handful of troops, but with arms for five thousand men, sailed from Holland in the beginning of May, and landed without opposition in Scotland. But he soon found himself deceived in the notion of being joined by multitudes of his countrymen. About two thousand men, principally highlanders of his own clan, repaired to his standard; but the government, who received advice of his intended invasion, were ready to receive him. He was pursued from one post to another by the royal army, till he was abandoned by the greater part of his followers, and taken prisoner. His execution was not long delayed. He was carried to Edinburgh, where his head was struck off upon a scaffold.

Nor was Monmouth more fortunate in his enterprise. He landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire, on the eleventh of June, with about eighty followers, but with arms for a much larger number. Some of his officers dispersed themselves about the country, in order, if possible, to engage the people to join him. They were so successful, that in a short space of time the duke's little army was increased to near two thousand men. On his first landing he published a mani-

festo, in which he declared, that the sole intention of his coming was to assert his natural right, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of the duke of York, whom he accused of being the principal author of that dreadful conflagration which laid the capital in ashes; of the late popish plot for assassinating the king; and subverting the protestant religion; of the murder of the earl of Essex in the Tower; and of having actually imprisoned the king his brother. He represented the duke as being incapable, by his religion, of swaying the sceptre of England; which could never hope for peace and safety while a papist and a tyrant filled the throne.

Very little effect was produced by this manifesto, which abounded more with invective than sound reasoning. Few persons of any distinction joined his standard, and the greater part of those who did, were a rude, undisciplined rabble. On his reaching Taunton, his army was increased to about five thousand men; but instead of marching directly to Bristol, which was in no condition to resist him, he spent several days in making preparations for a splendid procession when he was proclaimed king, which was performed on the eighteenth of June. This ridiculous piece of ostentation gave the king time to assemble his forces, which were now in full march against him, under the command of the duke of Albemarle.

Monmouth now saw his folly, but it was too late. A single alternative only remained; he must either conquer or perish. A council of war was called, where it was determined to march and meet the royal army, in order to prevent a surprize, which must have been fatal. The two armies came in sight of each other on the fourth of July, and the next morning the battle began. Monmouth's horse, commanded by lord Grey, fled at the first charge, owing to the inexperience, cowardice, or treachery of their general. He was himself taken prisoner, but readily obtained the king's pardon. The foot stood firm, and maintained their ground for a considerable time with great resolution; but being deserted by the horse, and exposed to a most dreadful fire from the artillery of the royal army, they at length gave way, and a most dreadful carnage ensued. Three hundred were killed upon the spot, above a thousand in the pursuit, and as many taken prisoners. This battle was fought on Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater.

Monmouth himself, after using every method in his power to retrieve the fortune of the day, and displaying the most noble efforts of valour, was obliged to have recourse to flight. His assumed sovereignty vanished like a dream, and all his mighty prospects disappeared in an instant. He fled, attended only by one servant, till his horse dropped under him with fatigue. This incident obliged him to pursue his way on foot, till he reached a poor cottage, where he changed clothes with the peasant, and continued his flight till he was wholly spent. Reduced to this extremity, he laid himself down in a ditch, covered with fern. Unfortunately for him, a party of the king's forces passing the next day by the same cottage, one of the officers knew the duke's clothes, in which the countryman was dressed. He was immediately seized; and, to extricate himself from danger, pointed out the road the duke had taken; and, after a strict search, he was discovered in his hiding-place, with his pockets filled with green peas, the only food he had eaten since his defeat. He was carried immediately to London, and committed to the Tower.

Terrified with this dreadful reverse of fortune, Monmouth wrote a very submissive letter to his uncle; but he no sooner perceived that his life would be saved only on the condition of impeaching his friends, than he rejected the offer with a noble disdain. James had a fine opportunity of signalizing his clemency, but his heart was a stranger to that generous passion; and Monmouth lost his head upon a scaffold, surrounded by multitudes of spectators, who generously paid him the tribute of their tears.







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*KIRKE'S Villainy & Cruelty to a Young Woman  
Who beg'd him to save her Brother's Life.*



He was greatly beloved by the people; and had not indiscretion and the fire of youth precipitated his measures, his attempt might have shaken the crown on the head of his uncle.

The victory of Sedgemoor was followed by many barbarous executions. The lord chief-justice Jefferies, the most inhuman tyrant that ever filled the seat of justice; and colonel Kirk, a soldier of fortune, and who, by serving long at Tangier, had contracted, by his intercourse with the Moors, a degree of inhumanity hardly ever known in a christian, were sent into the west, to execute the vengeance of a bigotted prince on the unhappy persons who had joined Moamouth in his rebellion. The bare recital of the barbarities committed by these two inhuman monsters, is sufficient to fill the reader with horror. Numbers were executed without any form of trial. Thirty were hanged at one time, as a diversion to colonel Kirk and his officers while they were at dinner. One execution was attended with such circumstances of perfidy, as well as barbarity, that its equal cannot, perhaps, be found in the history of any other country. A young maid, frantic with grief, repaired to the colonel, to implore pardon for her brother. She threw herself at his feet, armed with all the charms that beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could possibly bestow. Fired with lust, rather than softened by love and clemency, he promised to grant her request, provided she, on her part, would condescend to satisfy his desires. The struggle was severe between virtue and her affection for her brother. The latter at last prevailed; she submitted to the conditions: but after passing the night with this inhuman ruffian, he shewed her next morning, from the window of the apartment, her brother, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had privately caused to be erected for his execution. The shock was too great for human nature: she lost her senses in the dreadful conflict, and never recovered them more.

The chief-justice Jefferies was equally cruel, and demands a severer reprehension, because his office should have taught him humanity. Mercy was a stranger to his breast; few escaped with life that were brought before him. He gloried in cruelty, and boasted of the numbers, he had put to death. A lady of the anabaptist persuasion was burnt for extending her charity to one of the rebels who had implored her assistance. The wretch she had entertained was pardoned for turning evidence against her. Lady Lisle, though herself a loyalist, and her own son a volunteer in the king's army, was beheaded for entertaining a presbyterian minister in Monmouth's party, though he had not been mentioned in the proclamation. The jury were melted into pity, and thrice refused to find a verdict against her; but at last the menaces of the inhuman Jefferies prevailed; and the lady, who was above eighty years of age, suffered on a scaffold. Father Orleans pretends, that James disapproved of these cruelties, expressed his indignation, and repaired the injustice to the utmost of his power. But this is a proof that bigotry is capable of sacrificing the most obvious truths to the support of its party. James was so far from disapproving the cruel proceedings of Jefferies, that he created him a peer at his return, and rewarded him with the post of chancellor.

The parliament were, however, alarmed at the behaviour of the court. James having declared that he had dispensed with the test required by the law in favour of the catholic officers who had served him faithfully, the commons shewed a becoming spirit, and passed a resolution for enquiring into the power which the king assumed in dispensing with the laws. "I hope," said one of the members, "we are Englishmen, and not to be frightened with a few hard words." But this shew of resolution was only for a moment; fear prevailed; they proceeded no farther, and voted more supplies than the king had demanded. The lords, however, were not so easily intimidated. They under-

took the examination which the commons had declined: even the bishops themselves were strongly desirous of making the necessary enquiry. Alarmed and exasperated at meeting with opposition where the most unlimited complaisance was expected, James immediately prorogued the parliament. He determined to carry his point or lose his crown in the contest.

Freed from all apprehensions of the interposition of parliament, James flattered himself that he had no longer any occasion to disguise his sentiments, or suffer any restraint in his actions. His arbitrary principles therefore began now to appear too evident to be mistaken. The scabberd of deception was thrown away, and the sword of despotism appeared naked, and surrounded with all its terrors.

A. D. 1686. The duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland was removed from his post, notwithstanding his long and eminent attachment to the royal family. He was a protestant, and that particular alone was abundantly sufficient with James to obliterate a whole life of services. The earl of Tyrconnel, a catholic nobleman, was preferred in his room, and the test act was immediately repealed. The earl of Murray having supplanted the duke of Queensberry as high-commissioner in Scotland, he summoned a parliament, and, in his majesty's name, recommended to their care and humanity, the poor catholics in that kingdom, for indulgence in the exercise of their religion. A bill was accordingly brought in for that purpose; but it was so warmly opposed, that it was thought prudent to defer it till a more proper opportunity. But James was determined not to be disappointed: he sent orders to the high-commissioner to prorogue the parliament, and established, by virtue of his own prerogative, a liberty of conscience through the whole kingdom. Hardly any but catholics were now preferred to places of trust or profit, both civil and military. James saw the increasing power of the papists with great satisfaction; and was firmly persuaded that, by means of their influence, he should be able to establish both the Romish religion and arbitrary power in every part of his dominions.

Having succeeded in Ireland and Scotland, he now determined to attempt the more difficult part of the task; the reducing the English to submit to the yoke of despotism. He summoned the judges, and prevailed upon them to declare in favour of his dispensing power. He did not, however, carry his point without the utmost difficulty. Sir Thomas Jones, lord chief-justice of the common-pleas; Montague, lord chief-baron of the exchequer; Sir Robert Charlton, one of the judges of the common-pleas; and baron Nevil, absolutely declared against the dispensing power, as totally subversive of all the laws of England. It was therefore necessary to deprive these of their posts, and fill them with others, who were less conscientious, and more submissive to the court. One Milton, a professed catholic, was made a baron of the exchequer; and the rest, though they professed the protestant religion, were all creatures of the ministry. The people were now sufficiently alarmed; but James gave himself no trouble with regard to their apprehensions: he thought the establishment of the Romish religion, an action worthy of the greatest monarch, and that no danger was too great to intimidate him from the attempt. He therefore determined to proceed; and warmly solicited the noblemen who were about his person to change their religion, and embrace the Romish faith. This strange request was rejected by many with the contempt it deserved. The earl of Sunderland was, indeed, mean enough to purchase the smiles of royalty at the price of his religion. Rochester, the treasurer, though the king's brother-in-law, refused his compliance, and was discharged from his post. The treasury was put into commission; and lord Bellasis, who had been long confined in the tower, on account of the popish plot, was appointed first lord of that board. Emboldened by the countenance of the sovereign, the papists



papists began to exercise their religion publicly: the jesuits opened colleges and seminaries in all the principal towns in the kingdom: four popish bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel, and sent into different parts of England to exercise episcopal jurisdiction over those of their own communion, Catholic noblemen were made lieutenants of counties, and gentlemen of the same persuasion acted as justices of the peace.

Alarmed but not intimidated at these proceedings of the court, the English divines nobly stood forth, in defence of their religion, and opposed the errors of popery with reasons that never were or never could be satisfactorily answered. Orders were issued from the court, prohibiting the inferior clergy from preaching on controverted points of religion. But this order produced not the desired effect; the divines continued their laudible efforts; Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison, Patrick, Sharp, and some others shone with distinguished lustre on this remarkable occasion.

Exasperated at this honest boldness of the clergy, especially at seeing the futility of the reasonings of the popish divines exposed, it was determined to erect an ecclesiastical tribunal, where all disputes with regard to religion were to be finally heard and determined. A court similar to this, together with that of the Star-chamber, had been abolished by act of parliament in the reign of Charles I. A clause was also added to the bill that demolished them, prohibiting all courts of a similar kind from being erected for the future. But James was determined to put all laws at defiance. The commission was issued, constituting Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury (who, however, refused to act) Crow, bishop of Durham, Sprat, bishop of Rochester, the earls of Rochester and Sunderland, chancellor Jefferies, and lord chief-justice Herbert, were appointed commissioners; but upon Sancroft's absolutely refusing to act, his name was struck out, and that of the bishop of Chester inserted in its room. These commissioners were invested with the same power with those who sat in the former high court of high commission, and every branch of the ecclesiastical affairs in England, subject to their arbitrary decisions.

The court was hardly established before an opportunity offered for exercising their judicial authority. Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles, and dean of Norwich, had preached a sermon, in which he had inveighed against popery in the strongest manner, and expressed his apprehensions of the danger that then threatened the established church. This sermon had given great offence to the court, and the king himself wrote to Compton, bishop of London, ordering him to suspend Sharp from his clerical function, till he should give satisfaction for the offence, and his majesty's farther pleasure should be known. Compton, on receiving this letter, returned an answer to the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, desiring it might be communicated to his majesty. In this letter the bishop represented, that it was repugnant to all law and justice for him to pass sentence upon any person before the crime of which he was accused had been properly laid before him, and the party had liberty to answer for himself. This answer, though conformable to the strictest rules of equity gave the highest offence. James, inflamed with passion at what he styled an insolent dallying with his authority, caused the bishop and Sharp to be cited before the court of high-commission, where the sentence of suspension was passed against them both.

A. D. 1687. An open rupture with the church of England now seemed to be declared. Father Peters, the king's confessor, one of the most furious jesuits of his time, was the person whose counsels principally pushed on the king to the precipice from which he soon after fell. Ambitious of a cardinal's hat, and the primacy of England, he proposed the most violent measures; the bigotted misguided king followed his advice, and was undone. Every person of solid reason abroad condemned these pre-

cipitate measures; the cardinals at Rome turned both the king and his confessor into ridicule, declaring that they both deserved to be excommunicated as persons who were labouring to destroy the small remains of the catholic religion in England.

James was not satisfied with these impetuous proceedings, he was determined to shew his people what they must expect if they presumed to dispute his measures, or make any opposition to his will. He caused a camp to be formed on Hounslow heath, consisting of fifteen thousand men. This large body of men he had kept on foot notwithstanding the remonstrances of the parliament; and now gave the command to the earl of Feversham. A catholic chapel was erected in the center of this camp, and mass publicly celebrated every day. James fondly imagined that this military force, whose principal officers were Roman catholics devoted to his service, would be sufficient to enable him to carry into execution every measure he should think necessary to adopt, and put the tongue of opposition to silence. But he should have reflected, that this army was composed of Englishmen, who would be the first to abandon him, whenever they perceived that his real design was the destruction of the liberty of their country.

These warlike preparations, together with the expedition used in fitting out a powerful fleet, in the time of a profound peace, filled the people with the most alarming apprehensions. These were greatly increased by a report spread by the king's enemies, that this fleet was intended to act against the Dutch; it having been determined by the ministry to declare war against that republic, in order to exclude the prince of Orange for ever from the succession; because by that exclusion only, the establishment of the Roman catholic religion in England could be rendered permanent. It was also suspected, that James, pursuing the example of his brother, had concluded a secret treaty with Lewis XIV. and adopted that monarch's arbitrary plan of government. These suspicions which seemed to be well founded, completely deprived the king of the affections of his people.

James had sent an ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to procure a legate a latere to be sent into England. The pope highly disapproved of the violent measures pursued by the king in order to obtain the establishment of a scheme, which required the utmost prudence and caution to effect. But neither the cold reception of his ambassador at Rome, the incessant complaints of his own subjects, nor even the remonstrances of the more sensible and prudent part of his catholic subjects, who, fearful of the consequences, intreated him to moderate his zeal, could divert the king one moment from his darling purpose, the establishment of the catholic faith, in every part of the kingdom. Deaf to every prudent advice, he listened only to the dictates of his own superstition, and the inflammatory counsels of father Peters.

Finding himself deserted by the church party, James endeavoured to caress the presbyterians, and ordered a declaration to be published in Scotland, suspending, by virtue of his sovereign authority, all oaths, tests, &c. imposed upon non-conformists, who professed the Christian religion. He allowed the moderate presbyterians to meet in their private houses only, but forbade, under the severest penalties, all field conventicles. Quakers were also tolerated to meet and perform their worship in any place or places appointed for that purpose. By the same declaration, the catholics were relieved from all acts of parliament made against those of their profession.

A similar declaration was published in England on the fourth of April; and the dissenters, persuaded that this indulgence proceeded from a sincere desire of giving relief to tender consciences, presented him with the most flattering addresses. These tended to convince James, that he should meet with no opposition in establishing a liberty of conscience in every part of his dominions. Had his views extended no farther



farther, it is possible it might have been effected without occasioning any commotion. But James was far from being satisfied with having procured his catholic subjects the public exercise of their religion; he was desirous of procuring them far greater advantages. The papists had not hitherto been able to procure any preferments in either of the universities, an advantage passionately desired by the clergy of that community. The king was therefore determined to attempt it, and procure them a share in the government of the church. An order was therefore sent from the king and council, to the university of Cambridge, ordering them to admit father Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of master of arts, without administering to him the usual oaths. James was persuaded that no opposition would be made to his command; but he was mistaken. The university refused to comply, and petitioned the king to recall his mandate. Exasperated at this refusal, the king suspended the vice-chancellor, reprimanded the senate, and ordered them to send up to the privy-council, copies of their statutes. He, however, soon perceived that the university were not to be intimidated, and thought proper to desist from his purpose.

He next attempted to influence the university of Oxford; persuaded that as that body had been the foremost to establish, by their famous decree, the doctrine of passive obedience, they would not hesitate to put their principles in practice. The presidency of Magdalen college happening to be vacant, the king sent his mandate to the vice-president and fellows, requiring them to elect one Anthony Farmer, a man of a very indifferent character, who had promised to declare himself a catholic on his being elected into that office. The college absolutely refused to comply, as being contrary to their statutes, and actually elected Dr. Hough to be their president. The king was highly offended, and summoned the electors, together with Dr. Hough, before the court of high-commission, where the vice-president was suspended, and the election declared void. But the university having proved that Farmer's character was notoriously bad, the king sent them a second mandate, commanding them to elect Dr. Parker, bishop of Oxford, a reputed papist. The fellows, determined to support their choice, refused to obey the second mandate: they cited the statutes, and the oaths they had taken to prove, that they were obliged to pursue the method they had done, or be guilty of perjury. They proved that Parker was no better qualified than Farmer, having never been fellow either of Magdalen or New College, and therefore incapable of being elected their president.

Incensed at their refractory behaviour, and hoping to conquer their obstinacy by his presence, the king repaired to Oxford, under pretence of making a summer's progress; and having summoned the fellows before him, he reproached them in the most virulent terms for their disloyalty, arrogance and presumption, as he termed their firm attachment to the statutes of the college. He concluded with commanding them, in the most peremptory manner, to elect the bishop of Oxford, or prepare to feel the weight of his royal displeasure. But his threats lost their effect. Determined to support the choice they had made, they continued firm to their purpose; and the king, having exposed himself to the contempt of the whole nation, returned with confusion to London. The ecclesiastical commission, however, exerted all their authority, and the president and twenty-five fellows were expelled. Parker was established in the possession of his office, and the places of the deprived fellows supplied with papists. This action, which was contrary to all the laws of justice and equity, convinced the people, that the king intended to reduce them to the most abject slavery. The bitterest reflections, the most pathetic remonstrances, and the loudest complaints against the court, now made the subject of almost every publication.

But James was determined to proceed, and to shew the sovereign contempt with which he treated every complaint, he gave a solemn audience to the pope's nuncio.

About this time Lewis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantes, given to the protestants by Henry IV. by virtue of which they had enjoyed the free exercise of their religion. But the persecuting spirit of Lewis would no longer suffer them to enjoy a privilege which enriched his kingdom. They were now persecuted with such rigour and severity, that they were determined to seek, in a foreign country, that security they were so unjustly denied in their own. Above half a million of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France, carrying with them, besides an immense sum of money, those arts and manufactures which had so greatly tended to augment the opulence of that kingdom. Numbers of these distressed protestants came over into England, and the pathetic accounts they gave of their sufferings, rendered the name of papist more abhorred than ever.

Sensible that the opinions of the prince and princess of Orange, who were adored by the people, would have great influence in England, James was very desirous of knowing their sentiments with regard to the revocation of the test and penal laws. The prince had hitherto conducted himself with the most profound policy, giving the king every demonstration of respect and attachment; never interfering in the affairs of England; appearing only to attend to the general interest of Europe. The increasing ambition, and haughty deportment of Lewis XIV. had alarmed all the neighbouring powers; and his cruel behaviour to his protestant subjects, represented him in the light of an odious persecutor. Their sufferings were commiserated by the powers to whom they fled for protection, and inspired them with the glorious resolution of procuring them redress. The prince of Orange excited the other courts against France, and by his influence the league of Augsburg was negotiated. While the prince was thus employed, the messengers of James, who were charged with a commission to procure, if possible, the prince's approbation of the measures he was pursuing in England, arrived at the Hague. Aware of the consequence of exposing himself to the hatred of a people whom he might one day govern, he gave James to understand, that if on one hand he approved the revocation of penal laws, as a friend to toleration, he regarded, on the other, the test oath, as a necessary means to preserve the established worship; that an exclusion from public offices was not a punishment; and that Holland, though she tolerated all sects without distinction, intrusted those offices to such only as professed the national religion. These sentiments were not long a secret in England, and gave as much joy to the people as mortification to the king.

A. D. 1688. This discovery had, however, no power to deter James from pursuing the measures he had formed. He published, on the twenty-second of April, a second declaration for liberty of conscience, couched in nearly the same terms as the former: but he now subjoined an order, commanding the ministers to read it in their churches immediately after divine service. James was persuaded that the clergy would not comply with the royal mandate; and determined, in that case, to make them feel the weight of power. He was not mistaken; the far greater part of the clergy considered it as an insult upon their order, and absolutely refused compliance. Among these, seven prelates nobly stood forth in defence of their religion. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawny, of Bristol; with Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury at their head, repaired to court, and presented, on their knees, a respectful petition to the king, in which they represented to his majesty, that the declaration being founded on a power which the parliament had often pronounced



pronounced illegal; they could not in prudence, honour or conscience, publish it in the dioceses over which they presided. Impatient of controul, and distinguished for obstinacy, James resented this opposition in a manner unbecoming either a monarch or a man. He reprehended them in the most contumelious language, and told them, that if they had forgotten he was the supreme head of the church, he knew how to make them acknowledge his power. They were soon after summoned before the council, and insulted by the inhuman Jefferies with his usual brutality. He told them, that unless they instantly retracted their assertions and withdrew their petition, he would send them all to the Tower. They answered, "that they should submit to his majesty's pleasure, whatever it might be; that their own consciences told them, they had done nothing but what was agreeable to the laws, and the sacred character with which they were invested; and that they depended upon the king for protection." A warrant was immediately issued for committing them to the Tower.

Determined to proceed to extremities, but aware of the consequences that the sight of so many persons invested with a sacred character being sent as criminals to prison, might occasion among the people, the court took the precaution of sending them by water. But this artifice was in vain. The alarm was spread, and the shore from Whitehall to the Tower, crowded with multitudes of people, who with one voice deplored their fate, and intreated their blessing on their knees. Even the soldiers sent to guard them were moved to pity, fell on their knees, requesting their benediction, and expressed, in the strongest manner, their detestation of their persecutors.

Two days after the bishops were sent to the Tower, the queen was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. The nation, persuaded that the king would be deterred by no crime to establish the Romish religion in England, disputed the reality of this prince's birth; and many writers, even in our times, are not satisfied of his legitimacy. The king, and the whole catholic party, however, celebrated this happy event with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy: while the protestants were affected with a melancholy that bordered on despair.

While the attention of the nation was engaged in this event, the trial of the bishops came on in the court of king's bench. They were attended from the Tower by twenty-nine temporal peers, and a prodigious concourse of gentlemen, followed by multitudes of people, who waited, with the utmost anxiety, the issue of a cause on which they thought the fate of both their liberty and religion depended. The council for the bishops defended their cause with a boldness of expression, and force of reason, that did honour to their talents, and their love of liberty. Two of the judges, Powell and Holloway, declared themselves in favour of the prisoners, and the jury brought in their verdict "not guilty." An universal shout of joyful acclamation filled the hall. Those who were waiting without in the utmost anxiety caught the sound, which spread in a moment through the whole capital, and was soon conveyed to the remotest parts of the kingdom. It happened that the king had that day reviewed his army, and was just retired into the general's tent, when the news of the bishops' acquittal reached the camp, on which the whole army gave a loud shout, attended with the most extravagant symptoms of joy. The king enquiring with some degree of astonishment, into the cause, Lord Feverham answered, "It is nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing," replied the king, "but so much the worse for them."

This proof of the people's affection for their religion and liberties, had, however, no effect upon James. He determined to pursue the same measures which had already hurried him to the brink of the precipice. It is not perhaps easy to find in all the

annals of history an instance of such infatuation in a man, who, in other respects, was far from being deficient either in sense or accomplishments. It is perhaps an object of compassion rather than anger. He knew he had only a handful of catholic soldiers that could be depended upon; and that the whole nation beside would defend their religion and liberties to the last. Death only was capable of wresting them out of their hands. But this had no effect upon the conduct of the king: he pursued his course and was undone.

He was, however, greatly alarmed with regard to the rejoicings made in the army on the acquittal of the bishops, and determined to be satisfied how far he might depend upon the assistance of his forces. He accordingly ordered lord Litchfield's regiment to be drawn up, and appeared himself at their head. After walking for some time between the ranks, and commending their appearance, he gave orders that all the officers and soldiers who would not contribute to the repeal of the test and penal laws, should lay down their arms; but his astonishment is better conceived than expressed, when he saw the whole regiment, captains, and a few popish soldiers only excepted, lay down their muskets on the ground. He stood speechless for some minutes, and then with a sullen air bid them take up their arms, adding, that for the future he would not do them the honour of asking their advice. Nor were the seamen in the royal navy more ready to second his designs. Vice-admiral Strickland having ordered masts to be laid on board his own ship in the Downs, the sailors were enraged to such a degree, that it was with the utmost difficulty they were restrained from throwing the priests overboard. James was, however, still obstinate: he determined to new model both the army and navy. He accordingly sent for six regiments from Ireland, composed chiefly of catholics, and sent orders for three regiments to advance from Scotland.

There was now no mystery in the measures intended to be pursued by the king. The flimsy veil of pretence was withdrawn, and it was evident he was determined to make use of force, where influence was unable to prevail. The chains of slavery were forging, and no time was to be lost to prevent their being rivetted on a free people. A close union was accordingly formed between the church and non-conformists in defence of their liberties; and it was determined to invite the prince of Orange into England, as the only person capable of saving the nation, which now tottered on the brink of ruin. He listened to their complaints, and by means of his agents cultivated the favour of all parties. The Tories, and such of the clergy who had supported the pernicious doctrine of non-resistance, abandoned that destructive tenet, and joined the Whigs. Several of the nobility and gentry passing over to the continent on various pretences, repaired to the Hague, and convinced the prince that the whole nation was ready to join him, and wanted only a leader to head them in their noble design of restoring their country to liberty.

William consented to give them all the assistance in his power, and made the necessary preparations, without imagining he was going to take possession of a throne. Though he acted in concert with the confederates at Augsburgh, the secret was long impenetrable. The preparations of the Dutch appeared to be made against France. The count d'Avaux, more quick-sighted than James, penetrated at last the bottom of this intrigue, and informed his master of the real design of the armament fitting out with so much secrecy and expedition. Lewis immediately communicated the discovery to James, and offered him a squadron to join his fleet, and even to raise the siege of Philippsburgh, and march his troops into the Low Countries, in order to intimidate the Dutch by the fear of an invasion. Carried away with a blind confidence, James was deaf to all advice, and rejected the offer of Lewis. "I am not," said he, "reduced



to the condition of cardinal Furstemberg, nor obliged to seek the protection of France." These officious offers of Lewis had, however, their effect on the English. They were now persuaded that James had signed a secret treaty with the French monarch; and this opinion animated the spirit of revolt.

Every thing being settled at the Hague, the nobility and gentry in the interest of the prince of Orange dispersed themselves in their different counties; in order to gain the populace over to their party, and prevail upon them to take up arms in defence of the liberties of their country. The states of Holland declared their intention of assisting the English. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the whole house of Lunenburg, agreed to assemble all their forces, in order to protect the United Provinces during the absence of the stadtholder.

The illusion now vanished when it was too late. The English ambassador at the Hague informed his master, that every thing was ready for an embarkation of the forces; and that the grand pensioner Fagel openly avowed that the armament was intended to invade England. Distressed and terrified at the news, James retracted, and seemed desirous of reforming his measures. He restored the friends of the test and penal laws to their places; he caressed the persecuted bishops; he dissolved the ecclesiastical commission; he restored the charters of London and other cities; and endeavoured to gain the friendship of the Dutch, by promising to enter into such alliances as they thought necessary to the welfare of Europe. But his indiscretions, to call his measures by the softest name, had rendered the evil incurable; and had this sudden change been even admitted as sincere, still there was the utmost danger of his arbitrary principles returning the moment the danger was over.

A manifesto, published by the prince of Orange, prepared the way for an invasion. Copies of this paper were sent over into England, and distributed in every part of the kingdom. In this declaration the prince disclaimed, in the most solemn manner, all thoughts of conquest, or of disturbing the king in the enjoyment of his crown; declaring he had no other design than to maintain the protestant religion, the laws and liberties of England, and to procure the assembling a free parliament, which might provide for the public liberty, and enquire into the proofs of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales.

Soon after the publication of this manifesto, the prince of Orange sailed from Holland with a fleet of fifty sail of Dutch men of war, and a considerable number of transports, attended by many of the English nobility and gentry. But a violent storm soon overtook the armament, and separated the ships so effectually, that hardly four were seen together. Fortunately, none of them were lost, but some of them put into one port, and some into another. The news of this disaster no sooner reached England, than James, persuaded that the danger was over, repented of the concessions he had made to his protestant subjects, recalled several popular acts, and seemed again determined to pursue the same measures that had already pushed him to the very brink of ruin.

The damage was soon repaired, and the forces landed in Torbay on the fifth of November. The prince marched immediately to Exeter, where he continued till the fifteenth before he was joined by any persons of condition: the consequences of Monmouth's rebellion had struck the people with terror; and though they were very desirous of supporting their liberties, both civil and religious, they were fearful of being the first in joining the prince, lest a defeat should renew the former scenes of horror. Alarmed at this backwardness of the English, the prince was on the point of re-embarking his forces, when Sir Edward Seymour, major Barrington, and several other gentlemen of interest and fortune, ap-

peared at the head-quarters, and offered the prince to assist him to the utmost of their power. They were received with the utmost politeness, and were soon followed by several more of the nobility and gentry. The whole kingdom was now in commotion. The earl of Devonshire declared for the prince in Derby, the earl of Danby seized York, lord Delamere took up arms in Cheshire, the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared his intentions of defending the religion and liberties of his country. None offered their service to the king: no preparations for opposing the invader were made in any part of the kingdom. Even the army gave sufficient indications that they would not draw their swords against the deliverer of their country. Lord Cornbury, son to the earl of Clarendon, and colonel of a regiment of dragoons, left the camp, and carried with him both his own regiment and three others to the prince. Churchill, afterwards the famous duke of Marlborough, followed the example of lord Cornbury, and deserted his unfortunate master.

Convinced by fatal experience, that no dependence could be placed on the army, James left the camp, and returned to London, where he was informed that prince George of Denmark, his son-in-law, and the princess Anne, his favourite daughter, had also abandoned him. In this scene of complicated distress, he cried out, "Great God, have pity on me; my own children have forsaken me!" He assembled all the protestant peers that remained in or near the capital, and desired they would give him their advice in this distressful situation. They unanimously declared, that the only way, in their opinion, to divert the threatening storm, was to summon a free parliament, and to send commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. The king very readily embraced the proposal. The lord chancellor was directed to issue the necessary writs. All the papists about the court were removed from their places. Sir Edward Hales, lieutenant of the Tower, was dismissed, and Sir Bevil Skelton appointed in his room. Father Peters, whose pernicious counsels had plunged the king into this abyss of misery, perceiving the storm ready to burst on his devoted head, deserted his master in his distress, and escaped into France.

The prince received the marquiss of Halifax, the earl of Northampton, and lord Godolphin, who were sent by the king to negotiate a treaty, with great respect; and delivered to them a paper, containing certain proposals; the heads of which were, that a free parliament should be called; that all papists should be disarmed, and discharged from all employments; that all proclamations against the prince should be recalled; that the command of the Tower should be given to the lord-mayor of London; that if the king should think proper to reside in London during the session of parliament, the prince should also reside there, with an equal number of guards, or that both the king and prince should reside at an equal distance from London; that both armies should be removed thirty miles from the capital; and that no new forces should be landed in the kingdom; that Tilbury-fort should be put into the hands of the city magistrates; that till the parliament met, part of the public revenue should be assigned for the support of the prince's army; and that, in order to prevent an invasion from France, or other foreign power, Portsmouth should be committed to the care of some person equally agreeable to the king and the prince.

James now looked upon his fortunes as desperate. He saw himself abandoned by his servants, his friends and his children. He saw the religion he was so desirous of establishing on the point of being eradicated; and determined to seek protection in a foreign country. He, however, dissimbled his sentiments, and declared, that the terms were as moderate, or even more so, than he could expect in the present situation of his affairs. But fearful of throwing himself on the mercy of his parliament, he lost all his



his firmness; and when every thing wore the aspect of an approaching peace and reconciliation, the king, after sending away the queen and prince secretly to Gravesend, disappeared himself, during the night, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Labadie. The king's departure was no sooner known, than the populace assembled, pulled down the mas-houses, and insulted those of the foreign ambassadors, from a persuasion that the Roman catholics had there deposited the principal part of their riches. Conscious of the reasons he had given the nation by his infamous counsels and decisions, Jefferies attempted to make his escape; but being discovered in a house at Wapping, the populace seized him; and the lord-mayor was obliged to send him to the Tower, in order to prevent his being torn in pieces. He did not long survive this severe discipline; he died soon after in the Tower of the bruises he had received.

Feverham was no sooner informed that his master had deserted the throne, than he disbanded his forces, but without paying their arrears, or taking from them their arms. Thus a lawless banditti was let loose to plunder the country. A report was at the same time spread all over the kingdom, that the disbanded Irish, who served in Feverham's army, were every where employed in burning towns; and that nothing less than a general massacre of the protestants was expected. The people were confounded; they were seized with an universal terror; the capital was illuminated, that the enemy might not surprize it during the darkness of the night; and every person was in arms to defend his own house against the attempts of a cruel enemy. Next day, however, put an end to the confusion: it was known that the report was totally destitute of foundation, and the people soon recovered from their surprize.

On the fourteenth of December, the prince of Orange arrived at Windsor, in order to settle the affairs of government; it being supposed that the king had absolutely resigned the reins of government, and retired to France. But in the midst of their deliberations, advice arrived, that his majesty had been discovered on board a ship at Faversham, in Kent, where he was waiting for a wind to carry him over to the continent. Before he was known, the populace, who mistook him for some papist of quality attempting to make his escape, treated him with great indignity, brought him on shore, and lodged him in the town. The lords immediately sent the earls of Middleton, Aylebury, Yarmouth, and Feverham, with a party of the guards, to attend his majesty to London. Touched with the sight of majesty in distress, the people forgot his errors, and received him with shouts and acclamations of joy. On his arrival, an express was dispatched to the prince, to acquaint him with this unexpected event.

On the king's arrival at Whitehall, he again resumed the reins of government; and an order of council was immediately published for suppressing tumults, and preventing the demolition of all kinds of structures, and putting a stop to outrages of every kind. The next day the earl of Feverham was sent by his majesty to the prince, inviting him to take up his residence in St. James's palace, attended with any number of guards he thought proper, in order to open the conferences for settling the government of the kingdom, and redressing the grievances complained of by the people. But the prince, instead of returning any answer to this message, retained the earl of Feverham prisoner. The Dutch guards were detached to take possession of Whitehall; and the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, were sent about midnight by the prince, requesting the king to remove early the next morning to Ham, a seat belonging to the dutehis of Lauderdale.

James had now lost all remains of spirit and resolution. He patiently submitted to this ignominious treatment, and only desired that he might remove to Rochester, instead of Ham. His request was very

readily granted; but he continued only a few days in that city; embarking privately, on the twenty-fourth of December, on board a ship in the river; and, after a short passage, was landed safely at Ambleteuse, in Picardy. He was received by Lewis with more than royal magnificence, and every method made use of to soothe his care.

James left a paper behind him, containing his reasons for withdrawing a second time. "The world (said he) cannot wonder at my conduct, after the prince of Orange had confined the earl of Feverham, who was sent to treat with him in a friendly manner; and commanding his own guards to take possession of Whitehall at eleven at night, without giving the least intimation of his design; and even sending me an order at midnight to be gone. After this, I had little to hope from one who had invaded my kingdom, and called the legitimacy of my son in question. I appeal to all who know me, even to the prince himself, whether they could believe me guilty of so unnatural a villany? I was born free; I desire to remain so; and have, for that reason, withdrawn myself again, but so as to be within call whenever the eyes of the nation shall be open to see how they have been abused and imposed upon by the specious pretences of religion and property."

This may be considered as the last act of James in England; and that a final period was now put to his reign, which might have been as happy as that of any of his predecessors, had not his mistaken notions of prerogative, his excessive bigotry to the religion of Rome, and an inflexible severity of temper, hurried him into measures which rendered his government intolerable to a free and generous people, who could no longer submit to a prince whom they saw altogether guided by the violent counsels of a popish, jesuitical faction, and blindly adopting their slavish superstition.

James having thus deserted his kingdom, it became necessary to appoint some person to hold the reins of government, and prevent that anarchy and confusion that must ensue when there is no visible authority to carry the laws into execution. The prince of Orange, too politic to seize the crown, too much a friend to freedom to expose himself to the reproach of tyranny; at the same time, depending on the favour of the people, who looked upon him as their deliverer, left the settlement of the government entirely to the laws. A parliament, under the name of a Convention, was summoned; and the commons soon resolved, that James II. having attempted to overturn the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the king and people; having violated the fundamental laws, by the advice of Jesuits, and other pernicious persons, had abdicated the government and vacated the throne. But this resolution met with great opposition in the upper house, where the Tories, though they had greatly relaxed their tenets with regard to the royal prerogative, displayed all their abilities. It was first debated, whether any national contract ever actually existed between the king and people, and the question was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seven voices. The next question was, Whether James had broken this contract, and this was also carried in the affirmative. The last question was, Whether James had vacated the throne, and this passed in the negative. So unexpected a decision produced a memorable conference between the two houses; the result of which was, that king James had abdicated the government, and the throne was thereby become vacant.

A.D. 1689. During these debates, the fugitive king continued in France, where both he and his family were royally entertained by Lewis XIV. But the behaviour of James rendered him contemptible in the eyes of all Europe. His sole companions were the Jesuits: he visited them at their college, told them he was one of their fraternity, and, as such, requested



requested their prayers. This weakness of mind in a prince, together with the pusillanimous manner in which he had lost his crown, rendered him so despicable, that the French courtiers diverted themselves with turning him into ridicule. Nor did his great regard for the catholic religion, and his having sacrificed his crown in endeavouring to establish it in England, gain him the least esteem. The archbishop of Rheims, brother to Louvois, the prime minister, said openly in James's anti-chamber, "Is not this a pious man to give up three kingdoms for a mass?"

Lewis, however, more generous than his courtiers, endeavoured to support him in this scene of distress. His liberality had hardly any bounds, and he made great preparations for re-establishing him on the throne he had so meanly deserted. Roused from his lethargy by this generous and spirited conduct of his old friend and ally, James endeavoured to prevent the consequences of his imprudent retreat, and, if possible, recall his subjects to a sense of their duty. He accordingly wrote two letters to the house of convention, nearly of the same import with that he had left behind him at Rochester, only adding a promise on the word of a king, that he would, on his return to England, summon a free parliament, and settle the government according to their decisions: requiring, in the mean time, their advice with regard to the manner of his returning to his kingdom. He concluded with assuring them that he would pass an act of oblivion to all his subjects who had forfeited their allegiance, some few only excepted. These letters, though presented to both houses of convention were sent back unopened.

The offers of James being disregarded, the next question was, who should fill the vacant throne. Some were for a regent, others for a king. To change the right of succession appeared, to the former, a breach of the fundamental laws of the kingdom; to appoint a regent who should govern with a precarious authority, was, in the opinion of the latter, nothing less than opening a door to confusion and discord. While this question was depending, the prince of Orange summoned several of the peers, and told them, "that he meant not to interfere in the deliberations of the convention; and that it rested entirely with that body to fix upon the most advantageous system of government; but he thought himself bound to inform them, that if they fixed upon a regency he would not accept of a title of which he saw the inconveniences; that if they gave the crown to the princess, his spouse, with whose merit he was well acquainted, he should, for his own part, prefer a private condition to that of a crown, which would depend upon the life of another; that, on either of these suppositions, it would be impossible for him to second their resolutions; and that a precarious dignity could not induce him to abandon those important objects which would soon call him back to the continent."

The princess Mary, devoted to her husband, entered into his views, as well as the princess Anne her sister. The former declared, "that being the prince's wife he would never accept of any honour, but in conjunction with her husband; and should take it very unkindly in any one, who should endeavour to separate their interests."

These resolutions put an end to all debates in the convention, and the two houses agreed that the prince and princess of Orange should reign jointly as king and queen of England; but that the administration should be vested in the prince alone, and that the princess Anne should succeed after their death. This resolution was not, however, carried without a very considerable opposition. Echard says the majority was only twenty; the numbers being sixty-five against forty-five.

The princess of Orange, to whom an express had been sent on that occasion, arrived in London from Holland on the twelfth of February; and the next day, the prince and princess being seated in two large chairs in the banqueting-house at Whitehall, both houses of convention waited upon them in a body,

when the clerk of the crown read, in the names of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled at Westminster, the following "declaration of their rights," which they said, had been violated by king James.

"1. That the pretended power of dispensing laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.

"2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by legal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

"3. That the commission for erecting the court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like natures, are illegal and pernicious.

"4. That the levying of money for the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.

"5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning is illegal.

"6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of the parliament, is against law.

"7. That the subjects being protestants may have arms for their defence, suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.

"8. That elections of members of parliament ought to be free.

"9. That the freedom of speech, or debates and proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place, out of parliament.

"10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel nor unusual punishments inflicted.

"11. That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned; and jurors which pass verdicts on men for high-treason, ought to be freeholders.

"12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

"13. And that, for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently."

"And they do claim, demand, and insist upon, all and singular the premises as their undoubted rights and liberties; and no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people, in any of the said premises, ought in anywise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example."

Such were the rights and liberties demanded by the convention, and the declaration in which they were contained, concluded in the following manner.

"Having therefore an entire confidence that his highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons assembled at Westminster, do resolve, That William and Mary prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared, king and queen of England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said prince and princess during their lives and the life of the survivor of them, and that the sole and full exercise of the royal power be only in, and executed by, the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives; and after their decease the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdom and dominions



“to belong to the heirs of the body of the said prince; and, in default of such issue, to the prince Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and in default of such issue to the heirs of the said prince of Orange.”

As soon as the reading of this declaration was finished, the marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the house of lords, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The offer was accepted in the politest and most obliging manner by their highnesses; and they were the same day proclaimed by the name of William and Mary, king and queen of England.

Instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, suppressed by the declaration, new oaths in the following forms were substituted. “I sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful to their majesties King William and queen Mary. So help me God.”

“I swear that from the bottom of my heart I abhor, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other person whatever; and I declare that no prince, no person, no prelate, state or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God.”

Before we leave this remarkable period, it will be necessary to review the state of the English military and commercial establishments, and the improvements made in the arts and sciences since the restoration of monarchy.

The militia of England during the reign of the two last princes, had been greatly neglected; a standing army being thought better adapted to promote the safety of the nation, when the princes on the continent kept such large bodies of troops in pay: But the navy was greatly improved. In 1660, when Charles was restored to the throne of his ancestors, he found the navy reduced to the low condition of sixty-three ships. In 1678, it consisted of eighty-three. At the revolution the number of ships amounted to one hundred and seventy-three; and forty thousand sailors were necessary for manning the whole. James, when duke of York, invented the signals still used at sea.

During this period, which consisted of no more than twenty-eight years, the number of merchant ships were more than double what they were at the death of Cromwell; an evident proof of the increase of the English trade. The art of navigation was very favourable to commerce, and produced the intended effect in every quarter of the globe. The colonies in America were considerably improved, and the produce of the new world added lustre to the old.

In the first year of the reign of Charles II. Sir Thomas Modyford, an eminent planter in the island of Barbadoes, having acquired a prodigious fortune, removed to Jamaica, where he instructed the young English planters in the cultivation of the sugar cane, for which eminent service, and others of a similar nature, he was appointed governor of the island. And in the same year an act passed in favour of the Flemings established at Colchester, who first brought into England the manufacture of baize.

In the year 1661, Charles II. granted a new exclusive charter to the East India company, by the old name of the governor and company of merchants trading to the East Indies.

About the same time, the worsted manufacture established at Norwich, and other places in Norfolk, was prodigiously increased, and the silk manufacture in London was arrived to that height, that it found employment for above forty thousand men, women, and children.

In 1668 Charles II. granted the town, port, and island of Bombay in the East Indies, in full property

for ever to the East India company, to hold it in free common socage of the imperial crown of England, under an annual rent of ten pounds, to be paid yearly on the thirtieth of September at the custom-house in London.

The general balance of trade in the year 1668, was greatly against the English, the exports being less than the imports by no less a sum than two millions, one hundred thirty-two thousand eight hundred and sixty-four pounds, eighteen shillings. This amazing loss was chiefly owing to our having an unlimited intercourse with France; a trade which was afterwards prohibited.

In the year 1670, the wear of muslins was first introduced from India; before that time cambrics, Silesia lawns, and other linens from France and Germany, supplied its place. These linens were received in return for our woollen manufactures of different species, which were at this time exported thither in very large quantities. The same year the Hudson's bay company was established.

About the year 1676, the printing of calicoes was first established in London: and about the same time the weaver's loom engine was introduced from Holland. The same year one hundred and two ships were employed in the cod fishery at Newfoundland; and the total value of the fish and oil was computed at three hundred, eighty-six thousand four hundred pounds.

In the year 1680 the colony of Pennsylvania in North America was established by William Penn, an eminent quaker. He proposed to make it a retreat for the people of his own persuasion, who met with great disturbance here on account of their religious tenets. Numbers went over with him, and were soon joined by many more from various parts of England and Ireland. At his first arrival in that country he found many English families, and a considerable number of Dutch and Swedes. These all readily submitted to his wife and excellent regulations, which, together with his gentle and generous behaviour, soon endeared him to the planters, and extended his fame to such remote places, that vast numbers of people flocked from all parts of Europe to people his new colony of Pennsylvania. It is now one of the most flourishing countries in America.

The Turkey company was at this time in a very flourishing condition; they exported great quantities of our woollen manufactures, and other English commodities, to the great advantage of this country. Their exports about the year 1681, amounted to near half a million sterling; in return for which they brought home raw silks, program, yarns, galls and other drugs, cotton, &c. The greater part of which being manufactured here, afforded bread to great numbers of poor families.

The year 1685 was famous for the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Lewis XIV. This revolution, though infinitely distressful to many thousands of individuals in France, proved of the utmost advantage to all the protestant countries in Europe, especially to England; where many thousands of those unhappy French manufacturers, particularly in the silk branch, settled in Spitalfields; while a vast number of other artists helped to fill the suburbs of Soho and St. Giles's. It was computed that near sixty thousand of these refugee families retired hither, to the great improvement of our arts and manufactures, and the introduction of new ones. And if we suppose that these fifty thousand families brought one with another sixty pounds in money and effects, they must have added near three millions sterling to the riches of the nation.

The sciences made great improvement during this period. In 1660 Charles II. established, by letters patent, the Royal Society of London, so famous for its transactions and the learning of its members. But this patent was all Charles contributed to the advancement of the sciences. They indeed struck deep root, and attracted the admiration of all Europe; but







licentiousness which overwhelmed the nation. He was truly an honour to his country. To the gift of genius and the acquisition of philosophy, he added what was then so uncommon, the merit of respecting morality, and the laws. He was as much above the common level of politicians, as he was above the common herd of authors.

Among a great number of physicians that flourished in this reign, Dr. Thomas Sydenham is justly placed at the head of that profession. He was a person of great penetration and experience, and added considerable improvements to the healing art. He dared to deviate from the common practice, where

nature and reason pointed out a better method; and was the first that introduced a cool regimen in the small pox; a discovery which has been since followed with amazing success. His works are still in the highest esteem with the faculty.

Besides Sydenham, Willis, Sir George Ent, Glifson, Plunket, and Sir William Petty made several useful discoveries in physic, anatomy and botany.

Such was the state of commerce and learning at this remarkable period of history, when the liberties of Englishmen, which had been so often invaded by former princes, were established on a solid foundation.

## B O O K XIII.

From the Revolution to the Accession of George I.

### WILLIAM III. and MARY II. King and Queen of England.

A. D. 1689. **I**T was highly consistent with the genius and spirit of the English to place the friend of liberty on the throne; especially as they did not strip the crown of any of its just prerogatives, when they presented it to the prince of Orange. The power of summoning, proroguing, and dissolving parliaments, of chusing members of the privy council, and of making war and peace, was still invested in the king. William on his part was extremely desirous of giving no offence to the English in his exercise of the royal authority. His council was composed of persons who had always been the friends of liberty, and could therefore give no offence to those who were true lovers of their country.

There was, however, a party in the nation who beheld the exaltation of the prince of Orange in a very different light, and could by no means be prevailed upon to approve of the revolution. The papists made indeed the bulk, but not the whole of this party. The former had very sufficient reasons to disapprove of the new settlement; but they were joined by a considerable number of protestants, who, either from the strong impressions they had received from the late doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, could not think it lawful to resist James, or from their being persuaded that the hereditary right of the crown was indefeasible, joined the catholics. The last absolutely refused to take the oaths to the present government, and were thence stiled non-jurors. These parties disturbed the operations of the ministry during this whole reign, and prevented the people from reaping all the advantages they might otherwise have obtained from the revolution.

Before any of the principal acts of government could be performed, it was necessary to assemble a parliament, or give that title to the convention. The latter was chosen as the easiest and most expeditious method. Accordingly William, on the twenty-third of February, gave the royal assent to a bill to "remove and prevent all questions and disputes concerning the assembling and setting of this present parliament." By this act the convention, which had settled the crown on the prince and princess of Orange, was changed into a parliament. This bill being passed, the king repaired to the house of lords, and delivered a speech from the throne, wherein he thanked them for the great confidence they had reposed in him by intrusting him with the English sceptre, and assured them it should be his study to

preserve the good opinion they had conceived of his integrity. He laid before them the critical situation of affairs in Europe, particularly in these kingdoms, and concluded with an earnest request, that they would concur in the most effectual measures to preserve the domestic peace, and promote the happiness of the nation. He soon after sent a message to the house, assuring them that he had received certain advice, that James had sailed with an armament from Brest to invade Ireland. Desirous of convincing the world that they would support his majesty, both houses came to a resolution to assist him with their lives and fortunes: they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be levied by monthly assessments. Both houses waited on his majesty to inform him of this resolution.

This complaisance in the parliament was, however, far from being unanimous; several of the peers both spiritual and temporal, refused to take the oaths to the present government, and did not therefore attend their duty in parliament. Among the former were Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Turner, bishop of Ely; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Lake, of Chichester; Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worcester; and Frampton, of Gloucester: the four first had been imprisoned in the Tower by James, for refusing to publish his declaration for liberty of conscience. The temporal peers who refused the oaths, were the duke of Newcastle; the earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth and Stafford; with the lords Griffin and Stowel.

William's friends were not deserted like those of Charles the second; they were rewarded for their fidelity. Among the rest Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who had for some time resided in Holland, and came over with the prince as his chaplain, was promoted to the see of Salisbury. The king, at once an enemy to persecution, and a friend to Calvinism, was very desirous of procuring the protestant dissenters a share in the government; but he could not prevail upon the parliament to abolish the sacramental test in favour of the presbyterians. They, however, passed a bill under the title of "An act for exempting his majesty's protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws." This law is still in force, and generally called the Act of Toleration. About the same time William acquired great popularity by recommending to the parliament the abolition of hearth-money, a tax which





*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*













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which was considered as a heavy burden on the poor. Pleased with the attention paid to their interests, the people looked upon their new sovereign as their father, and paid him the tribute of gratitude and affection.

The many shameful embezzlements of the public revenue before the revolution, now induced the parliament to provide a remedy for preventing such flagitious practices for the future. They resolved to allot a separate fund for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity; and subjected the rest of the public revenue to the controul of parliament. The former was distinguished by the name of the Civil List, an appellation it still retains. They also voted, that these sums should be granted only from year to year, or, at most, for a very short term. This appropriation of the public revenue was of infinite advantage to the nation, and the strongest bulwark of the people's liberties. They were now no longer apprehensive of seeing the aids they granted lavished away by the sovereign in articles of profusion, or applied to the nefarious purposes of supporting armies to wrest from the generous donors their most invaluable privileges.

On the sixteenth of December, the king gave the royal assent to the bill of rights, and succession, agreeable to the declaration of rights made to the king and queen when they accepted the crown. A remarkable clause was added to the bill, by which all papists, and all persons marrying papists, were excluded from the throne.

This manner of applying the public money could not be very agreeable to William, whose revenue was granted only for a short and limited time. The sum of two hundred thousand pounds was granted him for the support of the crown in time of peace. William considered this measure as a mark of their diffidence, by which he was distinguished from all his predecessors, and thought it an ungrateful return for the great services he had done the nation. The Tories, desirous of distressing the Whigs, now made a tender of their services to the king, who recommended an act of indemnity to the parliament, in order to profit by their assistance; but so many frivolous objections were made to it, merely to prolong the time, that it was dropped at the end of the session. This increased the difference between the two parties, and gave great uneasiness to the government.

The authority of William was acknowledged in Scotland as well as in England, notwithstanding all the efforts and emissaries of the dethroned monarch. James, who was now in Ireland, wrote to the Scottish convention, soliciting the members to maintain his lawful rights against the usurper. He promised them immediate assistance; he offered pardon to all who would return to their duty, and threatened the severest punishments to those who should persevere in their rebellion. But both his promises and threatenings produced not the desired effect. Indeed, in his situation, they were vain, and almost ridiculous. The duke of Hamilton, president of the assembly, easily carried the votes against a prince, who was equally obnoxious on account of his religious and political principles. They voted, that James, by being a papist, and having exercised the royal authority without taking the oaths prescribed by the law; by having attacked the fundamental constitution of a limited monarchy, and violated the laws and liberties of the nation, had forfeited all right to the crown, and, in consequence of that forfeiture, the throne was now vacant. This vote was immediately passed into a law, under the title of "An act for settling the crown of Scotland upon the king and queen of England." All attempts to assist James were prohibited; William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of Scotland; and commissioners sent to London with the act which established their authority.

The Scottish commissioners, after making a solemn tender of the crown of that kingdom to their

majesties, proposed the form of an oath, containing, among other things, a promise to extirpate heresy: William absolutely refused at first to take this oath, protesting he would never lay himself under an obligation of being a persecutor: he was too fond of liberty himself, to be desirous of destroying it in others. The commissioners assured him, that the intention of the oath was very different, and on that declaration he accepted the crown of Scotland.

The meeting of the states of that kingdom was now, by virtue of a commission from their majesties to the duke of Hamilton, changed into a parliament. But complaints soon arose in that assembly against the king, who thought himself empowered to appoint the judges, and left some of the national grievances unredressed. Prelacy was, however, once more abolished in Scotland; but the presbyterian discipline was not established, owing to some disputes between the king and the parliament. The principal of these articles respected the lords. It was the custom for the king's commissioner to nominate eight bishops; who should chuse eight lords; and these eight barons and eight burgesses. These jointly formed a committee, under the title of "Lords of Articles," having an exclusive right to propose a reformation of abuses, and such measures as they thought useful to the kingdom. This important privilege was claimed by the Scottish parliament. William, in part, refused their request. He consented that the states should chuse the lords, and deliberate on such articles as the latter should reject. But this was not thought sufficient; they wanted more extensive privileges; while the king, fearful that they meant to resume that liberty which had so often degenerated into licentiousness; and unwilling to enter into contests with the parliament, as they might have been attended with dangerous consequences in the infancy of his reign; prorogued the assembly.

It must not, however, be imagined, that this revolution in Scotland was attended with no opposition. The duke of Gordon, still faithful to the Stuart family, defended the castle of Edinburgh, which was now blocked up by the troops of the city. He stood a regular siege; but having neglected to furnish the place with a sufficient quantity of provisions, he was forced to capitulate on terms very advantageous to the garrison, though he generously declined to solicit any for himself. He was, indeed, persuaded; that it would have been absolutely inconsistent with the duty he owed his master, to consult his own interest while he was defending the royal cause.

While the castle of Edinburgh was invested, the earl of Dundee, at the head of a body of Scotch highlanders, attacked the English, under the command of lieutenant-general Mackay, with the utmost fury, routed a large division of them at the first onset, and would, in all probability, have obtained a complete victory, had he not unfortunately been killed by a random shot. His death put an end to the contest. The highlanders lost their courage with their general; and one misfortune treading on the heels of another, they laid down their arms; and accepted the amnesty offered by the English.

James succeeded no better in Ireland than in Scotland. His behaviour, indeed, soon lost him the affections of his best friends: The earl of Tyrconnel, attached to him both by gratitude and a similarity of religious sentiments, exerted himself in the service of his master. He had secured the most important places in the kingdom before the king abandoned the English throne. Instigated at once by the motives of religion, policy and prudence, he treated the unhappy protestants with so much severity and rigour, that they abandoned their residence; and fled for protection to their brethren in the north of Ireland, where Kilmore, Coleraine, Inniskilling, and Londonderry, declared for William.

Such was the state of affairs in Ireland, when Lewis XIV. undertook to support his old friend and ally in the recovery of one part at least of his domi-



nions: Perhaps there was hardly ever a more striking contrast than between these two princes. The one acted the part of a generous monarch, the other that of a mere devotee, always surrounded by Jesuits, and neglecting his own business and situation, that he might attend to their ecclesiastical controversies and metaphysical distinctions. Little success could be expected from the attempts of a prince of so bigotted a disposition. Lewis, however, furnished him with five thousand forces, under the command of M. de Laufun. These troops were embarked at Brest on board a fleet consisting of fourteen ships of the line, six frigates, three fire-ships, and a sufficient number of transports. Lewis also furnished him with arms for forty thousand men, a large sum of money, and superb equipages. At their parting, the French monarch embraced him, and said, "I cannot wish you better than that I may never see you more."

James sailed from Brest on the seventh of March; and on the twenty-second landed at Kingsale, in Ireland. He immediately set out for Cork, where he was received by the magistrates in their formalities. The people also expressed their zeal and their joy in the most extravagant manner. The earl of Tyrconnel joined him with an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. But these happy beginnings soon terminated unfortunately. James took no care to gain the affections of his subjects. Instead of endeavouring to gain the protestants over to his interest by acts of kindness and popularity, he exasperated them still more by his cruelty and arrogance.

On his approaching the capital, the catholic bishops and priests met him at the Castle-gate in solemn procession, having the host carried before them. He immediately dismissed all the protestant members of the council, and filled their seats with papists. He published, indeed, several proclamations, promising protection to all his subjects in general who should preserve their constancy; but so little regard was paid to his promises, that they all resolved to imitate the example of their friends, and stand in their own defence. He soon made himself master of Coleraine and Kilmore, and exercised the most brutal cruelty on all of that persuasion who fell into his hands. Terrified at these inhuman proceedings, and alarmed by the report of a general massacre intended to be perpetrated on all who adhered to the reformed religion, they fled from all parts of the country, and shut themselves up in Londonderry, fully determined to suffer all the horrors of famine, rather than submit to so brutal an enemy. An express was dispatched to England, imploring immediate assistance. Some arms and ammunition were directly sent them; and about the middle of April, two regiments, under the command of the colonels Richards and Cunningham, arrived in Loughfoyle.

By this time James's army had reached the neighbourhood of Londonderry; and advice of the enemy's approach was sent to Lundy, the governor, by Mr. Walker, a protestant clergyman of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of himself and his brethren. Lundy immediately summoned a council of war, at which both Richards and Cunningham assisted. Whether the members were affected with cowardice or treachery, is uncertain; but they came to a resolution, that the town was untenable, and that it would therefore be imprudent to land the regiments. Walker was of a very different opinion, and used every argument in his power to prevail upon the governor to take the field immediately, and bring on a general engagement with the enemy; promising that the protestant inhabitants would do their duty, and fall nobly in the contest, rather than submit to an enemy whose very religion rendered them inhumanly cruel. But all his endeavours were in vain: the pusillanimous soul of the governor was not to be roused to action by persuasions and arguments. He concealed himself in his chamber,

and Richards and Cunningham escaped on board their ships.

Exasperated at this cowardly behaviour of those who ought to have exerted themselves in inspiring the inhabitants with courage, Walker, and major Baker, the deputy governor, resolved to defend their religion and liberties to the last extremity, and bury themselves under the ruins of the town, rather than submit to the enemy. They immediately formed the inhabitants, amounting to seven thousand men, into different regiments; taught them the manner of using their arms, the firing of cannon, and other particulars necessary to be known at this alarming crisis. Their religious sentiments inspired them with a noble contempt of death, and they determined to conquer or perish.

While Walker and his worthy associate were employed in disciplining their little army, Rozon, the French general, approached the walls, and began to play upon the town from several batteries. But the inhabitants, though the fortifications were in a very poor condition, and defended only by twenty pieces of artillery, bravely repelled all the attacks of the enemy. James was with the army at the opening of the trenches; but soon after returned to Dublin to open the session of parliament. Exasperated at the noble defence made by the inhabitants, Rozon, a person of more than savage brutality, caused four thousand protestants to be stripped naked; and in that condition driven close to the walls of the town, as so many victims destined to destruction, which the surrender of the place alone could preserve. But this infernal contrivance produced not the desired effect. Walker caused gibbets to be erected on the walls, and informed the French general, that unless he suffered these wretched people to retire, he would immediately hang up every catholic in the town, together with all the prisoners they had taken in their sallies. Convinced, by the noble defence the inhabitants had already made, that the threat would be immediately carried into execution, Rozon ordered the unhappy protestants to be released; but the brutal cruelties they had already suffered, rendered his mercy now of little effect; the greater part of them fell victims to hunger and distress.

The distress of famine, which now raged with uncommon violence, increased the horrors of the siege. The poor inhabitants eat their dogs, cats, mice, and leather; and even these wretched resources at last began to fail; and they were on the point of coming to the dreadful resolution of feeding upon their prisoners, when, major-general Kirk, who had rendered himself so infamous for his cruelties after Monmouth's rebellion, arrived in the Lough with a reinforcement of nine thousand men. He had received orders to relieve the town at all events; and accordingly sent three ships, laden with provisions, up the river, under the protection of the Dartmouth frigate. The enemy well knew that it would be impossible to conquer the town by famine, unless all communication with the sea, by means of the river, was cut off. They had accordingly erected several strong batteries on both sides of the stream, and drawn a strong boom across the channel. These precautions were thought sufficient to render every attempt made by sea, for the relief of the place, abortive. But here the enemy were mistaken. One of the ships, taking the advantage of the tide and a strong gale of wind, advanced through the fire of the batteries, with full sail, against the boom. The shock was too violent to be resisted; the boom gave way, and the ships reached the town in safety, amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants.

Rozon now perceived that any farther attempts to reduce the place would be in vain. He raised the siege, and retired from before the town, where he had lost nine thousand men. Kirk entered the place with his reinforcement; and Walker, at the joint request of the garrison and inhabitants, passed over into



into England; where the king and queen received him with all the honour he so justly deserved for his distinguished valour.

Misfortunes had no effect to alter the conduct of James. Still inclined to despotism, still immoderate in his zeal, he behaved in Ireland as if he had been studious to render both his government and person odious to the English. He again published a declaration, insisting on his impartiality with regard to the protestants, on the preference he gave them, on the care he took to protect them, and to maintain a perfect liberty of conscience; but his conduct belied his promises. The Irish parliament, consisting chiefly of catholics, annulled the act by which the protestants were maintained in the possession of those estates which had been taken from the catholics. The consequence was, that they were stripped of all their possessions with the utmost severity; and, to complete their ruin, a bill of attainder was preferred against those who absented themselves from the kingdom, or held any correspondence with James's enemies. About three thousand were included in this proscription. The protestant clergy lost their jurisdiction and privileges, and were driven from many of their churches. These measures would have been dangerous even in time of peace; in those troubles they were infinitely more so. James directed every thing, without foreseeing the consequences of his indiscretion. He was hurried headlong by the current of blind zeal. He was, however, desirous of restoring the churches to the protestants; but the papists refused to obey; they disavowed his authority whenever they disapproved his orders. He had been reduced to the necessity of coining copper money, and to give it a nominal value far superior to what it was intrinsically worth, in order to pay his troops. This, together with exorbitant taxes and ruinous expedients, were the resources of his preposterous government. Whether James acted from himself, or from the advice of others, he ought to have foreseen, that this abuse of a tottering authority would by no means contribute to render it more permanent.

Desirous of terminating, as soon as possible, the troubles in Ireland, king William sent admiral Herbert with twelve ships of the line, one fire-ship, and four tenders, to intercept a squadron of French ships then fitting out for the assistance of James, under the command of Chateau Renaud. Soon after the English admiral arrived on the Irish coast, he discovered, on the first of May, the French fleet, consisting of twenty-eight ships of the line, most of them from sixty to seventy guns, and five fire-ships, lying at anchor in Bantry-bay. The French admiral no sooner saw the English, than he got under sail, and stood out of the bay, to bring on an engagement, encouraged by having at once a superior fleet, and the advantage of the wind. Herbert did every thing in his power to gain the weather-gage of the enemy; but finding his attempts were in vain, he prudently declined an engagement, which must have been fought under every disadvantage. He therefore stood off to sea, and maintained, for some time, a running fight with the enemy; but, on the approach of evening, Renaud tacked, and stood again into the bay.

Preparations were, in the mean time, making, for sending an army over to Ireland; but, by some unaccountable neglect in those to whom the management of military affairs was intrusted, James had been six months in Ireland before an English army was ready to embark for that kingdom. At last eighteen regiments of foot, five of dragoons, and a suitable train of artillery, being ready, the duke of Schomberg was appointed general, and the forces landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus on the thirteenth of August. About ten thousand foot and dragoons were detached to take possession of Belfast, which was abandoned by the enemy at their approach. They, however, retired no farther than Carrickfergus, where they proposed to make a stand against the English; but the latter attacked the place

with so much intrepidity, that they were masters of it in four days. Newry, Dundalk, and other places opened their gates at the first summons; and had not so many delays have been made in sending the general the train of artillery he had left behind him in England, Schomberg would have made a much greater progress; but in consequence of this strange conduct he was obliged to continue inactive during the remainder of the campaign. On the approach of winter, both the English and Irish retired into quarters.

The same delays that had prevented Schomberg from pursuing his conquest, also rendered the designs of the naval armaments abortive. Admiral Herbert, now earl of Torrington, did not sail again for Ireland till the season was far advanced. His intention was to surprize the city of Cork; but was diverted from his purpose by false intelligence, that James with his whole army was encamped in the neighbourhood. It was therefore thought imprudent to attack the city, and the whole fleet, after a short stay on the Irish coast, returned to England, and came to an anchor in Torbay.

The parliament meeting on the nineteenth of October, the king repaired to the house of peers, and in his speech from the throne, explained the necessity of their granting an immediate supply for carrying on the war in Ireland; and that they would determine speedily with regard to the measures they intended to pursue in respect to the grand alliance formed against France. After his majesty's speech had been taken into consideration, they unanimously resolved to assist him in reducing Ireland, and in joining his allies abroad, for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France. And to make good these resolutions, they voted a supply of two millions, to be raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate.

Party disputes between the Whigs and the Tories were now carried to the greatest height. William was not calculated for joining in these contests; he saw them with regret and concern. Cold, reserved, silent, generally shut up in his closet, without a taste for any thing but the chase, most commonly at Hampton-court, because the air of London did not agree with his constitution, he was by no means popular, and began to lose the affections of the English. He saw his error, and policy for once prevailed over nature. He suddenly adopted the old popular customs, was present at horse races, and shewed himself affable and complaisant. He dined with the lord-mayor of London, accepted the title of citizen, and submitted to be appointed master of the Grocers company, a condescension which would have been too great, had he known, at the same time, how to support his dignity.

The church of England, which hated popery, was far from being fond of Calvinism in the prince; and William, who was sufficiently aware of the dangers attending religious disputes, made another effort for uniting the church and presbyterians. But his endeavours were soon rendered abortive. The lower house of convocation opposed the attempt with the utmost firmness. On this occasion they had recourse to the phrase used by the ancient barons: "We will not have the laws of England changed." This increased the animosity, already sufficiently alarming, between the two parties. The Tories, persuaded they should gain the ascendant by making their court to the king, made him the most pompous promises of supplies, provided he would pass an act of oblivion and dissolve the present parliament. The Whigs soon discovered the design of their antagonists, and in order to render their attempt abortive, they introduced a bill for restoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges; to which a clause was added, denouncing the severest penalties against those who had been any way concerned in delivering up the charters. The Tories opposed this clause with their utmost force, and it was at length rejected. The bill itself,



itself, however, passed both houses; but the lords were so equally divided on this occasion, that the majority consisted of a single voice only. Both parties now made the strongest applications to the king to bring him over to their respective interests. William was under the greatest perplexity how to determine: the behaviour of the Whigs had given him sufficient reason to think that they were tainted with republican principles, and consequently enemies to the regal power. He was therefore persuaded, that by giving the royal assent to the bill, he must in a manner be dependent wholly on them, and therefore retain nothing more than the shadow of a king. On the other hand, he was no stranger to the attachment of the Tories to the divine indefeasible right of kings, and therefore it would be highest imprudence to place in them an unlimited confidence. These considerations, and the violent heats between the two parties so greatly affected him, that he was on the point of resigning the English sceptre, and retiring into Holland. The warmest of his friends interposed their influence, and by their persuasion William was prevailed upon to lay his plan aside. Determined not to resign the crown which had been so generously given him, he declared his intention of passing over into Ireland and heading his own army.

A. D. 1690. This declaration was agreeable to neither party. The friends of the revolution were fearful lest the fatigues of a campaign, and the bad climate of the country, exclusive of the chance of war, might have a fatal effect on the weak and tender constitution of the king, whose death, at this juncture, would probably involve the nation in all the horrors of a civil war. The Tories opposed it from a very different motive. They knew the military abilities of William, and therefore dreaded his taking the field against their old master. Both parties therefore for once agreed in their opposition, and determined to present an address against his intended expedition. William, aware of their intention, came to the house on the seventeenth of January, and in a speech which he made to both houses, declared, in form, his intention of passing over into Ireland. He told them, that having already ventured his life to preserve the laws and liberties of England, he was willing once more to expose it, in order to secure the enjoyment of these blessings. Having ended his speech he prorogued the parliament till the twenty-second of April; but on the sixth of February it was dissolved by proclamation, and the writs were issued for electing a new one to meet on the twentieth of March.

The election was so favourable to the Tories, that they had a considerable majority in the lower house, and the assembly was agitated with the most violent debates. Two bills in particular were violently opposed and as violently defended. The one for ratifying the acts of the preceding parliament; the other for requiring all persons in office, on pain of imprisonment, to take an oath, abjuring king James. The first passed notwithstanding the opposition of the most violent amongst the Tories. The house was apprehensive of the consequences, if that parliament, by virtue of which the present government was established, should be declared illegal. The second, which the Whigs supported in concert with the ministry, with all their power, was more obstinately opposed. The king, apprehensive that an open rupture between the two parties would be the consequence, desired the ministry to give up the point. This interposition of the king so highly disgusted the earl of Shrewsbury, then secretary of state, that he immediately resigned his post; nor could all the remonstrances of the king, who was no stranger to his great abilities, prevail upon him to keep the seals, till his return from Ireland. The Whigs had also the mortification to see an act of oblivion passed in favour of their antagonists.

After constituting the queen regent, during his absence, William embarked for Ireland on the fourth of June, and on the fourteenth landed at Carrickfergus,

attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Manchester, and many other persons of distinction. The gallant Schomberg, grown old in arms, had not fulfilled the expectations of the people. His troops had been sickly and far inferior in number to those of the enemy. He had therefore carefully avoided an engagement with the Irish; but this delay, though the effect of prudence, and which deserved the highest applause, was the subject of complaint. So difficult is it to please a populace who have not the opportunity of judging equitably of the actions of great men!

The military affairs in Ireland put on a different aspect on the king's arrival. His army was now superior to that of the enemy, and William was at once more active and more successful. James determined to venture the whole on the event of a battle: William was equally desirous that one decisive engagement should put a final period to all competition for the sovereignty of Ireland. Both therefore moved towards each other in order of battle; the river Boyne separated the two armies, each of which consisted of near forty thousand men.

Before the battle began, William, desirous of reconnoitring the situation of the enemy, advanced to the bank of the river. His person was known by several of the officers in James's army, and two field pieces were brought down to the river's bank through a hidden pathway, and planted against his person. The first shot killed a man and two horses close to his side, and the second, rebounding from the ground, grazed his right shoulder, and occasioned a considerable contusion. The enemy, believing he was slain, gave way to the most extravagant expressions of joy. The news flew like lightening to France. The partizans of James, still blind and credulous in their prejudices, made public rejoicings, which certainly did honour to the prince they insulted.

William to prevent any confusion in his own army, rode through the ranks, and by that means effectually removed the impressions which this false rumour might otherwise have produced on the spirits of his troops. It was now determined in a council of war to cross the river, and give the enemy battle the next day. The English accordingly forded the stream, stood the shock of the Irish cavalry, and broke in upon, and dispersed the infantry. In this attack La Caillemont was killed at the head of the French refugees who served in William's army. Schomberg, informed of the furious attack made upon the regiments that had forded the river, and that the French refugees were without a leader, passed the stream immediately to head them. He had no sooner reached the opposite bank, than he rode full speed to the French protestants, and putting himself at their head, he cried out, "Behold your persecutors." Animated by his example, the refugees attacked the enemy with the utmost fury; but a party of James's guards, returning towards the main body of their army, surrounded Schomberg. Exasperated at the attempt, and desirous of revenging the insult, the refugees fired upon them with too little caution, one of the balls striking the general put an end to his life. Thus fell the famous Schomberg in the eighty-third year of his age, after a long life replete with military glory.

This misfortune was like to have been fatal to the whole army. The forces that had hitherto fought with such remarkable intrepidity, seemed to have lost their courage with their general: their arms remained inactive in their hands; they gazed at each other with silent astonishment, and gave ground apace. The enemy perceived it, and animated with so fortunate an incident, returned to the charge with such ardour and intrepidity, as seemed to command success. William, who might be said to be every where during the whole action, perceived the advantage of the enemy, and brought up the left wing at the very moment when they were going to fall upon the center. Intimidated at his approach they halted, faced about and retreated



retreated to the village of Dunmore, about half a mile from the pass. There they made so brave a stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person, unable to sustain their fire, gave way: the Irishkillers themselves seemed unwilling to advance. Alarmed at this backwardness, William rode up to the latter, and in a sharp tone of voice asked them, if this was the behaviour he was to expect from them? Stung with this reproach, they resumed their usual courage, and returned to the charge with irresistible fury; and the enemy, after a very bloody conflict, was driven back with considerable loss. General Hamilton, who had inspired the Irish with courage and intrepidity during the whole action was now taken prisoner. This loss was decisive. William met with no farther opposition, but from the French and Swiss guards, who retreated in good order.

In this battle James lost about fifteen hundred men, among whom were the lords Dungan, and Carlingford, Sir Neile O'Neile, and the marquis of Hocquincourt. The English lost about five hundred men, an inconsiderable number in gaining so important a battle; had not the duke of Scomberg, the most illustrious general in Europe, been one of the number.

In this memorable battle the contrast between the two kings was remarkable. James, merely a spectator of an action in which he bore a principal part, was the foremost in the retreat. His former courage was shook by misfortunes. He reproached the Irish with cowardice, and embarked for France, where he was sure of living in quiet. William was every where in the thickest of the action, encouraging his troops with his presence, and animating them by his example. They followed with ardor a prince who displayed such admirable conduct, resolution, and presence of mind. The Irish themselves were so sensible of this advantage, that they declared, if the English would change kings with them they would fight the battle over again.

William pursued the victory he had gained over James with great vigilance and success. His generals took many places, and he himself laid siege to Limerick. But the badness of the season, and the resistance of the inhabitants obliged him to abandon the enterprise.

While the king was employed in the reducing of Ireland, his queen held the English reins of government with a steadiness and resolution that gained her the admiration of the whole kingdom. On receiving advice that a powerful fleet was fitted out at Brest in order to make a descent on the west of England, the queen ordered the earl of Torrington, who then lay with his fleet in the Downs, to sail immediately to Portsmouth, and collect a number of ships sufficient to enable him to render the design of the enemy abortive. While the admiral lay at St. Helen's advice arrived from Weymouth, that the French fleet, consisting of seventy-eight ships of the line and two fire-ships, had entered the channel. The admiral had been lately joined by a squadron of Dutch men of war, but several ships expected from Plymouth had hitherto been prevented, by contrary winds, from joining him. A council of war was immediately called, and it seemed to be the general opinion that it would be imprudent to meet the enemy, as the whole combined fleet did not exceed fifty-six sail; but before any resolution was taken an express arrived from the queen, with positive orders to hazard an engagement at all events, rather than suffer the enemy to sail up the channel, and insult the English coasts and harbours.

Pursuant to these orders Torrington stood out to sea immediately, with the combined fleets of England and Holland. The enemy soon appeared in sight, and on the thirtieth of June, the engagement began off Beachy-head about nine in the morning. The blue squadron engaged the French with the utmost bravery, but Torrington kept his division in a line, and fought at too great a distance. The Dutch, de-

sirous of bringing on a closer engagement, advanced towards the enemy, and by that means were separated from the English. Tourville, the French admiral, perceived the imprudent valour of the Dutch had carried them too far, and determined to take advantage of their error. He accordingly collected all his ships that were now engaged with the English, and surrounded the Dutch squadron. All retreat was now cut off; and the whole squadron must have been taken, had not Calémbourgh the Dutch admiral fortunately ordered his ships to drop their anchors with all their sails standing. This saved his squadron. The tide set strongly up the channel, and there being very little wind, the French, who were ignorant of the stratagem, were soon hurried away by the tide, while the Dutch continued safe at anchor beyond the reach of their cannon. They had, however, received considerable damage; their two vice admirals were killed, and several of their ships so greatly shattered, that they were obliged to sink them, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The English lost two ships, two of their captains, and about four hundred men. The next day the English admiral called a council of war, in which he was resolved to retreat without hazarding another engagement, and to destroy all the disabled ships should the enemy attempt a pursuit. Torrington accordingly retreated without much interruption to the mouth of the Thames, while Tourville, after continuing about five days in the channel returned to Brest. The nation was at once exasperated and alarmed at this incident. It was the common opinion, that if Torrington had followed the example of the blue squadron, and brought on a close engagement, the enemy must have been defeated; the consequence of which, would in all probability have been fatal to the French, as it was almost impossible for them to have returned to Brest, a very considerable squadron then lying in Plymouth sound. Torrington's conduct was censured by his own admirals, and on his arrival in London, he was sent to the tower.

This defeat though attended with no alarming consequences, furnished the jacobites with matter sufficient for an ungenerous triumph. The people, who see only the surface of things, were seized with the most gloomy apprehensions; a descent on the coast was every day expected; and a general panic was spread over the kingdom. The queen alone seemed unaffected with this unmanly fear; she behaved with admirable spirit and discretion. She made use of every precaution to render any attempt of the enemy abortive. The principal sea-ports were put into a good state of defence: proper orders were issued for refitting the ships and augmenting the navy; the militia of the western counties was embodied; and to strike a greater terror into the domestic enemies of the government, a proclamation was issued for apprehending several disaffected persons, who were either suspected or accused of holding a correspondence with James and his party, for disturbing the internal peace of the kingdom.

Pleased with this prudent and magnanimous conduct in the queen, she received addresses from the city of London and most of the principal counties and corporations in the kingdom, who all declared their resolution of supporting her, her royal consort, and the present government, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. These addresses were very grateful to the queen, who pursued her measures with such prudence and success, that the clamour gradually subsided, and the tongue of envy was hushed to peace. Soon after William had left Ireland, the celebrated earl of Marlborough landed at the head of five thousand men in the neighbourhood of Corke, and being joined by nearly the same number under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg and general Scrivenmore, he undertook to reduce several of the places in Ireland. Success attended all his measures; he took the towns of Corke and Kingsale, which were of the last importance to James on account of their maritime situation;



ation; and the count de Lauzun, who commanded the French troops in Ireland, despairing of James's cause, thought proper to evacuate the kingdom.

The greater part of Europe was now in arms against France; the treaty of Aulburgh, was not sufficient to crush the power of Lewis XIV. The prince of Waldeck, general of the confederates, who had conquered d'Humières at Valcour, was beaten at Fleurus by the marshal de Luxembourg, the pupil and imitator of the great Condé. There now seemed a necessity for all the powers engaged in the alliance to exert themselves in the common cause, or submit to receive a peace dictated by the most ambitious monarch in Europe.

William opened the session of parliament on the second of October with a speech from the throne, in which he informed the assembly, that he had used his utmost endeavours for the reduction of Ireland, in which he had met with great success, and doubted not but he should have finished the arduous task, if the necessary supplies had been granted him in time during the last session. He put them in mind also, that he had asked no revenue for himself, but what he had subjected to be charged for the use of the war; recommended to them the care of clearing his revenue, so as to enable him to subsist, and maintain the charge of the civil government. Then addressing himself to both houses, told them, that he hoped they would proceed in their deliberations with spirit and concord; and that who ever should endeavour to divert their attention from the important subjects he had recommended to them, could neither be his friends, nor the friends of the kingdom.

Both houses of parliament addressed him separately on this speech, in which they congratulated him on his success in Ireland, and on the queen's happy administration during his absence. The commons particularly told him, "That he too freely exposed his invaluable life, on which the whole protestant interest of Europe depended;" and concluded with assuring him, "that they should always be ready to assist him to the utmost of their power: and as the best and truest way of expressing their gratitude, they would endeavour effectually to support his government against all his enemies."

Nor were they long before they carried these assurances into execution: for the very day their address was presented, they voted a supply of four millions for the service of the ensuing year: a larger sum than had ever before been granted by an English parliament to their prince. Among other taxes for raising this prodigious sum, a land-tax of three shillings in the pound was imposed; the excise upon beer and ale was doubled; a duty was laid on all India goods, foreign wrought silks, and several other commodities imported; and a duty was imposed upon new wines and spirits of the first extraction. They also voted that one million should be raised by the forfeited estates in Ireland, and that a bill should be prepared for confiscating these estates, with a clause empowering his majesty to grant one third of them to those who had served in the war: but this bill failed in the house of lords.

A.D. 1691. On the fifth of January, the king, impatient of being in Holland where a congress was appointed to be held by the allies, came to the house of peers, and after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, he put an end to the session with a speech from the throne, wherein he assured both houses, that he entertained the most grateful sense of their liberality and dispatch; that the supplies they had granted should be faithfully employed in the services for which they were allotted: that he would make no grant of the forfeited estates in Ireland, till that affair should be fully settled in parliament, to the satisfaction of all parties. That he hoped they would take care to propagate in their several counties, the same principles of zeal and attachment to his government, which they had so eminently displayed in parliament: and that he trusted the good understanding between

him and his subjects, would be more than sufficient to defeat the designs of their secret foes, and the attempts of their open and avowed enemies.

After putting an end to the session of parliament, the king embarked for Holland on the sixteenth of January, in order to assist at a congress of the confederate princes and states, appointed to be held at the Hague, to concert measures for the defence of the liberties of Europe against the encroachments of France. On his arrival in the capital of the United Provinces, the states general, the states of Holland, the council of state, and other colleges, waited on the king with congratulations on his safe arrival. On the twenty-sixth of January, he made a public entry, and was received with great pomp, and the sincerest expressions of joy. Triumphant arches were erected in the principal streets through which he passed, filled with inscriptions expressing his great and generous actions in defence of public liberty.

The congress was opened soon after his arrival. It consisted of the imperial ministers, those from Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Brandenburg, Saxony, Trier, Mentz, Cologne, the Palatine, Savoy, Zell, Munster, Hesse-Cassel, Wolfenbuttel, Hanover, Holstein Gottorp, Liege, and those from king William. The whole forming one of the most glorious assemblies mentioned in the annals of history, and convened for the noblest purpose, that of opposing the ambitious encroachments of an arbitrary prince, and securing the peace, tranquillity, and liberties of a whole continent.

William opened the congress with a very pathetic speech, in which he displayed, in the most forcible colours, "the imminent danger to which they were at present exposed; plainly demonstrated the impropriety of their former conduct, and the absolute necessity of an immediate change of measures: that this was not the time to deliberate, but to act: that the enemy was already master of the principal fortresses which formed the barrier of the common liberty; and would soon be able to possess himself of all the inferior fortifications, if a spirit of division, selfishness, and irresolution, continued to influence them: that every one ought to consider his own interest as involved in the good of the whole: that the forces of the enemy were numerous and powerful; and, if not prevented, would sweep every thing before them like a torrent: that it was in vain to oppose the pretensions of injustice by unavailing complaints, unprofitable clamour, or fruitless protestations: that not the resolutions of a peaceable diet, nor the hopes of some men of fortune built on a sandy foundation, would be sufficient; but that of powerful armies, bold enterprizes, and a prompt and vigorous execution to accomplish the glorious work: that all these must be instantly employed against the common enemy, if they meant to check his progress, and to snatch from his hands the liberties of Europe, which he was now subjecting to a cruel and heavy yoke." He concluded with assuring them, "That, for his own part, he would neither spare his forces, his credit, nor his own person, to effect so noble a design; but would appear in the spring at the head of his troops, to fulfil faithfully his royal promises."

This speech was received with great applause by the whole assembly, and produced the most happy effect. A resolution was immediately taken to employ two hundred and five thousand men against France, of which the several princes and states were to furnish the following proportions: the king of England, twenty thousand; the emperor, twenty thousand; the king of Spain in Flanders, twenty thousand; the states-general, twenty-five thousand; the duke of Savoy, and the troops of Milan, twenty thousand; the elector of Bavaria, eighteen thousand; the elector of Saxony, twelve thousand; the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, eight thousand; the circles of Suabia and Franconia, ten thousand; the duke of Wirtemberg, six thousand; the elector of Brandenburg, twenty thousand; the elector Palatine, four thousand



thousand; the prince of Liege, six thousand; and the prince of Lunenburg, sixteen thousand. Had these engagements been punctually fulfilled, a final stop would soon have been put to the conquests of France; but this was far from being the case. Few of the princes took any care to send their full quota of troops to the general rendezvous; so that England and Holland were obliged to bear almost the whole expence and burden of the war.

While William was thus nobly opposing the power of France in the Low Countries, his general in Ireland, baron Ginckle, ruined the remains of James's interest in that kingdom. Athlone was taken by storm, and almost under the eye of the Irish army. A decisive battle was fought at Atrim, where the catholic forces were totally routed; and Tyrconnel, the principal friend of James, was so affected with that fatal misfortune, that he died of grief. The taking of Limerick crowned the success of Ginckle. He granted the inhabitants an honourable capitulation, in which all the other places that had not yet submitted were comprehended. It was declared, that whoever should acknowledge the authority of William and Mary, a few persons only excepted, should be restored to their fortunes, privileges and immunities, and enjoy the protection of the laws; that each person should have liberty to retire, with his family and effects, into any other country except England or Scotland; that such as chose this alternative, should be provided with carriages and transport vessels; that the Roman catholics should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, as far as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and in the same manner they had enjoyed it in the reign of Charles II. Whether the protestants were satisfied with this treaty is not absolutely known; but Ginckle was ordered to put an end to the war; and his expedition was so much the more glorious, as Lewis XIV. had sent a reinforcement of troops, and large quantities of ammunition and provisions, to Limerick. But notwithstanding the amnesty and liberty of conscience, above twelve thousand Irish chose rather to banish themselves, than submit to the government. France was the kingdom they chose for their retreat, and where they were thanked by James for their fidelity. It would have been more to his honour, and, perhaps, to his advantage, had he put himself at their head, and supported the declining state of a kingdom so firmly attached to his service.

William returned to England in the month of April, and exerted all his abilities in restoring peace to his kingdom, which had been greatly disturbed during his absence by the secret practices of the malecontents. A conspiracy had been formed for restoring James, and several persons apprehended just as they were going to sail for France. This rendered the plot abortive. The king having thus put an end to a contrivance that seemed to threaten the peace of England, embarked for Holland on the second of May, in order to put himself at the head of the confederate army.

The French had taken the field much sooner than the allies. Luxemburg, with an army of forty thousand men, was advancing to besiege Brussels; while the marquis de Boufflers, with another army, sat down before Liege. William lost no time in putting himself at the head of the allied army, and soon rendered both enterprizes abortive. The French were obliged to raise the siege of both places almost as soon as the trenches were opened. He endeavoured to bring Luxemburg to an engagement; but in this he was disappointed; that general was unwilling to engage an army greatly superior to his own; and the campaign ended in Flanders without any considerable advantage being gained on either side.

On the nineteenth of October, William landed in England from the continent; and on the twenty-second opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, wherein he informed both houses,

"That he hoped the success his forces had met with in Ireland would be a powerful inducement to their assisting him with fresh supplies. He recommended the keeping a strong fleet at sea, and an army of sixty-five thousand men ashore, that they might annoy the enemy in the most sensible part; adding, that they had now an opportunity of establishing their future quiet and prosperity on a firm foundation; an opportunity which, if now neglected, might never return."

The parliament congratulated William on his success, and declared their readiness to support him in the necessary war in which he was engaged against France. They also thanked general Ginckle for his services, and the king created him earl of Athlone. But in the promise given by the parliament, there was, in general, more flattery than sincerity. A secret discontent was every day gaining ground in the kingdom. The idea of keeping on foot an army of sixty thousand men alarmed the people. It was thought very strange, that a greater number of troops should now be thought necessary than in times of the greatest danger: it was even insinuated, that so numerous an army might be employed to establish the throne of despotism on the ruins of the people's liberties. They complained, that they bore the whole burden of the war without reaping any of the profits. The most mortifying reflections were thrown out on the conduct of the ministry and the character of the king. He was charged with ill-nature and ingratitude, chiefly on account of the earl of Marlborough, who, instead of being rewarded for his services, was disgraced. He was also accused of employing corruption in electing members to serve in parliament. The Jacobites exaggerated all these grievances; and the Whigs, who had sufficient reason to complain, were not more tender with regard to the reputation of the ministers. These reflections, however, produced no alarming consequences; the commons voted upwards of a million and a half for the service of the navy and ordnance, and above two millions for the service of the land forces.

A. D. 1692. The funds for the year being at last settled, the king came to the house of peers on the twenty-fourth of February; and, after giving the royal assent to the bills that were ready, closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked his parliament for the zeal and attachment they had shewn for his government, and the liberality and dispatch with which they had provided for the necessities of the state; adding, that he intended speedily to pass over to the continent, in order to head the allied army in person.

Scotland, during these transactions, was greatly agitated. William, ever since the commencement of his reign, had treated the presbyterians with great respect; but that fiery sect soon displeased him by their strange conduct. He changed his opinion, and conferred his favours wholly on the friends of episcopacy. These, in their turn, abused the credit they had obtained over a people whom they hated. Their behaviour enraged the presbyterians, and the dissolution of their assembly was considered as an act of tyranny. They, however, continued their meetings, though express orders had been sent from the king to the contrary, and became the implacable censors of government. William had, indeed, given them reason for complaint, by massacring a number of the Scots highlanders, though Macdonald, their chief, had taken the oaths to the government. An enemy of that leader had represented him at court as an obstinate rebel. Possibly the king was a stranger to his submission, and a cruel order was as cruelly executed. Part of the inhabitants of the valley of Glencow was also put to the sword, their houses burnt, their cattle carried off, and their wives and children left without support amidst their native snow. Thus the few whom the sword had spared fell victims to cold and hunger. This cruel execution occasioned such heavy complaints, that the king ordered the



authors and abettors of it to be impeached. He declared he was ignorant of the contents of an order signed by his own hand. Terror only restrained the Scots highlanders from taking a severe revenge: they mourned in silence the loss of their friends, who merited a much better fate, but were never thoroughly friends to William's government.

Soon after the king's departure for Holland, Lewis XIV. engaged with the Jacobites in England to make another effort for restoring James to his throne. An invasion was projected, and it was agreed that the troops should be landed on the coast of Suffex. So much precaution had been taken in France in carrying on the necessary preparations, that every thing was ready for executing the design before it was so much as suspected in England. The land forces consisted of four battalions of English and Irish troops, and about nine thousand French, commanded by the marshal de Belfondes; so that the whole amounted to twenty thousand men. A fleet of three hundred transports was collected, and provided with every thing necessary for the invasion. The troops were ready to embark, and waited only the arrival of the count d'Etrees with a squadron of twelve men of war, appointed to escort the transports; while Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet.

James sent over colonel Parker about the beginning of the year, to give his friends intelligence of his design. Parker, not content with executing his commission, formed a plot with one Johnson for assassinating king William; but before an opportunity offered for executing their barbarous design, the king embarked for Holland, which rendered the whole abortive.

Soon after the king's departure, James sent over a printed declaration, dated at St. Germain's; in which he openly avowed his intentions of using all the means in his power to recover the throne of his ancestors; and boasted of having obtained assistance from France sufficient, he hoped, to render the attempt successful. At the same time he exhorted all his faithful subjects to continue in their fidelity. He offered pardon and rewards to all the prince of Orange's soldiers, and others who should think proper to join him; and even proceeded so far as to except by name from this indemnity no less than thirteen noblemen, two bishops, seven barons, and a great number of the clergy and gentry. This declaration was ordered to be published as soon as the troops were ready to be embarked.

Parker and his agents were, in the mean time, busily employed in enlisting men privately in the northern counties; while Fontaine, as lieutenant-colonel to lord Montgomery and colonel Holman, employed themselves in forming two regiments of horse in London, ready to join James on his landing. But their zeal for the service of their master carried them too far. Persuaded that every person in the kingdom who was not a zealous friend to the established government would readily join in an attempt to overturn it, they made no difficulty of applying to all who had shewn the least dissatisfaction at the public measures. Rear admiral Carter was known to have strenuously defended the rights of the people, and on this foundation only they made application to him as a friend to the dethroned monarch. Their bigotted prejudices prevented them from reflecting, that he who was a true friend to liberty, must be an enemy to James, and every other prince who laboured to establish his throne on the ruins of English freedom. Carter immediately informed the queen and council of the offers that had been made him by Fontaine and Holman. Alarmed at this discovery, and desirous of procuring the necessary information, Carter was desired to continue his correspondence with the conspirators, and pretend an inclination of joining them. He fully performed the request of the council; and the conspirators, who exulted in having gained over to their interest so able an officer, made

him acquainted with all their secrets. They immediately dispatched an express to lord Melfort, James's secretary, informing him of their success in corrupting Carter, who would take care to bring over all the officers of his squadron. At the same time, they desired he would press the king of France to send peremptory orders to Tourville to sail directly, without waiting for d'Etrees. This proved the destruction of the whole scheme. James repaired to La Hogue, on the coast of Normandy, where the troops were ready to embark, and Tourville was ordered to sail immediately.

The manifesto of James was now published, in which the severities of the prince of Orange's government, the enormous expences to which he had put the nation, were enumerated, and the people invited to return to the allegiance of their native prince. He promised to protect the church of England, to establish an entire liberty of conscience, to make trade and navigation flourish, to redress all the grievances, and to confirm the happiness of the nation. These fine promises were not, however, sufficient to efface the remembrance of the many grievances which had forced the people to drive him from the throne. Whatever discontents might prevail in England, the animosity against James was much stronger than the murmurs against his rival.

This declaration was hardly published, before the Dutch fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line, under the command of admiral Allemonde, joined the English at St. Helen's; and admiral Russel, who commanded in chief, received orders to put to sea immediately. The trained bands of London and Westminster, amounting to about ten thousand men, were drawn up in Hyde Park, and reviewed by the queen in person.

On the eighteenth of May, admiral Russel left St. Helen's, and stood over towards the coast of France. About three the next morning, the scouts, to the westward of the fleet, made the signal for discovering the enemy, and orders were immediately given for forming the line of battle. This was soon effected, and the whole fleet stood towards the enemy in the following order. The Dutch squadron formed the van; the red squadron the center; and the blue squadron the rear. The French admiral was astonished when he saw the combined fleets of England and Holland. He had received no advice of this junction, and flattered himself with being able to defeat the English, unassisted by their ally. He might, however, have declined an engagement; but having received positive orders to fight the enemy, he resolved to obey, and exert all his endeavours to execute the commands of his master, in the manner becoming a good officer and an intrepid seaman.

The combined fleet consisted of ninety-nine ships of the line, and the French only sixty-three. About half an hour after eleven, Tourville, in the Royal Sun, a ship of one hundred and ten guns, brought to, began the fight with admiral Russel, and continued the engagement about an hour and a-half, when he began to tow off in great disorder, his rigging, sails and top-sail yards being very much damaged.

Hitherto the wind had been westerly, but it now flew about to the north-west; and soon after, five ships of the enemy posted themselves, three a-head, and two a-stern of their admiral, and continued firing very smartly till about three o'clock; so that Russel and his two seconds, Churchill and Aylmer, had six or seven ships upon them at once. About four a thick fog came up, and the firing on both sides ceased; but it clearing up in a little time, the French admiral was discovered towing away to the northward, and Russel ordered all the ships of his division to do the like. A small breeze from the eastward now sprung up, and the signal was immediately made for chasing. About this time a continued firing was heard to the westward; and it soon appeared that Sir Cloudesty Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, having got to windward of Tourville's

squadron,



squadron, had attacked their admiral of the blue. After the engagement had continued for some time, the ships of both squadrons came to an anchor. In the mean time, admiral Ruffel ordered all the ships of his division to stand to the westward during the night, from a persuasion that the French would do all in their power to escape to Brest. He was not mistaken; for in the morning he found himself much nearer to the enemy than those who had come to an anchor. About eight at night a firing was heard to the westward, and continued about half an hour; part of the English blue squadron having fallen in with some ships of the enemy during the fog; and in that dispute rear-admiral Carter was slain. Finding his last moments were at hand, he begged his captain to fight this ship as long as she would swim; a sufficient proof that there was not the least reason to suspect his zeal for the service of his country.

The fog continued during the whole night, with very little wind; and in the morning it was so hazy, that very few of the enemy's ships could be seen; but the weather clearing up about eight, the Dutch, who were at some distance to the southward, made the signal for seeing the French fleet, and soon after, thirty-four sail were discovered about two or three leagues distant to the south-west, the wind being then at north-east. The English now crowded all the sail possible; and between eleven and twelve the wind came about to the south-west, when the French stood away to the westward, and the English after them. About eleven the next day the Royal Sun ran ashore, while two other large ships of the enemy stood as near her as possible. Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, was now ordered to destroy the Royal Sun, while the rest of the fleet continued their pursuit of the enemy. This service he effectually performed, and the finest ship in the French navy was reduced to ashes.

About four in the afternoon, eighteen of the French ships which had reached Cape Barfleur, haled in for La Hogue, and came to an anchor close under the shore. The next day Ruffel ordered Mr. Rooke, vice-admiral of the blue, with his squadron, the fire-ships, and all the boats of the fleet, to stand in and destroy those ships. He obeyed his orders, and burnt thirteen men of war, several transports, and some small vessels, loaded with ammunition.

In this famous engagement two ships of one hundred and four guns, one of ninety, two of eighty, four of seventy-six, four of sixty, and two of fifty-six guns, belonging to the enemy, were destroyed. James saw this destruction, and was so sensibly affected by the misfortune, that, in a letter he wrote to the king of France on this occasion, he begged he would leave him to his fate. "I have hitherto (said he) supported, with some constancy and resolution, the weight of my misfortunes, while I myself was the only sufferer; but this disaster has overwhelmed me with grief, and left me no room for comfort. I know too well that my own unlucky star has drawn this misfortune upon your forces, always victorious but when they fought for my interest, and therefore I no longer merit the support of so great a monarch. Let me therefore intreat your majesty to concern yourself no longer for a prince so dreadfully unfortunate; but permit me to retire, with my family, to some corner of the world, where I may cease to obstruct the course of your majesty's successes and conquests, and where it will be the greatest of my consolations to hear of the quick return of your majesty's wonted triumphs, both by sea and land, over both your enemies and mine. This, I doubt not, will soon be the case, when my interest shall be no longer intermixed with yours." Lewis endeavoured to alleviate his afflictions by every method in his power. He wrote him an answer, filled with the kindest expressions, and promised never to forsake him in his misfortunes.

The queen was no sooner informed of this victory, than she sent thirty thousand pounds to Portsmouth,

in order to its being distributed among the sailors; ordered medals to be struck for the officers; and caused the bodies of admiral Carter and colonel Hastings, who had fallen in the engagement, to be honourably interred. The French, in their turn, were threatened with an invasion, and about seven thousand men embarked on board the fleet for that purpose. Great expectations were formed with regard to this expedition; but the advanced season of the year was thought a sufficient reason for laying it aside, and the troops were sent over to serve in Flanders.

But if Lewis was unfortunate at sea, it was different with regard to his army in the Low Countries. He took Namur in person. The marshal de Luxembourg, who covered the siege, conducted the whole with such address, that William, at the head of a numerous and powerful army, could neither pass the Maes, nor throw any succours into that important place. Luxembourg, though then extremely ill, gained a victory over him, some time after, at Steinkirk; but William found inexhaustible resources in his genius. He kept the field as if he had not been conquered, and the joy which this victory occasioned in France was a kind of triumph for him. It is often as glorious to repair the misfortunes of a defeat, as to gain a victory. About this time a conspiracy, formed against the life of king William, was discovered. The whole was attributed to the French minister, and, indeed, with sufficient reason.

The English malecontents were greatly dissatisfied with the affairs on the continent. They thought not so much of the propriety of opposing a monarch who was the common disturber of Europe, as of the consequences of a war, which would at last beggar and depopulate the kingdom. The king (said they) is sacrificing the state to foreigners. The interest and necessities of the English affect him much less than the advantages of the Dutch; imprisonments and illegal violences make the former feel all the weight of despotism; the ministry pay no regard to the laws, or to public liberty; each prefers his own interest to that of his country; and even those evils will only prove a prelude to greater, unless a speedy remedy be applied." It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that the principles of the nation were greatly altered. Meannets rose to affluence, affluence led to luxury, and luxury to corruption. The scandalous practice of purchasing votes in parliament had grown common, and the disorder spread with rapidity. So that the spirit of party, which exaggerates every thing, had an ample field for the exercise of its malignancy. William accordingly, on his return from Holland, found the affairs of the kingdom in a greater ferment than ever. The most violent debates were carried on in the house of lords, on account of the imprisonment of certain peers; and it was resolved that the judges, and others, who had caused the prisoners to be arrested for high-treason, ought, according to the act of habeas corpus, to have admitted them to bail, unless two witnesses were ready to declare upon oath, that they were really guilty; but these they could not produce. Alarmed at the ferment, and dreading the consequences, William immediately set the prisoners at liberty. On the other hand, the commons entered into inquiries, why the victory at sea had not been pursued? Why the intended descent had been laid aside? and why proper care had not been taken to cover the trade, by having convoys stationed at proper places? They also deliberated on presenting a remonstrance to the king on different subjects; but the influence of the ordinary means of corruption soon put an end to the design, and induced them to grant large and extravagant supplies. Two millions were destined for the navy, and more than three for the army and the continental war. They voted fifty-four thousand men, of whom twenty thousand were to remain in the kingdom, for its defence. Estates real and personal, except the pay of military officers, were taxed at the rate of four shillings in the pound.



pound. The lords added a clause to the bill, implying, that they had taxed themselves. This gave offence to the commons, who affirmed it to be a violation of the right they possessed in all regulations of parliamentary supplies. The lords gave up the dispute, but declared they did it only in consideration of the urgent necessities of the state. But notwithstanding the almost servile compliance of the parliament, some measures were attempted contrary to the views of the court. It was proposed to annihilate the East-India Company, which was charged with great abuses; and to pass an act to render parliaments triennial, in order to prevent bribery and corruption at elections. But the ministry had sufficient influence and address to render these designs abortive.

A. D. 1693. On the thirty-first of March, the king embarked at Gravesend, and landed safely at the Maese on the second of April. He soon after put himself at the head of the allied army, and advanced against the enemy. Luxembourg surprized and attacked him at Nerwind with a superior army. The king lost not a moment. He drew up his forces in order of battle, exposed himself to every kind of danger, but was obliged at last to give way to the numbers of the enemy. Though vanquished, he made a glorious retreat, and was still respectable. Nor did the French reap any other advantage from their victory than that of making themselves masters of Charleroy. William was thought to have gained more real honour in the battle of Nerwind than when he triumphed at the Boyne. His very enemies were charmed with his conduct. It was a common saying in the French camp, that "they wanted only such a king to make themselves masters of Christendom." The prince of Conti, in a letter he wrote to his comfort, used the following expression: "I saw the king exposing himself to the greatest dangers; and surely so much valour very well deserves the peaceable possession of the crown he wears." The king of France himself is reported to have said, "That Luxembourg's behaviour was like that of the prince of Conti, but William's like that of marshal Turenne."

Germany and Piedmont were also at the same time the theatres of war. The Palatinate was inhumanly ravaged by the duke of Lorges. The duke of Savoy, who, the preceding year, had spread desolation through Dauphiny, was defeated near Marseilles by Catinat. But Lewis XIV. notwithstanding so many victories, found enemies in every quarter, capable of making the strongest resistance. The dreadful scourge of war, after strewing the plains with the bodies of the dead, frequently leaves nothing more behind than vain exultations on the side of the victor. The more dreadful scourge of famine followed that of war. Two harvests had failed, and the vintage had suffered greatly; so that the French had neither bread nor wine. The utmost diligence was used to import corn from other countries; and the famous Dubart seasonably purchased large quantities both in Sweden and Denmark, conveying it safely into the harbours of France.

The affairs at sea were not advantageous to England. The French had, in some measure, repaired their losses at La Hogue, and the commerce of the allies suffered greatly. The English and Dutch fleets were, indeed, very strong, and sailed early. The admirals were not at first restrained by any particular instructions, but ordered in general to destroy the ships of the enemy, and protect the trade; but they afterwards received particular instructions with regard to a large fleet of near four hundred sail of merchant ships belonging to England, Holland, and Hamburg. After several councils held on this occasion, it was determined that the whole fleet, together with the Mediterranean squadron, should proceed together thirty leagues west-south-west from Ushant; when Sir George Rooke, who was appointed to command the squadron destined to convoy them, was to proceed with them towards the ports to which

they were bound. Accordingly Sir George, with all the Turkey ships, left the main body of the fleet on the sixth of June; and steering for the Straights, left by the way the vessels bound for Bilbao, Lisbon, St. Ubes, and other ports. When he was within sixty leagues of Cape St. Vincent, he discovered part of the French fleet; on which he immediately called a council of war, where it was resolved, that as the wind was northerly, and a fresh gale, the merchant ships should make the best of their way to Cadiz. This resolution was hardly taken, before the whole fleet of the enemy, consisting of eighty sail, under the command of Tourville, was discovered. Rooke was persuaded there was now no time to retreat; but Vandergoes, the Dutch vice-admiral, informed him, that he chose to avoid an engagement, which he thought extremely hazardous. Rooke therefore followed his advice, and they both stood off with an easy sail, that the heavy ships might work up to windward. At the same time, the Sheerness was dispatched with orders to the small ships, near the land, to endeavour to keep close under the shore during the night, and take shelter in Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz. About six in the evening, the van of the enemy came up with the sternmost of the confederate fleet, consisting of three Dutch men of war. These bravely fought, first eleven, and then seven of the enemy's ships, for five hours together. They had the good fortune to clear themselves from the former; but were obliged to submit to the latter, after making a most obstinate resistance. The Dutch merchant ships immediately tacked and stood in for the shore, and the enemy after them. Rooke stood off to sea during the night; and the next morning fifty-four of the merchant ships, and several men of war, were about him; but no more than two of the latter belonged to the Dutch. Five sail of the enemy's ships were seen to leeward, and two to windward; the latter kept in sight of him till it was night. The next day the admiral called a council of war, where it was determined to sail directly to the Madeiras, in order to procure water, and thence either to Cork or Kingale. This resolution was accordingly executed, and Sir George conducted that part of the fleet back to Ireland in safety.

Had the enemy pursued their first advantage with the same conduct and resolution, hardly a ship could have escaped; for when the Dutch tacked and stood in for the shore, the van of the French were within cannon-shot of the English admiral; but their tacking after the Dutch gave the other part of the fleet an opportunity of escaping. The loss was, however, very considerable, and fell chiefly on the Hollanders, who lost on this occasion above eighty sail of merchant ships, and three men of war. The English lost only one man of war, and about five merchant-men.

About the latter end of October, the king returned to England; and on the seventh of November, opened the session of parliament with the following speech from the throne.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am always glad to meet you here; and I could heartily wish that our satisfaction were not lessened at present by reflecting upon the disadvantages we have received this year at land, and the miscarriages in our affairs at sea. I think it is evident, that the former were only occasioned by the great number of our enemies, which exceeded ours in all places. For what relates to the latter, which reflects so great disgrace upon the nation, I have repented it extremely; and as I will take care that those who have not done their duty shall be punished, so I am resolved to use my utmost endeavours, that our power at sea may be rightly managed for the future: and it will well deserve your consideration, whether we are not defective, both in the number of our shipping, and in proper ports to the westward, for the better annoying our enemies, and protecting our trade, which is so essential to the welfare of these kingdoms.

"My



"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am very sensible of the good affection wherewith you have always assisted me to support the charges of the war, which have been very great; and yet I am persuaded that the experience of this summer is sufficient to convince us all, that, to arrive at a good end of it, there will be a necessity of increasing our forces, both by sea and land, the next year. Our allies have resolved to add to theirs; and I will not doubt, that you will have such regard to the present exigence, as that you will give me a suitable supply to enable me to do the like. I must therefore earnestly recommend it to you, gentlemen of the house of commons, to take such timely resolutions, as that your supplies may be effectual, and our preparations so forward, as will be necessary both for the honour and security of the nation."

The commons in answer to this speech, unanimously declared they would support his majesty and his government, and grant sufficient supply for the vigorous prosecution of the war. But before they proceeded to take the supplies into consideration, they began an enquiry into causes of the miscarriage of the fleet during the last summer, and the best methods for securing the trade of the nation. But the enquiring into the miscarriage of the fleet was attended with no discoveries; a mismanagement appeared some where; but it was found impossible to fix it on any individuals.

This enquiry being finished, the commons proceeded to deliberate on the supplies, and voted, that five hundred thousand pounds be raised towards discharging the wages due to the seamen; and that a farther sum of two millions be granted to their majesties for the maintenance of the fleet, including the ordnance: that the number of forces in their majesties pay be increased to fix new regiments of English dragoons, and fifteen new regiments of English foot: that eighty-three thousand one hundred and twenty-one men, including commission and non-commission officers, were necessary for the service of the ensuing year, to be employed in England and beyond the seas: and that the sum of two millions, five hundred thirty-five thousand, five hundred and ninety pounds be granted for the maintenance of the land forces. They also voted one hundred and eighteen thousand pounds to make good the annuity deficiency; and two hundred ninety-six thousand six hundred and ninety-two pounds to make good the deficiency of the poll-bill. Thus the supplies voted for the service of the ensuing year, amounted to near five millions and a half, and were raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound; by an increase of annuities; a farther excise on beer, and a duty on salt.

After finishing these votes, the commons passed a bill for rendering all members of their house incapable of trust and profit. This bill also passed the upper house, and lay ready for the royal assent; but when the king came to the house of peers to pass the land-tax bill, he thought proper to refuse it. This refusal alarmed the commons: the whole house was turned into a committee on the state of the nation, and it was resolved, "That whoever advised the king not to give the royal assent to the act which was to redress a grievance, and take off a scandal from the commons in parliament, is an enemy to their majesties and the kingdom; and that a representation be made to the king to lay before him how few instances have been, in former reigns, of denying the royal assent to bills for the redress of grievances; and the grief of the commons for his not having given the royal assent to several public bills, and in particular to this bill, which tends so much to clear the reputation of this house, after having voted so freely to supply the public occasions."

These resolutions being formed into a representation, it was presented by the whole house to the king, who was pleased to make the following answer:

"Gentlemen,

"I am very sensible of the good offices you have expressed for me on many occasions; and the zeal you have shewn for our common interest; I shall make use of this opportunity to tell you, that no prince ever had a higher esteem for the constitution of the English government, than myself; and that I shall ever have a great regard for the advice of parliament.

"I am persuaded that nothing can so much conduce to the welfare of this kingdom, as an entire confidence between the king and people, which I shall by all means endeavour to preserve; and I assure you I shall look upon such persons as my enemies, who shall advise any thing that may lessen it."

This answer, however kind, was not thought sufficient by many of the members of the house of commons; and a motion was made, "that application be made to the king for a farther answer." This occasioned a very warm debate; but the question being put, it passed in the negative.

Another bill for naturalizing foreign protestants, engaged the attention of the public. It was represented on one hand, that the ravages of war, the depopulation of the kingdom, the decay of agriculture, the wealth and industry of the refugees, already established in England, the prospect of increasing their numbers, and thereby giving subjects to the state, and fresh resources to commerce and manufactures, were considered as objects of the last importance, and urged in behalf of the bill. On the other hand it was alledged, that foreigners engaged in the manufactures of the English, would infallibly be of great prejudice to them; that after amassing fortunes at their expence, they would leave the kingdom, and return with their riches to their native country; that numbers of artificers were starving for want of employment, and that the evil instead of being lessened would be increased by this measure. In short, to admit so many non-conformists into the number of natural born subjects, was to expose the church of England to danger which should be avoided. The last observation was urged with great warmth, and prevailed with many who considered the church and state as a prey to foreigners. Popular prejudices are often formidable. The court party saw the difficulty, and despairing of success, withdrew the bill till a more favourable opportunity.

While the parliament were employed in settling the supplies, captain Bombow bombarded St. Maloes four days together, but with no remarkable success. The engineer in this expedition had prepared a fire-ship of a new construction, which was intended to be laid as close to the walls as possible, and there set on fire, the explosion of which it was imagined would have produced very great effects. But in conducting her to the place intended, she ran on a rock; and the engineer perceiving it would now be impossible to execute the design, set her on fire. The explosion was prodigious; all the windows in St. Maloes were broken, the roofs of several houses torn off, and the earth trembled for three miles round. Had she been carried close to the walls as intended, and there set on fire, great part of the town must have been destroyed.

A.D. 1694. About the latter end of February advice arrived, that a fleet of merchant ships, under a convoy of men of war, commanded by Sir Francis Wheeler, having sailed from Gibraltar up the Streights, met with a most violent storm, which continued the whole day and the succeeding night, and occasioned the most melancholy misfortune. The *Suffex*, the ship on board of which Sir Francis carried his flag, foundered, and he himself with his whole crew, except two Moors, perished; the *Cambridge* and *Lumley-castle* men of war, the *Serpent* bomb-ketch, and the *Mary* ketch, together with six merchantmen, were driven ashore, to the eastward of Gibraltar, and

most



most of their men lost. The same fate attended three Dutch ships richly laden; but rear-admiral Nevill, and three Dutch men of war, had the good fortune to escape into Cadiz.

On the twenty-fifth of April, the money bills being all passed, and the king desirous of opening the campaign early, came to the house of peers, and put an end to the session with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty thanked them for the zeal they had expressed for the government, and for the large supplies they had granted; promised to do his part towards rendering the efforts against the common enemy successful, and intreated them to be careful to preserve the public peace during his absence.

The confederate fleet sailed early in the spring; but they were neither able to block up the French in Brest, nor to bring them to a general engagement at sea. They industriously avoided a battle: the defeat at La Hogue was not yet forgotten; another such misfortune would have almost annihilated their maritime power. They sailed from Brest before the English appeared, and continued their course to the Mediterranean; Lewis having formed very dangerous designs against Spain. William knew this, and gave orders to admiral Russel to follow them; but being informed that a fleet of French merchantmen was lying in Bertram-bay bound to the westward, the admiral detached captain Pickard and the Roebuck fire-ship to take or destroy them. He executed his orders with success: the fleet consisted of fifty-five sail, of which he burnt or sunk thirty-five, and drove their convoy among the rocks, where she was set on fire, and soon after blew up. Two armed sloops that attended her were also destroyed.

A project for destroying Brest had been for some time concerted, and an attempt was now made for carrying it into execution. The land forces were commanded by lieutenant-general Talmash; and on the fifth of June, lord Berkeley, admiral of the blue squadron, parted from admiral Russel, with twenty-nine men of war of the line, besides small frigates, bomb-ketches, fire-ships and transports. On the seventh he came to an anchor between Bertram-bay and Camaret, a small neck of land in the mouth of the river of Brest.

On the eighth it was resolved that eight ships of the line should enter the bay in order to cover the landing of the troops, and, if possible, to silence the batteries of the enemy. The marquis of Carmarthen, who commanded this squadron, was no sooner within reach of the enemy's mortars, than they began to play upon them with the utmost fury from the point de Filettes and the western point of Camaret. Three batteries more were now opened upon them, situated in different parts of the bay. But notwithstanding all this opposition, the marquis posted the ships in such a manner, that they gave great assistance to the land forces, and silenced some of the batteries.

While the ships were thus playing upon the enemy, Talmash landed at the head of about nine hundred men, under a little rock on the south side of a small bay, where they were immediately charged with so much vigour by the French marines, that they were obliged to retire to their boats in great confusion. But it happening to be ebb tide, most of their boats were fast aground, so that the greater part of the men were either killed or taken prisoners. Among the rest the brave Talmash was mortally wounded. The rest of the boats escaped to the ships; and the marquis, perceiving it was impossible to succeed, stood out of the bay, with the loss of the Wesep, a small Dutch man of war, and four hundred men. Of the forces that landed near four hundred were either killed or taken prisoners, and about the same number desperately wounded. Such was the consequence of an expedition which had no chance of succeeding. The secret had not been kept, and the French had time sufficient to take measures abundantly sufficient

to render the attempt abortive had nine thousand instead of nine hundred men been landed.

The campaign in Flanders was marked with no event of consequence. The allies endeavoured to penetrate into the French territories but were prevented by Luxembourg, who posted his army in such a manner, that William, despairing of success, invested Huy, which soon surrendered. The advantage was, however, on the side of the allies, and many entertained thoughts that the French would now be willing to make a peace upon equitable terms. They were mistaken; Lewis was not yet sufficiently humbled to give peace to Europe.

The king being returned to England, he opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, in which he informed them, that though no great advantage had been gained, a stop had been put to the progress of the French arms; that having had so much experience of their affections and their zeal for the public, he could not doubt of their being willing to assist him with supplies sufficient for carrying on the war with vigour, the only means of obtaining a safe and honourable peace. He concluded with earnestly recommending a bill for the encouragement of seamen. "You must be sensible," said he, "how much a law of this nature would tend to the advancement of trade, and of the naval strength of this kingdom; which is our great interest, and ought to be our principal care."

The parliament made no difficulty of complying with the king's request. The supplies, which amounted to near five millions were readily granted. But at the same time the commons brought in a bill for the more frequent calling of parliaments. This bill went hand in hand with those for the supply, and having passed both houses, received the royal assent on the twenty-second of December. By this bill it was enacted that a new parliament should be called every third year, and that the present parliament should be dissolved before the end of the succeeding year. The passing of this bill gave great joy to the people. They were persuaded that the manner of procuring votes at elections by bribery and corruption would now be laid aside; and that the commons would recover at once their strength and reputation.

The very day this bill was brought into parliament, Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature, sincerely lamented by all who esteemed piety and virtue. He was a person of great judgment, clear understanding, and a tender and compassionate heart: a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and forgiving enemy. Without affectation, bigotry, or superstition, he was truly religious. His notions of morality were at once excellent and sublime. His reasoning was clear, easy and solid. He enforced the precepts of the gospel, in pure and elegant language. His sermons were so greatly admired that they were esteemed the best examples of sacred declamation in any language; nor have they yet lost their esteem.

Both the king and queen were greatly affected at the death of this pious prelate. The queen for several days mentioned him in the tenderest manner, and never without tears. He died so poor, that if the king had not given up his first-fruits, his debts could not have been paid. He was too charitable to acquire riches, and the only legacy he left to his family was his works. Dr. Tennison, bishop of Lincoln, was judged the most proper to supply his place, and he was accordingly translated to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

The queen herself did not long survive her favourite prelate. She was taken ill about a month after his death. She was seized with the small-pox on the twenty-first of December, and died on the twenty-eighth, in the thirty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign. She was an excellent princess, and adorned with most of the virtues that render the sex amiable. Her charity was very extensive, but

entirely



entirely void of ostentation; and her example of conjugal fondness was greatly superior to what is generally found in her exalted station. The nation testified their loss by their tears; for the queen was universally lamented.

Sensible that his majesty's interest was greatly weakened by the death of the queen, both houses of parliament attended on his majesty with their address of condolence, on the thirty-first of December: that of the lords was as follows.

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, do with inexpressible grief humbly assure your majesty of the deep sense we have of the loss your majesty, and the whole kingdom, doth sustain, by the death of that excellent princess, our sovereign lady the queen; most humbly beseeching your majesty that you would not indulge your grief upon this sad occasion, to the prejudice of the health of your royal person; in whose preservation, not only the welfare of your own subjects, but of all christendom, is so much concerned. We farther beg leave on this sad occasion, humbly to renew to your majesty the hearty and sincere assurances of our utmost assistance against all our enemies both at home and abroad, and of all other demonstrations of the greatest duty and affection, that can possibly be paid by the most faithful subjects."

The king returned a very gracious answer, which was couched in the following terms: "I heartily thank you for your kindness to me, but much more for the sense you shew of our great loss, which is above what I can express." The whole nation followed the example of the two houses of parliament, and consolatory addresses were presented to the king from all quarters of the kingdom. The princess of Denmark, who had for some time been refused admittance to her sister, wrote the following letter to the king on this mournful occasion.

"Sir,

"I beg your majesty's favourable acceptance of my sincere and hearty sorrow for your great affliction

in the loss of the queen; and I do assure your majesty I am as sensibly touched with this sad misfortune, as if I had never been so unfortunate as to have fallen under her displeasure. It is my earnest desire your majesty would give me leave to wait upon you, as soon as it can be without inconvenience to you, and without danger of increasing your affliction; that I may have an opportunity myself, not only of repeating this, but of assuring your majesty of my real intentions to omit no occasion of giving you constant proofs of my sincere respect and concern for your person and interest, as becomes duty."

Sir,

Your majesty's sister,  
and servant,

ANNE."

This letter produced the desired effect. Pleased with discovering that the princess was forming no party against him, he listened to the instances of the earl of Sunderland, who brought about a reconciliation between them. The princess waited upon the king at Kensington, and was received with the strongest marks of esteem. St. James's palace was appointed for her residence, and the king made her a present of the greatest part of the late queen's jewels. But though a reconciliation took place, it was without friendship; a political regard only subsisted between them.

A. D. 1685. The queen, after lying in state at Whitehall, was interred with great solemnity in Westminster-abbey. Not only her majesty's household, but all the judges, serjeants at law, the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and, which raised the mournful pomp to the highest pitch of splendor, both houses of parliament attended the royal corpse to the abbey, where a funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury.

## W I L L I A M III. alone.

A. D. 1695. THE enemies of the government ungenerously took advantage of the death of queen Mary for distressing their country. The earl of Rochester proposed a doubt in the house of lords with regard to the legality of the present parliament. This doubt was certainly very ill founded: because the calling of a parliament is part of the executive power, which had been lodged in the king by the act of settlement. Had this objection been deemed of force sufficient to have procured the dissolution of the present parliament, the consequence might have been fatal to the liberties of Europe, as all the preparations for opening the ensuing campaign must have been suspended till a new parliament could have been assembled. But the observation was happily thought too frivolous by the house that it was not seconded.

The commons now applied themselves to the discovery of ways and means for raising the supplies; but were soon stopped in their progress by the discovery of an alarming scene of bribery and corruption; in which not only the agents of the army, and some members of parliament, but even the privy-counsellors themselves, were deeply concerned. The enquiry into these corrupt practices was as accidental

as it was necessary. It was occasioned by the just complaints of some inhabitants of Royton, in Hertfordshire, against the abuses of officers and soldiers in demanding subsistence-money. Their petition being laid before the house of commons, and the petitioners, together with Mr. Tracy Pauncefort, agent of colonel Hastings's regiment, and the officers complained of being heard and examined, it was unanimously resolved, "That the officers and soldiers of the army demanding and exacting subsistence money in their quarters, or on their march, is arbitrary and illegal, and a great violation of the rights and liberties of the subject;" and it was ordered, "That the commissioners for taking and stating the public accounts do lay before the house their observations of the abuses and ill practices committed by the agents of the army; and that agent Pauncefort should forthwith lay before the house a particular account of all the monies received by him from the earl of Renalagh, and the times of such receipts, since the twenty-eighth of May last; and how he had paid the sums, when, and to whom, and what remained in his hand.

Pursuant to this order, Mr. Harley, from the commissioners for taking and stating the public accounts, presented



presented to the house their observations on the ill practices committed by the agents; which being taken into consideration, and Pouncefort, upon bringing in his accounts, being examined, as also colonel Hastings, major Montcal, and some other officers and agents, it was resolved by the house, that agent Tracy Pouncefort, for neglecting to pay the subsistence-money to the officers and soldiers quartered at Royston, having moities in his hands to do the same, be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms attending the house." About a fortnight after, Pouncefort was again examined; and refusing to answer several questions, though required on pain of being proceeded against with the utmost rigour and severity, it was unanimously resolved, "That his absolute refusal to answer to a matter of fact, demanded of him by the house, he had violated the privilege, and contemned the authority of the house, and the fundamental constitution thereof;" and was immediately sent a prisoner to the Tower for his offence.

The next person who felt the weight of the commons' resentment, was Mr. Edward Pouncefort, brother to the agent, who being examined, it was resolved, "That he, for contriving to cheat colonel Hastings's regiment, and for giving a bribe to obtain the king's pardon, be taken into custody." Mr. Henry Guy was the next victim. He was a member of the house, and secretary to the treasury; but for having taken a bribe of two hundred guineas for procuring the arrears due to a regiment to be paid, was committed to the Tower, and deprived of his post. The members were more provoked, because it was generally believed that he, together with the speaker, had been deeply concerned in corrupting the members of the house of commons. He had held his post in the reigns of the two preceding kings, and the share he had in the secret distribution of the money, had rendered him a necessary assistant in those measures.

Having proceeded to a sufficient length, the commons agreed to represent the whole to the king, setting forth the notorious abuses, ill practices, and intolerable exactions of the colonels and their agents, on the inferior officers and common soldiers; and his majesty promised to take the necessary care to redress these grievances. Colonel Hastings was immediately discharged, and his regiment given to Sir John Jacob, his lieutenant-colonel.

The commons proceeded in their enquiries with regard to several other species of corruption, and several of a very extraordinary nature were discovered. But before they had finished their enquiries, the king came to the house of peers, and sending for the commons, put an end to the session with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am come to give you thanks for the supplies provided for carrying on the war in which we are engaged; and, at the same time, to conclude this session, which cannot be continued longer without manifest prejudice to the end for which these supplies were given, the season of the year making it so necessary for me to be abroad, that it were to be wished our business at home would have allowed me to have been there sooner.

"I will take care to place the administration of affairs, during my absence, in such persons, on whose care and fidelity I can entirely depend; and I doubt not, my lords and gentlemen, that every one of you, in your several stations, will be assisting to them. This is what I require of you, and that you will be more than ordinarily diligent in preserving the public peace." The king immediately embarked for Holland, after nominating a council of regency, in which neither the princess nor prince of Denmark had any share. This occasioned a fresh subject of complaint, and the king's conduct was reflected on with great severity.

This campaign was more favourable to the allies

than any of the preceding. William had now the honour of stopping the French arms, and even of taking Namur. Marshal Bouffiers, a distinguished general, was in the place, with near sixteen thousand men; while an army of an hundred thousand, under the command of marshal Villeroy, threatened the besiegers with a battle. The garrison behaved with the utmost intrepidity; but the prudence of William rendered all his attempts abortive. He took Namur in the sight of the French army. Lewis, enraged at this disappointment, bombarded Brussels, in revenge for the bombardment of Dieppe, Havre de Grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Calais, by the English the preceding year. The latter also attempted new bombardments, but with no remarkable success. All Europe was in flames, and exhausted of men and money, for the quarrel of some particular princes, who, perhaps, never sighed over the calamities of their subjects. Distress, however piercing, had no effect on them; they were deaf to the voice of complaint.

When William returned from the continent, he was received in triumph by his subjects. The conquest of Namur, in so remarkable a manner, merited all their applause. On this occasion he affected a popularity, which being unnatural, was awkward, and could not be lasting. It, however, served to gain him several friends, and greatly retarded the machinations of his enemies.

The former parliament being dissolved, a new one met at Westminster on the twenty-second of November; and having elected Paul Foley, Esq; for the speaker, the king opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he observed, "That he had engaged in the present war by the advice of his first parliament; that the last had, with great cheerfulness, assisted him in carrying it on; and that he doubted not but the present would as readily support him in it, by granting the necessary supplies: that he could not but take notice, on this occasion, of the signal bravery of the English forces during the last campaign, which had reflected equal honour on themselves, and on the nation to which they belonged. He lamented, as a great misfortune, his having been obliged, from the very beginning of his reign, to ask such large aids of his people; but, at the same time, observed, they were absolutely necessary for the effectual prosecution of the war. He took notice, that the funds had been deficient, and the condition of the civil list such, that he could not possibly subsist without their care. He told them, that compassion obliged him to mention the miserable condition of the French protestants who suffered for their religion, and the redress of the bad state of the coin, though they would prove an additional charge. He recommended to them the framing bills for the encouragement and increase of seamen, the advancement of trade, particularly that of the West-Indies; and for recruiting the army in such a manner, that the people should have no cause to complain: and concluded with exhorting them to use dispatch, and to avoid heats and divisions."

The first bill passed by this parliament, was that respecting trials for high-treason; a subject which, though of the last importance, had hitherto been subject to many abuses. By this bill it was enacted, that the person impeached should have a copy of the impeachment five days before the trial came on, and be allowed counsel for his defence: that no person should be impeached, but on the testimony of two credible witnesses: that if the impeachment consisted of several articles, the two witnesses could only be considered as one, when their depositions were not upon the same article: that the person accused should have a list of the witnesses two days before the trial; and that three years after the crime was committed, no accusation should take place, unless the crime was an attempt against the life of the king. The lords added a clause, whereby a peer was to be judged by the whole house of lords. Had this law taken place sooner,







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*J. Wale del.*

*J. Taylor sculp.*

**PENDERGRASS** *delivering to WILLIAM III.*  
*a List of the Conspirators concerned in the Assassination-plot.*



sooner, it would have saved the lives of many illustrious men, and liberty would have had a rampart against despotism and ministerial vengeance. It is a deplorable consideration, that the beneficial science of legislation arrives so slowly at perfection, even in points where the interests of humanity are so greatly affected.

This celebrated bill being dispatched, the commons proceeded to take into their consideration the supplies for the succeeding year. The necessary estimates were laid before them, and they voted five millions twenty-four thousand eight hundred and fifty-three pounds for that service. The funds necessary for raising this prodigious sum were the following: 1. By a land-tax of four shillings in the pound. 2. By duties continued on wine, vinegar, tobacco, East-India goods, and other merchandizes. 3. An additional duty upon all French commodities. 4. Duties on low wines or spirits of French extraction. 5. Duties continued upon salt, glass-ware, tobacco-pipes, &c. They also settled a fund for raising five hundred thousand pounds a year for the civil list; and another for raising fifteen thousand pounds a year for the relief of the French protestants.

The next subject that engaged the attention of the parliament, was the amendment of the current coin; and they resolved, that the established standard should be preserved, with regard to weight and fineness; and that the loss arising from calling in the old money should be borne by the public, and a fund was established for that purpose. The new coinage was placed under the direction of Sir Isaac Newton, and Mr. Locke lent his assistance. Nor is it in such circumstances only that men of letters may be useful to the state.

A. D. 1696. From the very beginning of this reign, conspiracies, many of them imaginary, had been frequently talked of; but a real plot was now formed, either to carry off or assassinate William, and restore his rival to the throne he had abdicated. The earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery, and several other persons of less distinction, were at the head of this conspiracy. The duke of Berwick, James's natural son, passed secretly through the kingdom, encouraging the Jacobites, and declaring that an invasion was ready to take place. He conjured them to exert themselves on this occasion, and concerted measures for rendering the attempt successful.

While the conspirators were labouring, with the utmost assiduity, to increase their party, the russians, who were to execute the execrable deed, held private meetings in London, where the proper measures for carrying it into execution were concerted. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, and a man of undaunted courage, may be considered as the leader of this desperate band. He was a furious bigot to the church of Rome, close, circumspect, and cruel. He came into England in the beginning of January, and having procured a private commission from James, the rest of the party implicitly obeyed his orders. This enthusiast undertook the horrid task of assassinating the king, with the assistance of forty horse. The king usually hunted at Richmond on every Saturday; and it was resolved to attack him in his return to Kensington, in the lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. This scheme was so well laid, that it would, probably, have succeeded, had not one Pendergrafs revealed the whole the very day before it was intended to be executed.

Pendergrafs was an Irish officer, and a Roman catholic, and therefore considered as a proper person to engage in so desperate an attempt. He was accordingly solicited, and seemed at first very willing to engage. But reflecting on the horrid barbarity of an act detested by God and man, he repaired immediately to the earl of Portland, and discovered to him the whole scheme, begging to be introduced to his majesty. Portland informed the king of this discovery, and Pendergrafs was admitted into his majesty's closet, where he fully revealed all the particu-

lars he knew relative to this horrid conspiracy. He at first, however, refused to give up the names of the conspirators; but, on the king's promising that he should not be produced as an evidence, without his own consent, he gave his majesty a list of the assassins.

Every measure was now taken to render the whole contrivance abortive. Admiral Russel sailed immediately for the coast of France; and the enemy, confounded at his appearance, retired into their harbours; and James, who was arrived at Calais in order to embark, retired to his court at St. Germain's, overwhelmed with grief and disappointment. In the mean time, the king laid the whole design before the parliament. Both houses immediately waited upon his majesty with the most loyal addresses; wherein they congratulated him on the escape of his royal person from the designs of his enemies; declared their abhorrence of such villainous and traitorous attempts; and solemnly promised to stand by and defend his royal person against all his enemies, open and concealed; adding, that if he should fall by a violent attempt, they would severely revenge it on the Roman catholics. They likewise drew up an association to the same purpose, which was signed by all the members of the house; wherein they declared king William their rightful and lawful king, and mutually engaged to stand by each other in his defence. The king returned them thanks for their zeal for his person, and declared he should always be ready to risqué his life in defence of the laws, religion, and liberties of the nation.

Several of the conspirators were seized, tried at the Old Bailey, where they were found guilty of high-treason on the clearest evidence, and suffered at Tyburn.

Sir John Fenwick had a considerable share in the conspiracy. There were two witnesses against him, but one of them disappeared without giving evidence in the court. He had, however, given a written deposition, and the legality of this was strongly debated in parliament. The advocates of the person accused maintained, that, according to all the rules of jurisprudence, the evidence ought to be present, and to be confronted by the prisoner; that the depositions of the dead were inadmissible, and those of the absent equally void; that the parliament, though not subject to the rules of inferior courts, was nevertheless subject to the eternal and invariable rules of equity; and that the late act relating to processes of high-treason, would be openly violated by a contrary practice. These arguments, however plausible, were too weak to gain a majority. Established principles gave way to the security of government. A bill of attainder was passed against Fenwick, and he was executed pursuant to his sentence. Several others, among whom Sir John Friend, a brewer in the Minories, was the principal, besides the conspirators who were to have executed the horrid deed, suffered for their treason.

The campaign was opened on the continent by the allies burning a prodigious magazine which had been laid up at Givet, for the use of the enemy. But though the beginning was prosperous, and the war continued with the same animosity: the powers engaged in it were no longer capable of making the same efforts. Notwithstanding the ardour of William, the campaign in Flanders had no striking events. Lewis XIV. less fortunate than before, was now desirous of peace. He accordingly dispatched M. de Callieres, as his ambassador to the states-general, for settling such preliminaries as might serve as a basis for a treaty. The Dutch, with the consent of king William, listened to the proposal; and it was agreed to accept the mediation of the king of Sweden, which had already been offered by the baron Lillieroot, his ambassador at the Hague. Lewis, however, did not wholly depend upon negotiation; he made very advantageous offers to the duke of Savoy, and drew him off from the grand alliance.

This



This perfidious conduct of the duke greatly enraged the allies: his ministers, indeed, attempted to excuse it, by alledging, that it was absolutely necessary for him to embrace the offers of France, in order to prevent his own ruin; and that common prudence would not suffer him to let slip an opportunity of procuring such singular advantages to his own family.

The campaign in Catalonia, and on the Rhine, was as barren of events as that in Flanders: the advantage, if any, was on the side of the allies; but all the armies retired into winter quarters in the beginning of October.

As the distress of the army abroad was chiefly owing to the calling in and recoining the money, so the same calamity was felt among the manufacturers and labourers, who were most of them idle, occasioned by the scarcity of coin, few masters being able to employ any workmen. An order of council was therefore issued in July, directing the justices of the peace to meet frequently in their respective divisions, in order to consult the most effectual means to relieve and subsist the poor, till a sufficient quantity of money could be issued to relieve the present scarcity. The attorney-general was also ordered to prosecute all those who had entered into confederacies not to employ any workmen in the woollen and other manufactures during the present scarcity of coin.

As soon as the armies were gone into winter quarters, William returned to England, and opened the session of parliament on the twentieth of October. He told them, "that he thought it a great happiness that no disadvantage had happened abroad, nor any disorder at home during the last summer, considering the great disappointments in the funds, and the trouble that had arisen in receiving the money: that the business they had before them would be attended with great difficulty, as they were not only to provide for the service of the ensuing year, but also to make good the deficiencies of the last." He observed, "that overtures of peace had indeed been made him; but he was certain they would prove abortive; that the only way to procure an honourable peace was to treat sword in hand; and therefore, the supplies for the succeeding must, at least, be equal to those for the last. He also pressed them to maintain the honour of parliament, by making good the funds they had granted. He reminded them of the civil list and the French protestants, and of making some farther provision for remedying the difficulties relating to the coin, and for recovering the national credit."

The commons, in answer to his majesty's speech, assured him in their address, "That though this was the eighth year they had assisted him with large supplies, for carrying on this just and necessary war, they should be neither amused nor diverted from their firm resolution of obtaining, by war, a safe and honourable peace;" and concluded with declaring, "That they would continue to support his majesty against all his enemies, both at home and abroad."

They accordingly voted five millions for the sea and land service for the succeeding year; besides a supply for the civil list, and new funds for making good the deficiencies, and securing the public debts, which now amounted to near twelve millions. Notwithstanding it was so vastly large, they pursued such vigorous measures, that they surmounted every difficulty, and placed the credit of the nation on a sure and solid basis.

A.D. 1697. The parliament having finished the national business, the king came to the house of peers on the sixteenth of April; and after giving the royal assent to the bills they had passed, put an end to the session with a speech from the throne, in which he thanked them for the large supplies they had granted him; congratulated them on the success of their endeavours for restoring public credit; acquainted them with his intention of passing over to the continent; and begged they would carry with them into

their respective counties the same loyal principles they had so conspicuously displayed in parliament.

The conferences for a peace were opened at Ryfwic on the twenty-ninth of May, and the negotiation proceeded with very little trouble. The demands of Spain, that France should restore all the conquests that had been made during the war, seemed the only difficulty. Lewis was therefore determined to exert all his force against that kingdom, in order to induce the Spanish plenipotentiaries to accept the offers of France. The city of Barcelona was accordingly besieged and taken by the duke de Vendôme. De Pontis, a French commodore, was sent, with a small fleet, to the West-Indies, where he took and plundered the town of Carthagena, and returned with an immense booty. These successes tended greatly to hasten the conclusion of the treaty. Lewis gave up almost all his conquests. To Spain he restored Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, Courtray, besides what he had taken in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees. To the Empire, Friburg, Brisac, Philipsburg, &c. And, lastly, he acknowledged the prince of Orange king of England. Thus William was confirmed in his possession of the throne, while France abandoned all the fruits of her victories. Lewis submitted to these conditions more from policy than generosity. The burden of the war was become intolerable. The victors and the vanquished were equally weakened. It was absolutely necessary that the finances should be repaired, and the murmurings of the people satisfied. Lewis, after he had deluged Europe with blood to satisfy his ambition, was obliged to purchase peace at the expence of his conquests.

Soon after the signing of this treaty, William returned to England, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy. On the third of December, he opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne; wherein he observed, "That the war he had entered into by the advice of his people, was, by their assistance, brought to the end he had ever proposed, a safe and honourable peace: that he was sorry, however, to acquaint them, that his subjects could not immediately find that relief from the peace they might expect, the funds having fallen short, and there remaining so great a debt to the navy and army, besides what was wanting to support the civil list. He observed, that the navy was increased almost double since his accession, and could not be supported without a proportional increase of money; and he believed they would agree with him in allowing, that the chief strength of England must ever consist in a powerful navy: that, considering the state of affairs abroad, he was of opinion, that the kingdom could not be safe without a land force. He promised to rectify whatever abuses might have crept into any part of the administration during the war, and effectually to discourage prophaneness and immorality. He expressed his satisfaction with the proofs his people had given him of their loyalty and attachment to his person;" and concluded with declaring, "That as he had, at the hazard of his life, rescued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremest danger; so he should place the chief glory of his reign in preserving and leaving them entire to posterity."

The parliament, in their address, complimented him on the peace; and assured him, "That they would be always ready to support his majesty, who had confirmed them in the quiet possession of their rights and liberties; and, by putting an end to the war, fully completed their deliverance."

But notwithstanding these congratulations and compliments, they opposed his designs. This politic and warlike prince was desirous of establishing a standing army, which could not fail of rendering him respectable both at home and abroad. The conduct of Lewis, who still retained a considerable part of his army, seemed to lay the other powers under a necessity of doing the same. This was a



very plausible reason, and adopted by several of the members; but the majority was alarmed at the king's proposal. It had an apparent tendency to establish despotism on the ruins of the constitution. They were persuaded the nation would soon lose its privileges, and the people their liberties, if mercenary troops were at the command of the government. "This custom," said they, "being once established will become a maxim of state; and elections, parliaments, every thing will depend upon the caprice of the court. Is not the kingdom sufficiently defended by the ocean that surrounds it? May not the militia be established and regularly exercised? And will not such men be more zealous in the defence of their country than mercenaries? Will not these with a formidable fleet be a sufficient security against any invasion?" These arguments seemed unanswerable, and prevailed with the majority. Ten thousand only of the land forces were retained; and three thousand added to the marine.

Highly offended with this resolution of the commons, and persuaded that they suspected he had formed designs against their liberties, William declared he would have had nothing to do with the government, if he could have suspected the parliament could have been guilty of so much distrust and ingratitude.

A. D. 1698. The commons now applied themselves assiduously to the discovery of means for the discharge of the public debt. The necessary supplies amounted to near five millions sterling; and it required all their wisdom to raise so large a sum, after the nation had been impoverished by the late war. The East India company offered to advance seven hundred thousand pounds for the service of the public, at the rate of four per cent. interest, provided the legislature would settle on them the exclusive trade to India. This offer was favourably received by the ministry, and would, in all probability, have been accepted, had not another company of merchants made more advantageous proposals. They offered to lend the government two millions on the same terms. They also proposed that their subscribers should not be obliged to trade in a joint stock; but if any number of their members desired to be incorporated, a charter should be granted them for that purpose. The last proposal was thought the most eligible, and a bill was accordingly brought into parliament, and easily passed the commons; but on its being sent up to the lords, the old company petitioned the house, and they were heard by their council against the bill. They alleged, "that the company had actually acquired, at their own expence, revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Bombay, as well as in Persia, and other parts, amounting to forty-four thousand pounds per annum, arising from customs and licences for a great number of particulars: that they had also erected forts and settlements, and procured settlements in the island of Sumatra, and on the coast of Malabar, without which the pepper-trade must have been actually lost to England: that they had also a strong fort in the kingdom of Bengal, and also many factories, buildings and settlements in various other parts; having purchased, at high rates, of the Indian princes many valuable privileges and immunities: that they were encouraged to do this from a presumption that their rights and inheritance would always be objects of the nation's care: that since this bill had been brought into parliament, the company had agreed to submit their present stock to a valuation of fifty per cent. viz. twenty per cent. for their dead stock, namely their forts, factories and lands, and thirty per cent. for their quick stock, which they were content even to warrant at that rate: and upon these terms the company likewise offered to raise a subscription of two millions."

To this it was answered by the council for the new subscribers, "That the old company in reciting their charters, had forgot to mention the provisos they

contained, the kings of England, who granted them, having reserved to themselves a discretionary power to make them void on three years warning: that the king could not grant the trade, exclusive of all others, by his charter alone, it being directly contrary to positive laws; nor had his present majesty in fact granted any such exclusive right: that several recoveries had been made at law against the company for prosecuting such pretended right: that his majesty's message to the commons in the year 1692 plainly signified that the concurrence of parliament was necessary for making a complete and useful settlement of this trade: that the company's managers, in order to obtain their last new charter and regulations, had made no scruple of having recourse to the indirect methods of bribery and corruption: that it was never esteemed a breach of public faith, nor a derogation from the authority of the great seal, or from the honour of our kings, to have their patents annulled by parliament, when it appeared that such grants were either unprofitable, or contrary to the common rights of the subject; neither did any of our king's think themselves bound in honour or conscience to refuse passing an act of parliament for the annulling of such grants: that moreover kings having been often deceived by such grants, they have even frequently been annulled by the common course of law."

On the other hand it was replied, and urged, in behalf of the old company, "That the properties of many families, widows, and orphans, would be greatly affected by the bill now depending, which they said made no provision for a determined stock; so that it may hereafter happen that the trade may be lost to the nation for want of a sufficient capital to carry it on; it appearing, by thirty years experience, that it requires at least six hundred thousand pounds a year to carry it on in its full extent: that by this bill the new subscribers were permitted to trade during the three years, as well as the company, which is directly contrary to the charter, will create great confusion, and render the said three years allowed the old company of no benefit, because they are still bound to export to the value of one hundred thousand pounds annually in our own manufactures, though the new subscribers are under no such obligations: that the old company are besides obliged to pay taxes to keep up forts, factories, &c. while the new subscribers are to have an equal benefit of the trade without either: that since the last subscription in 1693, the company has lost, either by accidents, or the calamities of war, twelve large ships, which, with their cargoes, would have sold for near a million and a half sterling; and yet, notwithstanding such losses, they have paid in customs since that period two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds, besides eighty-five thousand in taxes: that they had, moreover, supplied his majesty in Holland, on a very pressing occasion, with six thousand barrels of gunpowder; and had also, at a time of great extremity, subscribed eighty thousand pounds for circulating exchequer bills, at the instance of the treasury; and that many hundred families have their whole fortunes depending in the stock of the present company, who must be utterly ruined if this bill takes effect."

All these arguments, however powerful, were urged in vain. The bill passed the lords in favour of the new company, without paying any regard to ancient charters, or the fortunes of a multitude of families. They received their charter on the third of September; and on the fifth his majesty incorporated them as one joint-stock exclusive company, trading to the East Indies.

But the parliament did not confine their disquisitions wholly to the commercial state of the nation, and the ways and means for raising the large supplies that were become absolutely necessary; they exerted themselves nobly to prevent that corruption of manners which was every day gaining ground in the kingdom. Persuaded that unless care be taken to keep the people's



morals from being tainted, wealth and power will only become the sources of poison; that the vices of the citizens are infectious to the body politic; that a state without virtue has almost as many enemies as subjects; and that its grandeur is a preface of its ruin: they presented an address to his majesty, in which they enumerated the excessive irregularities that prevailed, and were daily increasing; and requested him to issue orders to the magistrates to put the laws in force against impiety and debauchery. Their address was very favourably received. The king promised to attempt, without delay, a reformation of manners, and testified his zeal for the suppression of impious books, which usually corrupt at once both the heart and the understanding. Schemes of this nature, however laudable, however necessary in themselves, are seldom executed. A society for the reformation of manners, under the protection of his majesty, was established; the members of which engaged to inform the magistrates of such debaucheries and vices as came within their knowledge. The fines imposed were destined for charitable uses. A number of ecclesiastics were to promote virtue by public lectures; and a liberal provision was made for their maintenance. These establishments, and others of a similar kind, could not fail of being useful, especially to the poor. But informations are always odious. It is the business of people in office to inspect the conduct of the citizens. And, with regard to the reformation of manners, nothing can be sufficient but those powerful resources which government alone can employ with success. The example of the court would perhaps be more effectual than any other method that could be practised.

While the parliament was laudably employed in contriving ways and means for raising the necessary supplies, and endeavouring to stop the progress of vice and immorality, Peter Alexowitz, czar of Muscovy, since known by the appellation of Peter the Great, visited this kingdom. Having formed the noble design of civilizing his barbarous subjects, of introducing the arts and sciences among them, and of rendering the forces of his empire by sea and land equal to those of his politer neighbours, he travelled through most countries in Europe to gain instruction. He was particularly desirous of establishing a marine, and of having a respectable fleet in the Baltic: and therefore his principal intention was to learn the art of ship-building. In the summer of the preceding year he sent an embassy to Holland, to regulate some points of commerce with the states-general, and accompanied his ambassadors disguised as one of their retinue. While he was on this tour he discovered himself to king William, and had a private interview with that prince at Utrecht, and in consequence of his invitation he now visited England. He staid here above three months, during which time he was lodged and entertained with all the magnificence possible for a prince, who chose to remain unknown. He passed his time here, as he had done in Holland, in examining the dock-yards, and improving himself in the art of ship-building; to attain which he worked several hours every day as a common shipwright, in the royal yard at Deptford. At his departure William made him several magnificent presents; and particularly the yacht in which he himself used to pass over to Holland. She was a very beautiful vessel, finely adorned, and called the Royal Transport. And it being thought absolutely necessary to gain his friendship, he was allowed to engage several English artificers in his service; and to take two of the scholars from Christ-church hospital; and these afterwards laid the foundation of the marine academy at Peterburgh.

The Scots, desirous of sharing in the advantages resulting from commerce, had formed a commercial company in order to carry on their foreign trade with more spirit and advantage. And animated with the same spirit of self-interest which had carried so many persons to the New World, they established, at a

great expence, a colony in the Straights of Darien, the Isthmus that connects South and North America. This establishment did not resemble the bloody conquests of the Spaniards. It was made by agreement with the natives of the country; but the Spaniards complained of it as an infringement of the late treaty. The English and Dutch considered the Scots as dangerous rivals, and the colony they had established as prejudicial to their commerce. William therefore forbade all correspondence with this new colony. The Scots, finding themselves disappointed of the treasures they expected, made the most violent complaints; and their parliament adopted their cause. The most animating speeches were made in that assembly, and every thing seemed to threaten a revolt. The king was alarmed, and it was only by time, address and flattering promises, that he put a stop to an affair that threatened the most alarming consequences.

Charles II. of Spain had long been in a very declining state, and having no issue, the consequence that might attend his large dominions passing either into the Bourbon family, or that of Austria, alarmed all Europe. William passed over to the continent, where he negotiated a treaty with Lewis XIV. for the division of the Spanish monarchy. By this treaty, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the province of Guipuscoa, and several other places dependent on Spain, were destined to the dauphin; the Milanese to the archduke, Charles II. son to the emperor; and the rest to the young prince of Bavaria, who was about eight years of age. That prince died soon after the treaty; and it now became necessary to negotiate a new one. Bavaria was assigned to the archduke; Lorraine added to the possessions of the dauphin; and Milan given to the duke of Lorraine.

During the king's absence, the elections for a new parliament were carried on in England with all the appearance of freedom: the ministry giving themselves very little trouble to influence the voters. The returns were, however, generally in favour of revolution principles. The assembly met on the third of December, when William opened the session with a speech from the throne; wherein he strongly recommended to them the keeping up such a force, as might preserve that weight and influence they at present enjoyed in the affairs of the continent; and their making a farther progress in discharging the national debt contracted by the war. He concluded with recommending three popular subjects to their particular attention: the making provision for the poor; the advancement of trade; and the discouraging vice and prophaneness.

It is remarkable that in this speech William made no mention of the partition treaty he had so lately concluded abroad, and which afterwards so greatly excited the attention of the kingdom. This was industriously concealed both from the parliament and the privy-council. Probably he suspected the sincerity of Lewis, and therefore thought it extremely necessary to keep a good body of troops in readiness to compel the French monarch to observe the late treaty in case of the king of Spain's death.

Ignorant of the partition treaty, and of the necessity of keeping a large body of troops in pay, the parliament took immediately that part of the king's speech into consideration. William, when he passed over to Holland, had left orders with the ministry to retain sixteen thousand men in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, by which the army was limited to ten thousand. This arbitrary act so irritated the new parliament, that they resolved to oppose the king in all his demands. They accordingly came immediately to the following resolution, "That all the land forces in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, and these his majesty's natural born subjects, be forthwith paid off and disbanded; and that all the forces in Ireland, exceeding twelve thousand men, all his majesty's natural born subjects, be likewise forthwith disbanded and paid off." This resolution



resolution being passed, a bill was ordered in, and soon passed both houses; in consequence of which not only the French protestant regiments, but even the king's favourite Dutch guards were to be removed out of the British dominions.

William was exasperated to the highest degree at this conduct of the parliament. Their jealousy so deeply affected him, that he actually formed a resolution of abandoning the government, and had even composed a speech which he intended to have delivered on that occasion; but was diverted from his rash design by his most intimate friends; and at last persuaded to give the royal assent to the bill for reducing the army.

A. D. 1699. Accordingly on the second of February he came to the house of peers, and addressed himself to the parliament in the following manner: "I am come to pass the bill for disbanding the forces as soon as I knew it was ready for my assent. Though the reduction of the army to so inconsiderable a number, may, in our present circumstances, be attended with the most fatal consequences; and though I might justly complain of the harsh treatment I have received in being deprived of those guards who accompanied me into this kingdom, and have constantly attended me in all my fortunes, yet as I am convinced that nothing can be more prejudicial to our common interest, than to suffer any jealousy or misunderstanding to arise between me and my people, I am firmly resolved to comply with your request.

"Nevertheless, after having thus assigned my reasons for passing this bill, I must likewise in discharge of the trust you have reposed in me, declare, that, in my opinion, the nation is left too naked and defenceless; it is your duty, therefore, to take this matter into your consideration, and immediately to provide such a strength as may be deemed necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of that peace we have so lately obtained."

Though the king had passed the bill for disbanding the army, he was very unwilling to part with his guards, and accordingly sent a message to the commons, informing them, "that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the guards who came with him into England, and that he intended to send them away immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the commons could find out some way to continue them longer in his service, which his majesty would take very kindly." But the commons were inexorable. They reminded him of his former promise to dismiss all foreign troops. The happiness of the kingdom, they added, depended on the mutual confidence of the prince and the people. That this confidence required him to intrust the care of his sacred person to his subjects.

The king, finding it would be in vain to contend with the commons, he yielded to necessity, and the Dutch guards were transported to Holland. It must be owned that the behaviour of the lower house with regard to the Dutch guards, strongly indicated that they were rather inspired with the spirit of ferocious obstinacy than genuine patriotism. William was persuaded of this, and took no pains to disguise his sentiments. "Had I as many places to bestow," said he one day to the earl of Sunderland, "as there are members in the house of commons, I should not know what it was to have my will disputed."

Nothing is more dangerous to the peace of a kingdom than a disagreement between the branches of the legislative power. The commons made it their study to thwart and vex the king, who, by his political talents, had, in a great measure, governed Europe. They examined into administration, re-established the old India company, and declared papists incapable of inheriting or purchasing lands. They deliberated on demanding of the king the removal of lord chancellor Somers; and William soon after found it necessary to deprive him of the seals to please the Tories, who formed the majority in parliament.

On the fourth of May the king came to the house

of peers, and after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, put an end to the session with a speech from the throne, wherein he told them, "that having sat so many months, the season of the year, as well as their own particular affairs, made it reasonable they should enjoy a recess; that he took it for granted they had finished all the bills they thought necessary, and he had given his assent to all they had presented to him; that if any thing else was wanting to their safety, the security of the public credit, the discharge of the national debt, the advancement of trade, the suppression of vice, and the employment of the poor, the things he proposed to them at their meeting, he did not doubt but effectual care would be taken of them next winter; and wished no inconvenience might happen in the interval."

The Spanish monarch, who was no stranger to the treaty of partition, highly resented their usurping a power to dispose of his dominions without his consent. He determined therefore to make a will in favour of the archduke, second son to Leopold, the reigning emperor. The queen of Spain also used her utmost endeavours to give the crown to that young prince, to whom she was so nearly related. She accordingly new modelled the council; bestowed the government of Milan upon prince Vaudemont; appointed the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, viceroy of Catalonia, and carried the sick king to Toledo, under pretence that the air of Madrid was unwholesome.

But the court of Vienna, by its indiscreet and imperious conduct, rendered all these measures abortive. Charles determined not to make a will in favour of the archduke. On the other hand the marquis d'Harcourt, ambassador of Lewis XIV. managed the Spaniards with more dexterity and address. Their inveterate antipathy to France decreased every day. The grandes were as unwilling as their master to dismember the monarchy; and France alone seemed capable of preventing an incident so destructive to the honour and power of their country. They advised Charles therefore to give the preference to a prince of that nation. Pope Innocent XII. who then filled the papal chair, was consulted on this interesting subject, and approved the measure, as agreeable to the laws of Spain, and the interest of religion.

Lewis, ignorant of this resolution in favour of his family, caused sixty thousand of his best troops to advance towards Catalonia, while a great number of ships and galleys cruized along the coasts and entered the Spanish harbours. It was now absolutely necessary for some measures to be taken; and the dying monarch sacrificed the interests of his family to those of his kingdom: he nominated the duke of Anjou, youngest son to the dauphin, heir to his dominions, with this proviso, however, that the two crowns of France and Spain, should never be united.

On the sixteenth of November William opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, wherein he observed, that his calling them together so early was owing to an absolute necessity of making some farther provision for the security of the kingdom by sea and land; and recommended particularly the repairing the royal navy and fortifying the harbours. He reminded them also of making good the deficiencies of the funds, discharging the national debt, and providing supplies for the ensuing year. He told them, he hoped that the nation was already convinced of the good effects of the peace, by the evident increase of their trade, which he should use his utmost endeavours to promote and encourage; that he thought, however, it might receive a farther advantage, by passing a bill for punishing the unlawful and clandestine running of goods; and by employing the poor, who were become a burden to the nation: he declared himself to be fully assured of the love and affections of his people, which he should endeavour to preserve, by maintaining their rights and liberties, by supporting the established religion,

by



by dispensing justice with clemency and impartiality, by countenancing virtue and discouraging vice, and by declining no difficulties or dangers to promote their welfare and prosperity." Having particularly declared his intentions, he concluded his speech in the following manner: "Since, therefore, our aims are only for the public good, let us act with confidence in one another, which will not fail, with God's blessing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people."

This speech, which certainly breathed nothing but kindness, and a concern for the happiness of his people, gave great offence to the commons. The spirit of party magnifies every thing. The expression of "acting with confidence in each other," was construed into an implication of a distrust, or want of confidence in them, and they determined to resent it. They accordingly returned no address of thanks; but, on the fourth of December, presented what may be considered as a remonstrance; in which they declared, "That being highly sensible nothing was more necessary for the peace and welfare of the kingdom, the quieting of the minds of the people, and the disappointing the designs of their enemies, than a mutual and entire confidence between his majesty and his parliament, they esteemed it their greatest misfortune, that, after having so amply provided for the security of his majesty and his government, any jealousy or distrust had been raised of their duty and affection; and, at the same time, begged leave to represent, that it would greatly conduce to the continuing and establishing an entire confidence between his majesty and his parliament, if he would be pleased to shew marks of his high displeasure towards such persons as should presume to misrepresent their proceedings to his majesty; and they should, on their part, discourage all false rumours and reports reflecting on his majesty and his government, whereby any misunderstandings might be created between him and his subjects."

The king, astonished at this representation, replied, "That no person had ever yet dared to misrepresent the proceedings of either house; and if they had, they would immediately have felt the highest marks of his displeasure: and that he took very kindly the assurance they gave him of discouraging all false rumours and reports reflecting on himself and his government."

A. D. 1700. These proceedings were ill calculated to produce the harmony so necessary between the different branches of the legislature, for rendering the nation respectable abroad, and happy at home. The commons did every thing in their power to mortify the king; and William gave them, in return, many indications of his resentment. They passed a bill of resumption, whereby the estates in Ireland he had given to his favourites were taken from them, and became again the property of the crown. But not satisfied with this victory, they proceeded to such absurd lengths in their career, that they came to a resolution to address his majesty, that no person, who was not a native of his dominions, except the prince of Denmark, should be admitted into his councils of England or Ireland. But before this address could be presented, the king came to the house of peers; and, after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, put an end to the session.

While this ill-humour continued between the king and the house of commons, Charles II. of Spain paid the debt of nature. The death of this prince, who left no issue, seemed to threaten the balance of power in Europe. Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold, were related to him in the same degree; and the renunciation of Maria Teresa of Austria, wife to Lewis, and eldest daughter to Philip III. appeared to the enemies of France an engagement of very little weight. Nor was this of any great consequence, because the balance of power would be equally de-

stroyed, whether Leopold or Lewis obtained the succession. This was the true motive that induced William to sign the treaty of partition, which, it was apprehended, would prevent a general war, as well as the two contending monarchs from becoming too powerful for the other princes of Europe. He was mistaken; the emperor refused to accede to the treaty; and it appeared, on the death of Charles, that he had bequeathed his dominions to the duke of Anjou.

Lewis, for some time, hesitated, whether he should accept the bequest or not, from the prospect of a war more formidable than any in which he had hitherto been engaged. But ambition soon decided in favour of the will. He, however, thought it necessary to justify his conduct to the king of England, and the States general. In order to this, he represented, that the treaty of partition had occasioned great and general complaints; that it was absolutely impracticable to carry it into execution; and that, in renouncing this treaty, he made large sacrifices to peace and the public good, having abandoned Sicily, Naples, and several other territories which France was to have enjoyed.

These arguments were by no means solid, and the known ambition of the house of Bourbon gave great uneasiness to the powers of Europe. The States general, for some time, refused to acknowledge the duke of Anjou king of Spain; but being in no condition to oppose the progress of Lewis, should he attempt to invade their territories, they made a virtue of necessity, by acknowledging that prince king of Spain, under the title of Philip V. William dissembled his intentions; and considering himself as destined to hold the balance of power, which was now on the point of being destroyed by the ambition of the house of Bourbon, he resolved, if possible, to form a new league, for rendering their alarming attempts abortive.

The king had met with so many mortifications during the last parliament, that he determined now to make a change in the ministry. He accordingly gave his confidence to the earl of Rochester, who was at the head of the Tories, and who undertook that the whole party should exert all their power to support the measures adopted by his majesty. That nobleman was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the privy-seal was given to the earl of Tankerville; Sir Charles Hedges was made secretary of state; lord Godolphin appointed first commissioner of the treasury; and the management of the commons intrusted to Mr. Robert Harley. The new ministry did not, however, think themselves strong enough to carry their measures in the present parliament; and it was therefore determined to dissolve it by proclamation, and summon a new one, to meet on the sixth of February.

The usual means of corruption were exerted in electing the members; and venality prevailed so far, that the Tories had a very considerable majority in the house of commons. The duke of Gloucester, only surviving son of the prince and princess of Denmark, dying on the twenty-ninth of July, it became necessary to settle the succession of the crown, after the death of the princess of Denmark, that young prince being the last of seventeen children that had proceeded from this marriage.

A. D. 1701. The new parliament meeting on the sixth of February, was prorogued till the tenth, when Mr. Harley was chosen speaker; and the next day his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, wherein he mentioned the great loss the nation had sustained by the death of the duke of Gloucester, which, he observed, had rendered it absolutely necessary that a farther provision should be made for the succession of the crown in the protestant line; and therefore earnestly recommended it to their early and serious consideration. He observed, that the death of the king of Spain, together with



with the declaration he had made with regard to his successor, had made so great an alteration in the affairs abroad, that it required their particular attention; and that he doubted not but their resolutions on that important subject would be such, as should be most conducive to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the peace of Europe. He told them, that considerable supplies would be necessary for the service of the current year; reminded them of the deficiencies and public debts, which were yet unprovided for; and recommended the royal navy particularly to their care; desired they would exert themselves in improving the trade of the kingdom, and in making provision for the poor.

After providing for the credit of the exchequer-bills, which, on a change of the ministry, had fallen near twenty per cent. the commons took into consideration the great object of settling the succession to the crown. After long debates, it was resolved, that, in order to exclude every catholic prince from the succession, the heir should be of the church of England; that if he were a foreigner, the nation should not engage, without consent of parliament, in any war for the defence of the dominions he might possess out of the kingdom; that he should not leave England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the same consent; that when this act of limitation should take effect; no foreigner, though a naturalized inhabitant, unless of English extraction, should be admitted into the council, become a member of either house, or obtain, by a grant from the crown, any lands or inheritance: that whoever should hold any pension or lucrative employment under the king, should be incapable of sitting in the house of commons; and that a pardon, under the great seal, should be of no effect against an impeachment of the house. Having voted these regulations, which greatly restrained the prerogative, and implied a severe censure on the present government, it was resolved, that the princess Sophia, dutchess-dowager of Hanover, and granddaughter to James I. was the next heir in the protestant line, after the respective descendants of the king and the princess of Denmark. A bill was ordered to be brought in on these resolutions; and, after passing both houses, received the royal assent on the twelfth of June.

The next object of importance that engaged the attention of parliament, was the partition treaty. It is said, that Lewis XIV. distributed large sums among the members of the lower house, in order to procure their suffrages. But however that be, the commons were so far from approving the king's measures, that they condemned them with the greatest asperity. They complained loudly of its having been signed without consent of parliament; and observed not even common decency in their debates. Sir Edward Seymour compared the division which had been made of the Spanish territories, to the distribution that highwaymen make of their booty; and Mr. Howe had even the insolence to call it a felonious treaty; an expression which so highly incensed the king, that he is reported to have said, he would have demanded personal satisfaction with his sword, had he not been restrained by the disparity of condition between himself and the person who had offered so outrageous an insult to his honour.

The peers themselves were far from approving the treaty, but their debates were guided by prudence and discretion. They examined its tendency with candour, and then represented it, in an address to the king, as incompatible both with the interest of England and the safety of Europe. They prayed his majesty to be advised by his own subjects, and place his confidence in them rather than in strangers. They added, that since the French king's accepting the will of Charles II. was a manifest violation of the treaty, they humbly advised his majesty, in future treaties with that prince, to proceed with such caution as might carry a real security.

Though this address was in reality an insult upon the king, he thought proper to dissemble his resentment; and only returned for answer, "That their address contained matters of very great moment; and he would always take care, that all treaties he made should be for the honour and safety of England."

Lewis XIV. having embraced the will of Charles II. made great preparations for supporting the duke of Anjou on the Spanish throne; and refused to grant any other security, than that of renewing the peace of Ryswick. This refusal being communicated to the parliament, both houses resolved to request his majesty would concert measures with the states-general for putting a stop to the designs of France in the Netherlands; assuring him they would always be ready to enable him to fulfil the conditions of the treaty subsisting between England and Holland.

William thanked them for the assurances they had given him; and said, he did not doubt but the readiness they had shewn on this occasion would greatly contribute to the procuring such a security as they desired. But he was far from approving their address, as it implied their disapprobation of a new confederacy, which he was very desirous of forming. They seemed to limit their assistance to the obtaining a new barrier in the Netherlands, without entering into a war for the recovery of the kingdom of Spain. He therefore thought it most prudent to acknowledge the duke of Anjou's title to that crown, and to congratulate him on his accession.

Alarmed and exasperated at this incident, the emperor loudly complained that he was abandoned by his allies at the very time he stood most in need of their assistance. He, however, determined to assert his right by force of arms; and accordingly sent prince Eugene into Italy, at the head of an army, to take possession of the dutchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire. Both the pope and the Venetians were attached to the French interest, but refused to declare themselves at this important crisis.

The Dutch, who had dearly experienced the ambitious designs of the French king, notwithstanding all his pretensions of friendship and esteem, exerted themselves in providing for their own security, by reinforcing their garrisons, and soliciting succours from foreign powers. They also wrote a letter to king William, in which they expressed the most sincere zeal for the interest of England, and earnestly requested that the stipulated number of troops might be immediately sent to their assistance. The king laid the letter before the parliament, on which the commons came to the following resolution: "That they will effectually assist his majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberties of Europe; and will immediately provide succours for the states-general, pursuant to the treaty."

The lords went farther: they addressed his majesty in a very warm, affectionate manner; requesting that his majesty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the states-general, but that he would enter into a league offensive and defensive with them for their common preservation, and invite into it all princes and states that were concerned in the visible danger arising from the union of France with Spain. They also exhorted him to enter into such alliances with the emperor as his majesty should think prudent, assuring him of their resolution to assist him in the most effectual manner.

But though both houses had declared their resolutions to support his majesty, they determined to shew their displeasure against the partition treaty. The earls of Portland and Oxford, the lords Somers and Hallifax, by whose advice the treaty was supposed to have been concluded, were impeached by the commons; but the upper house declared the impeachments null and void. This exasperated the commons, and the most alarming animosities between the two houses succeeded.

The whigs now determined to exert their whole power against the tory parliament, who were become



obnoxious to the people. They openly charged them with being pensioners to the French king, whose interest they espoused on all occasions. They represented them as implacable enemies to the present government; and that all their views and actions tended ultimately to the restoration of the abdicated king and his family. They even endeavoured to procure petitions from the city of London, and several of the principal counties of England, to express their disapprobation of the proceedings of the commons, and the present ministry; flattering themselves with being able, by that means, to procure a revolution in favour of their own party. They, however, failed in general; the county of Kent alone would be prevailed upon to send up a petition to parliament: it was conceived in the following terms:

"We the gentlemen, justices of the peace, grand jury, and other freeholders, at the general quarter-sessions of the peace at Maidstone in Kent, deeply concerned at the dangerous estate of this kingdom, and of all Europe; and considering that the fate of us, and our posterity, depends upon the wisdom of our representatives in parliament; think ourselves bound in duty humbly to lay before this honourable house the consequences, in this conjuncture, of your speedy resolutions and most sincere endeavour to answer the great trust reposed in you by our country.

"And in regard that, from the experience of all ages, it is manifest that no nation can be great or happy without union; we hope that no pretence whatever shall be able to create a misunderstanding among ourselves, or the least distrust of his most sacred majesty, whose great actions for this kingdom are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgot.

"We most humbly implore this honourable house to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for; that your royal addresses may be turned into bills of supply; and that his most sacred majesty, whose propitious and unblemished reign over us we pray God long to continue, may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late."

This petition, which was signed by the deputy-lieutenants of the county, several justices of the peace, and all the grand jury and other freeholders, was boldly delivered to the house of commons by David Polhill, William Colepepper, Thomas Colepepper, Justinian Champney, and William Hamilton, Esqrs. The house was immediately in a flame: the petition was voted to be a scandalous, insolent, and seditious libel, calculated to destroy the constitution of parliaments, and to subvert the established government of these kingdoms. It was, at the same time, ordered, that the five persons who had presented it to the house should be taken into custody.

This tyrannical exertion of power raised a great ferment in the nation, and the most indecent reflections were published against the Tories. Among the rest, a memorial appeared, signed Legion, against the house. "The English (said the memorialists) ought no more to be slaves to the parliament, than to the king." They promised to second him in all his measures, to set bounds to the exorbitant power of France; and concluded with this remarkable sentence, "Our name is Legion, and we are many." These complaints of the people were not unuseful to the king. The commons saw their error, and instantly altered their measures. They presented an address to his majesty, wherein they declared they would support him to the utmost; and desired him to engage in such alliances with the emperor, and other powers, as he should think necessary for bridling the exorbitant power of France, and maintaining the independency of Europe. They voted the sum of one million and a half for the public expences, thirty thousand seamen, and that ten thousand troops should be sent immediately to the assistance of the States-general.

The misunderstanding was, however, still so great between the two houses, that it was thought proper

to put an end to the session of parliament. Accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of June, the king came to the house of peers; and having sent for the commons, they attended with their speaker, who, on presenting the money-bills, made the following speech to his majesty:

"Sir, it is with great joy and satisfaction that I attend your majesty at this time, since your commons have complied with all your majesty was pleased to desire at their meeting. They have passed the bill of succession, which has settled the crown in a protestant line, and continued the liberty of England, which your majesty hath settled and preserved. They have passed a bill for taking away those privileges which might have proved burdensome and oppressive to your subjects. They have given your majesty those supplies, which are more than ever were given in a time of peace, to enable your majesty, when you are abroad, to support your allies, procure either a lasting peace, or to preserve the liberties of Europe by a necessary war."

The king thanked both houses for the great zeal they had expressed for the public service, and their ready compliance with what he had recommended to them at the opening of the parliament; and particularly thanked the commons for the supplies, and for the encouragement they had given him to enter into alliances for the preservation of Europe: and, after giving the royal assent to the bills presented to him, he put an end to the session.

The ten thousand auxiliaries, under the command of the earl of Marlborough, were ordered to embark immediately for Holland; and, after settling a regency, his majesty passed over to the continent, where he assisted at an assembly of the States. He told them in his speech, "That he always came into that country with joy, but especially in this dangerous conjuncture, because he foresaw his presence would be necessary for the service of the state: that he hoped to have passed the rest of his days in repose and peace, and to have left that state in a flourishing condition; but there had happened such great alterations in the affairs of Europe, that he knew not what might be the consequence: that he could, however, assure their High Mightinesses, that whether things were accommodated amicably, or whether they should be obliged to have recourse to arms, he persisted in the same zeal he ever had for their service and prosperity; and could declare, that the whole English nation were ready to assist the states, and strongly contribute towards their defence, and to whatever might tend to the common security."

The states, in their answer, which was equally affectionate, told his majesty, "That they could not omit to thank him for his assurances, not only in his own, but in the name of the English nation, in favour of themselves and the common cause, well knowing how much they might rely upon a people whose courage had gained so much reputation in the world, and were always of opinion that their interests were inseparable from those of England."

A treaty was soon after signed between the emperor, England and Holland, against France, for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria; and for the security of England and Holland, with regard to their commerce and navigation, and of the succession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, as well as a safe barrier to the Dutch.

Marlborough, who was not only at the head of the English army, but also appointed plenipotentiary to the states, soon convinced the world that his superior talents were equally adapted to war and negotiation, and rendered his appointment at once glorious to his prince and to himself. Prince Eugene had already begun the war in Italy, and shewed himself worthy of the great reputation he enjoyed.

Every method was now made use of, both by France and the allies, for increasing their forces by sea and land; but, perhaps, a declaration of war might



might have been deferred till the next summer, if an accident had not happened which hastened the crisis. James II. paid the debt of nature at St. Germain on the sixteenth of September, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his exile. Lewis, who seemed to bid defiance to the several powers of Europe confederated against him, caused the son of the deceased prince to be declared king of England. He could not have taken a surer method to unite the English against him. It was in vain that he declared in a manifesto he published on this occasion, that he meant not to violate the treaty of Ryswick, or to disturb William in his possession of the crown. The English, already disposed for war, considered themselves as insulted, and breathed nothing but vengeance. The city of London, and most of the counties in England, transmitted addresses to his majesty in Holland, declaring their sense of the indignity offered him, and promising to support his government against the pretender and all his enemies.

The king returned to his British dominions on the fifth of November, and soon after the parliament was dissolved, and a new one appointed to meet on the thirtieth of December. The reason alledged for the dissolution of this parliament was, that his majesty might have the sense of the nation at this alarming conjuncture; but it is more than probable, that the chief inducement was that of preventing a revival of the heats and animosities between the two houses, as it was feared they might delay the supplies necessary for the approaching war.

The parliament met pursuant to the proclamation; and though the Whigs had gained an incontestible majority, yet Mr. Harley, who was considered as the leader of the tory party, was chosen speaker. The next day the king came to the house, and opened the session with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,  
I promise myself you are met together, full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and the late proceedings of the French king which has been to fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people.

"The owning and setting up the pretended prince of Wales for king of England, is not only the highest indignity offered to me and the nation, but does nearly concern every man who has a regard for the protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to heart, to consider what future effectual means may be used for securing the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and extinguish the hopes of all pretenders, and their open and secret abettors.

"By the French king's placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken. Under this pretence he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy: he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as his own dominions; and by that means he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expence and inconveniences of war.

"This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner, in respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in all the various branches of it; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect to that part which England ought to take in the preservation of Europe.

"In order to obviate the general calamity with which the rest of Christendom is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded several alliances according to the encouragement given me by both houses of parliament, which I will direct shall be laid before you, and which, I doubt not, you will enable me to make good.

"There are some other treaties still depending,

which shall likewise be communicated to you as soon as perfected.

"It is fit I should tell you the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament: All matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known, and therefore no time ought to be lost.

"You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity, the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English nation; but I tell you plainly my opinion is, if you do not lay hold of this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another.

"In order to do your part it will be necessary to have a great navy, and to provide for the security of our ships in harbour; and also that there be such a force at land, as is expected in proportion to the forces of our allies.

"Gentlemen of the house of Commons;

"I do recommend these matters to you with that concern and earnestness which their importance requires: at the same time I cannot but press you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preserved, but by keeping sacred that maxim, that they shall never be losers who trust to parliamentary security.

"It is always with regret when I do ask aids of my people; but you will observe that I desire nothing which relates to any personal expence of mine: I am only desiring you to do all you can for your own safety and honour, at so critical and dangerous a time; and am willing that what is given should be wholly appropriated to the purpose for which it is intended.

"And since I am speaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind, that during the late war, I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before you, and also gave my assent to several bills for stating and examining the public accounts, that my subjects might have the satisfaction to know how the money given for the war was applied; and I am willing that matter may be put in any other way or examination, that it may appear whether there have been any misapplications and mismanagements; or whether the debt that remains upon us has really arisen from the shortness of supplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

"I have already told you how necessary dispatch will be for carrying on that great public business, whereon our safety, and all that is valuable to us, depends. I hope what time can be spared will be employed about those other very desirable things I have recommended from the throne; I mean the forming some good bills for employing the poor, for encouraging trade, and the suppression of vice.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences, and resolved to act with a general and hearty consent, for promoting the common cause, which alone can make this a happy session.

"I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if I could find you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy and fatal animosities, which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest offence committed against me.

"Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of your enemies, by your unanimity. I have shewn, and will always shew, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions: let there be no other distinction heard amongst us for the future, but of those who are for the protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who wish for a popish prince and a French government.

"I will only add this, if you do in good earnest desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the protestant interest, it will appear by your rightly improving the present opportunity."



This truly patriotic speech was received by the nation with great applause. Both houses presented separate addresses of thanks to his majesty, but agreed in returning him thanks for his speech, and in assuring him that they would support his title and the protestant succession, and enable him to make good all his alliances for the preservation of the liberties of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. These addresses were graciously received by his majesty, who expressed the satisfaction he conceived of their duty and affection. The whole nation in general were satisfied with these proceedings, and the utmost expedition was used in completing the armaments for carrying on the war with vigour, both by sea and land. Forty thousand men were voted for the sea service, and the same number to make up the complement of the army. The commons also voted, that whoever would advance or lend the sum of six hundred thousand pounds for the service of the fleet, and fifty thousand pounds for the present subsistence of the land-forces, should be paid the principal, with interest after the rate of six per cent. out of the first aids granted by parliament.

A. D. 1702. The behaviour of Lewis had so highly exasperated the nation, that both houses joined in an address to his majesty, beseeching him that no peace should be concluded with France till reparation was made to the king and the people by the French monarch. They prepared a bill of attainder against the pretender, James's son; and another, to oblige all persons in office to take an oath to maintain the established government, and the church of England, with a toleration for non-conformists. Ten peers protested against this bill, as appearing to them to impose a new obligation, as useless as it was severe.

William, now on very good terms with his parliament, was wholly employed in his great designs; and though threatened with approaching death, made preparations for the ensuing campaign, determined to put himself at the head of his army. But this he never accomplished. His life was drawing to a period, and an accident happened which hastened the melancholy event. His health had been, for some time, visibly declining; and he had retired to Hampton-Court, where he amused himself with his favourite diversions of riding and hunting. As he was taking the air on the twenty-first of February, in the park of Hampton-Court, he unfortunately

fell from his horse, and broke his collar bone. He was immediately carried into the palace, where the bone was set, and he returned the same evening to Kensington. He seemed to be in a fair way of recovery, and on the fourth of March took several turns in the gallery; but being somewhat fatigued, he sat down on a couch, and fell asleep. He was soon after seized with a fever; and, notwithstanding all attempts to remove his complaint, the disorder continued to increase. He was sensible that his end was approaching, and met death with that firmness of mind which always distinguished him. "I know (said he to his physicians) that you have done every thing your art could do to assist me; but it is useless, and I submit." He continued sensible to the last moment, and died about eight in the morning of the eighth of March, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

William possessed not the amiable and attractive virtues. He had less sensibility than policy, and solicited popularity only occasionally. But he had merit sufficient to distinguish him from the generality of princes. He was a great general, and often gained more by a defeat than the French by a victory. He had inspired his troops with a confidence and courage that rendered them superior to all danger and bad success: and if his actions be fairly weighed in the balance of reason, we shall, perhaps, think his merit equal to most of the kings that ever filled the English throne. He was considered as a friend in whom the most unlimited confidence might be placed by most of the powers of Europe. He was indefatigable in business, and maintained the most inviolable attachment to his allies. Under the weight of labour, and in the languor of sickness, he contended with Lewis XIV. and humbled his prosperous power. He was the prop of Germany, and the support of the protestant religion. The English learned from him the strength of their maritime and commercial power. He governed Holland without despotism, but with a kind of absolute authority, founded wholly on confidence and esteem. These are circumstances more than sufficient to immortalize his memory. He was no friend to letters. Nursed in a camp, amidst the noise of battle, he imbibed not the amiable desire of being the patron of the muses. Had he been as attentive as Lewis XIV. to encourage genius, he would have enjoyed the same encomiums.

## A N N E.

A. D. 1702. **A** N N E, princess of Denmark, second daughter of James II. ascended the English throne on the death of king William, pursuant to the act of settlement. The privy-council having been assembled during the late king's illness, waited on the princess immediately after his death, and recognized her title to the throne. She received them with the most engaging affability, expressed her sense of the great loss the nation had sustained, and of the heavy burden it brought upon herself in particular. But added, that the sincere regard she had to the religion and liberties of her country, would influence her to leave nothing undone on her part to preserve them inviolable, to maintain the succession in the protestant line, and the government as by law established. She also declared her resolution to carry on the preparations for opposing the exorbitant power of France; and that she would lose no time in giving her allies the strongest assurances, that she would pursue the true interest of England, together with that of the confederates, for the support of the common cause.

The whole nation promised themselves a long series of prosperity under the government of this beloved princess. Her irreproachable manners, the gravity of her disposition, and her firm attachment to the church, had already rendered her person dear to the people. The parliament, which, by virtue of an act passed in the late reign, continued sitting after the king's death, declared the princess Anne the lawful queen of these realms, and issued orders for proclaiming her, which was done with great solemnity. On the eleventh of March, the queen went to the house of peers with the usual solemnity, and delivered the following speech to the parliament:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot too much lament my own unhappiness in succeeding so immediately after the loss of a king, who was the great support, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe: and I am extremely sensible of the weight and difficulty it brings upon me.

"But the true concern I have for our religion, for the laws and liberties of England, for the maintaining the succession to the crown in the protestant line,

and



and for the government in church and state as by law established, encourages me in this great undertaking, which I promise myself will be successful by the blessing of God, and the continuance of that fidelity and affection, of which you have given me so full assurance.

"The present conjuncture of affairs requires the greatest application and dispatch; and I am very glad to find in your several addresses so unanimous a concurrence in the same opinion with me, that too much cannot be done for the encouragement of our allies, to reduce the exorbitant power of France.

"I cannot but think it very necessary, upon this occasion, to desire you to consider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland, which has been so lately recommended to you as a matter that very nearly concerns the peace and security of both kingdoms.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I need not put you in mind, that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government is expired.

"I rely entirely upon your affections for supplying it in such a manner as shall be most suitable for the honour and dignity of the crown.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It shall be my constant endeavour to make you the best return for that duty and affection you have expressed to me by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all my subjects: and as I know my own heart to be entirely English, I can very sincerely assure you, there is not any thing you can expect or desire from me, which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England; and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word."

Pleased with this speech from the throne, both houses joined in a warm address of thanks to her majesty; and on the fourteenth of March, they voted, that the same revenue which had been settled on king William, should be settled on her majesty during her life. The queen lost no time in informing her allies of her resolution to pursue the measures of his late majesty. She wrote a letter to the states-general, assuring them that they should find the same readiness to pursue the measures for preserving the common liberties of Europe, as they would had the life of the late king been extended to a much longer date. Animated by these assurances, the states renewed their applications to the necessary business for carrying on the war with vigour; and published the queen's letter, to refute the reports that had been artfully raised by the enemy, that the queen would not pursue the measures concerted by king William and the confederates. Marlborough arrived at the Hague on the twenty-eighth of March, in quality of her majesty's ambassador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses. He confirmed them in their resolutions for having recourse to vigorous measures, and animated the league that was formed to humble France.

Persuaded that the alliance formed by the late king would terminate with the breath of William, Lewis could not refrain his joy when the news of that prince's death reached Versailles. He immediately sent credentials to his minister at the Hague, with instructions for renewing the negotiations with the states, in order, if possible, to detach them from the grand alliance. The French ambassador accordingly presented a memorial, offering them the friendship of his master, and very advantageous terms, if they would agree to a treaty of peace. He added, that he doubted not of their accepting his offer, now they were no longer under the influence of the late king. But, at the same time, gave them to understand, that if, contrary to his expectation, they refused his offers, the forces of his master were ready to enter upon action; and they must now determine, whether they chose quiet and liberty, or war and ruin. "The choice (said he) is in your own power, and

I hope you will not sacrifice the happiness and tranquillity of your country to foreign interests."

The answer returned by the states-general was worthy of a people who were determined to preserve their liberty. "We have always (said they) cherished a high esteem for his most Christian majesty's friendship; nor ever done any thing to incur his displeasure; but the alarming preparations for war so near our frontiers, lay us under the necessity of putting ourselves in a posture of defence, and of asking assistance from our allies. You are mistaken, Sir, if you think we had not as much liberty to debate, and take such resolutions as were judged necessary for our preservation, in the life-time of his Britannic majesty, as at present. We cannot, indeed, enough deplore our misfortune, in being deprived of his wise conduct and councils, whose deserts the republic can never forget; and we are resolved to follow the same principles, and continue the same alliances we entered into during his life-time; and make use of such other means as God hath put into our hands for maintaining our liberties and religion."

This spirited answer put an end to the negotiation. The French ambassador returned to Paris, and the states-general applied themselves, with the utmost vigour, for opposing the ambitious designs of the French monarch. The allies were animated by the declarations of the queen; and the earl of Marlborough, after concerting measures for beginning the military operations, returned to England.

When the queen came to the house of peers to give the royal assent to the bills that were ready, among which was that for the better support of her majesty's household, she told the commons, after returning them thanks for having continued to her the same revenue they had settled on her predecessor, that though it would, in all probability, fall short of what it had formerly produced, she would, nevertheless, give directions, that one hundred thousand pounds should be applied this year to the public service. "I am willing (said she) to streighten myself in my own expences, rather than not contribute all I can to the ease and relief of my people."

The parliament were so struck with this generous and unexpected declaration, that both houses presented an address of thanks to her majesty, in which they mentioned her unparalleled grace and goodness in contributing, out of her own revenue, to the ease and relief of her subjects.

It was now warmly debated in council, whether the English should engage as auxiliaries or principals in the war. The Tories, with the earl of Rochester at their head, supported the former; and the Whigs the latter. It was urged by those who thought it most prudent to act as auxiliaries only, that in the last war, the emperor, and some other of the allies, had been very remiss in furnishing their quotas; and bringing their troops early into the field, whereby many advantages had been lost, and the whole burden of the war had been, in a manner, thrown upon the English, who constantly supplied their deficiencies; and, from a delicate notion of honour, anticipated their revenues, and mortgaged their country in the quarrel: whereas it would have been otherwise, had they acted only as auxiliaries; they would have had nothing more to do than to have sent their quota of troops; and the burden of the war must have been borne by those who were most nearly concerned in the quarrel.

This opinion was strongly opposed by the Whigs, who were now joined by the earl of Marlborough. He observed, that the honour of the nation was engaged, on this occasion, to fulfil the late king's engagements; and affirmed, that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless the English entered as principals in the quarrel. The majority of the council were of the same opinion; and a declaration of war was ordered to be prepared against France and Spain.

On the fourth of May, the declaration was published,



lished, with the usual solemnities; in which the queen reproached Lewis with interrupting the freedom of commerce and navigation; with having formed a design of enslaving Europe; with having seized a considerable part of the possessions of Spain; and with having personally insulted her, by acknowledging the son of James II. to be king of England. These charges were all founded on fact, and tended greatly to animate the people against the common disturbers of Europe.

Lord Godolphin was now constituted lord high-treasurer, a post his lordship had, for some time, refused, but was at last prevailed upon to accept it by the earl of Marlborough, who refused to command the forces abroad, unless the treasury was put under the care of Godolphin, on whose punctuality, in point of remittances, he knew he could depend. Marlborough being thus sure of the finances, honoured with the highest confidence of the queen, secured of the favour of the parliament and people, blessed with a capacity equal to his interest, of indefatigable activity and invincible courage, made the necessary preparations for putting himself at the head of the allied army.

Lewis XIV. had now no longer those great ministers, whose talents had so greatly contributed to the glory of his reign. His finances were hurt both by the late wars and the extravagant magnificence of his court. His minister Chamillard, an honest man, but of a narrow capacity, a creature of Madame de Maintenon, had the direction of the military department, a charge much too great for his talents. The resources of government seemed, as it were, in the old age of monarchy, and France found herself in a very critical situation at the very opening of the first campaign.

The emperor and the states-general followed the example of the English, and declared war against France and Spain. The declaration of the former turned principally on the flagrant injury that had been done to the Austrian family by the French king's accepting of the will of Charles II. in favour of his grandson, the duke of Anjou. The states-general observed, "That Lewis had long since cast his eyes upon their provinces; that he had twice attacked them by a most unjust war, in order to open himself a passage to universal monarchy: that he was so far from intending to preserve the peace of Ryswick, that he aimed only at hulling the allies asleep, by prevailing upon them to lay down their arms; and, by ruining the commerce of the Dutch, to render them incapable of making any effectual opposition to his ambitious designs; for that treaty was hardly ratified, before he began evidently to encroach on their trade, the great sinew of their strength, by openly refusing the tariff promised by that treaty."

Lewis was highly incensed at these declarations, especially that of the states, which he affected to treat with the utmost contempt; but did not publish his declaration of war till the beginning of July. He exerted all his power to engage the German princes in his interest, and was so far successful, that the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the two dukes of Wolfenbuttle, Rodolphus and Anthony, were prevailed upon to declare in his favour.

The elector Palatine opened the campaign with the siege of Keyserwart, a strong town on the Rhine, which the elector of Cologne had put into the hands of the French. The place was invested in the month of April, but not taken till the seventeenth of July, occasioned by the badness of the weather, and the overflowing of the Rhine.

Marlborough, who had been appointed generalissimo of the allied army, was now at the Hague, regulating the operations of the campaign. Trained up to arms in the military school of the great Turenne, he had more than once received the approbation and thanks of that consummate master in the art of war, for his gallant behaviour. Equally skilled in the intrigues of the cabinet and the field, he

possessed the happy art of gaining the hearts of all who were connected with him. Endowed with an exquisite discernment, he always discovered the lucky moment, the very instant it presented itself, and never failed to take the advantage it offered, either in the field or the cabinet. He thoroughly understood the interests of the powers he served, and seldom failed to penetrate the designs of the enemy. Favoured in a particular manner with the confidence of the troops, he was able to avert the impending dangers by his prudence and foresight, or pluck the wreath of conquest from the foe by his courage and presence of mind.

It is no wonder that a general endowed with all these great talents, and who received not from a first minister the plan of his operations, should be able to stop the career of Lewis XIV. and oblige him at last to sue for that peace his arms were unable to command. Marlborough's first campaign gained him universal applause, and confirmed the expectations the allies had formed of his great abilities. He joined the army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen on the thirtieth of June, passed the Maese on the sixteenth of July, and endeavoured to bring the French army, commanded by the duke of Burgundy and marshal Boufflers, to a general engagement; but this he found impossible. The French chose rather to abandon Spanish Guelderland to the discretion of the allies, than hazard a battle. They retreated under the cannon of Nimeguen; and the duke of Burgundy, who came to the army merely to learn the method of conducting an engagement, learned nothing but how to avoid one. He returned to court; and Lewis was so highly exasperated at the pusillanimous conduct of Boufflers, that he deprived him entirely of his confidence.

The states-general now requested Marlborough to make himself master of the towns in Spanish Guelderland, which would open entirely the navigation of the Maese, and on that account be of the utmost advantage to Holland. The general readily listened to their desire, and took Venlo, Ruremonde, Stevenswart, and Liege. The citadel of the last, which was taken by storm on the twenty-third of October, was extremely rich, the most opulent merchants and others having there deposited their valuable effects, as in a place of safety. No less than three hundred thousand florins in gold and silver were found in it, besides notes for about one million two hundred thousand florins more, drawn upon substantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. The whole booty was, in short, so considerable, that an English grenadier is said to have received a thousand louis d'ors for his own share. Boufflers continually retreated before the victorious Marlborough, who now repaired to Holland, and was received at the Hague with every mark of the most perfect esteem.

The late king had planned an expedition for reducing Cadiz, and it was now determined to carry it into execution. Sir George Rooke was appointed admiral of the fleet, and the duke of Ormond commander of the land-forces. The fleet, when joined by the Dutch, consisted of fifty ships of the line, thirty English, and twenty Dutch. The transports had fourteen thousand land-forces on board. The fleet sailed on the first of July, and on the twelfth of August anchored in the bay of Bulls, about two leagues distant from Cadiz. The troops were landed on the fifteenth of August, and soon after made themselves masters of Rota and Port St. Mary's. The strictest orders had been issued against plundering before the forces reached either of these places; but it was not in the power of the officers to prevent their hungry and thirsty soldiers from forcing the houses where they expected to find refreshments. Nor was it long before they made their way to the cellars, which they found stored with rich and strong wines. They now became wholly ungovernable, plundered the city, and being joined by the seamen, sent the spoil on board the ships. They stripped the churches and altars



altars, of, their plate, and the houses of their treasure and rich furniture, so that the value of the whole was above a million sterling.

So much time was spent at Port St. Mary's, that the garrison of Cadiz had recovered from their consternation; while the late excesses had so highly provoked the Spaniards, that they joined their army from every quarter in great numbers, determined to oppose the invaders of their country. The season of the year was also now so far advanced, that the ships could not, without the utmost danger, continue longer in those seas. The troops were therefore embarked, and the fleet sailed for England.

But though the expedition against Cadiz was unsuccessful, an incident happened which enabled them to perform an action of the utmost service to their country. Captain Hardy having been detached, in the *Pembroke*, to Lagos, a harbour on the coast of Portugal, to fetch water for the fleet, was informed that M. Chateau Renauld, with a squadron of French men of war, and the Spanish galleons, were put into Vigo, a port of Galicia, in Spain, situated in the bay of Bayonne. It was immediately determined to attempt to destroy this fleet, and they accordingly stood towards Vigo. The passage into the harbour, which was not more than three quarters of a mile broad, was defended on each side with batteries, forts, and breast-works, and a strong boom, consisting of iron chains, top-masts and cables, was stretched across the entrance. Within this boom were seven seventy gun ships, moored with their broadsides to the entrance of the passage.

It was now determined that a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war, with all the fire-ships, should be sent in to destroy the enemy's fleet; that the frigates should follow the rear of this detachment; and that the great ships should move forward, in order to support them, if their assistance should be wanted: that the army should be landed, and attack the forts that defended the entrance of the harbour.

The land forces, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, were accordingly landed, and marched directly to the fort which guarded the entrance of the harbour; and though there appeared about eight thousand Spanish foot between the fort and the hills, they had only a few skirmishes with the English, who soon made themselves masters of the fort, the enemy retiring into an old castle or stone tower, from which they fired briskly on the ships. But opening the gate to fall out upon the English, the grenadiers forced their way into the place sword in hand, and forced the garrison, consisting of three hundred and fifty men, to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The taking of these fortifications greatly facilitated the attempt on the shipping. The admiral made a signal to weigh soon after the land forces were ashore, and the whole squadron stood in towards the boom; but when the van was within cannon-shot of the batteries, it fell calm, so that they were under a necessity of coming to an anchor; but a fresh gale springing up soon after, they cut their cables, and stood directly for the harbour. Vice-admiral Hobson, in the *Torbay*, who led the van, crowded all the sail he could, and stood directly against the boom, which immediately gave way, and he entered the harbour. The rest of the fleet were not so fortunate. The Dutch admiral and his squadron, who laid their ships broadsides to the boom, in order to add weight to the shock of the *Torbay*, stuck fast, and they were obliged to cut themselves a passage. The whole squadron now entered the harbour, through a terrible fire from the enemies ships and batteries, which, however, they soon silenced. Admiral Hobson was, however, in the utmost danger. He was boarded by a fire-ship, but had the good fortune to beat her off, though not till after his ship had received so much damage, that he was obliged to shift his flag on board the *Monmouth*.

The enemy perceiving that it would now be impossible to defend their ships against the superior

power and valour of the assailants, resolved to set fire to their own ships, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. They accordingly burnt eight ships, six galleons, and two advice-boats, but ten French men of war and eleven galleons were taken. The Spaniards had, however, secured a considerable part of their plate, and other rich merchandize, on the appearance of the combined fleet. Near fourteen millions of pieces of eight were lost in six galleons that were burnt, and about half that value brought off by the conquerors. This was a dreadful blow to the enemy, who were thus at once deprived of their ships and treasure.

Admiral Benbow was not so fortunate in the West-Indies. He had, for some time, protected the trade, with great vigilance and success, in that quarter of the world. That brave, but violent man, had incurred the hatred of several of his officers, which, joined with a dastardly spirit, gave the enemy an advantage they could never otherwise have obtained. Benbow's fleet consisted of seven sail of the line, and with this force he scoured the seas of the many privateers that were very injurious to the English trade. Being informed that M. du Caffé, a French admiral, with ten sail of ships, was expected at Hispaniola, Benbow determined, if possible, to intercept him. On the nineteenth of August, he had sight of the enemy, and soon after began the engagement with three ships only; the other four falling astern, came not within gun-shot of the enemy. Had they done their duty, the whole French squadron must have fallen into their hands. Benbow, however, continued the fight, and soon disabled one of the enemy's ships. But du Caffé perceiving that he was not seconded by the rest of his ships, attacked him with the utmost fury, and the admiral had the misfortune to have one of his legs shattered to pieces by a chain-shot. He, however, continued the fight with the same intrepidity; but fearing, from the behaviour of his captains, that they would desert to the enemy, he was obliged to retire to Jamaica. On his arrival, he issued a commission to vice-admiral Whetstone to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. One of them died before the trial; two of them, Kirby and Wade, were convicted, and sentenced to be shot; and the third cashiered and imprisoned. The queen was no sooner informed of their behaviour, than she sent down warrants to all the sea-ports for them to be shot immediately, in order to prevent any applications in their favour. They were sent to England in the *Bristol*, and as soon as she came to an anchor in Plymouth-Sound, they were both shot, pursuant to their sentence.

When Benbow received the wound, his captain expressed his concern for the misfortune. "I am as sorry as you," (replied Benbow) "but I would lose every limb I have sooner than see the disgrace of my country." He spoke the real sentiments of his heart; and was so deeply affected by this misfortune, that he became melancholy, which, added to the fever occasioned by his wound, put a period to his life, and deprived the queen of one of the best sea-officers England ever produced.

The parliament was to continue only six months after the death of the late King; but her majesty, before the expiration of that term, thought proper to dissolve it, and call a new one, which met for business on the twenty-third of October. The Tories had so prejudiced the people against the behaviour of the whigs, that they had a very considerable majority in this parliament; a circumstance very agreeable to the queen, whose partiality for that party was always remarkable. The commons having chosen Robert Harley, Esq; for their speaker, her majesty came to the house of peers, and opened the session with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is with great satisfaction I meet this parliament, which I have summoned to assist me in carrying on the just and necessary war in which we are engaged,



engaged. I have called you together as early as was consistent with your convenience in coming out of your several counties; and I assure myself of such evidences of your affections to me, and your zeal for our common cause, as will not only give spirit and forwardness to our own preparations, but such example and encouragement to our allies, as, by God's blessing, cannot fail of a good effect, for the advantage of the whole confederacy.

"I have met with so many expressions of joy and satisfaction in all the counties through which I have lately had occasion to pass, that I cannot but look upon them as true measures of the duty and affection of the rest of my subjects.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I must desire you to grant me such supplies as will enable me to comply both with our particular treaties and engagements already made, and such others as may be necessary for the encouragement of our allies, and the prosecuting the war where it shall most sensibly affect our enemies, and be most effectual for disappointing the boundless ambition of France.

"And that my subjects may the more cheerfully bear the necessary taxes, I desire you to inspect the accounts of the public receipts and payments; and if there have been any abuses or mismanagements, I hope you will detect them, that the offenders may be punished, and others be deterred, by such like examples, from the like practices. I must observe to you, with some concern, that the funds given by the last parliament have, in some measure, fallen short of the sums proposed to be raised by them; and tho' I have already paid and applied to the public service the hundred thousand pounds I promised to the last parliament, yet it has not supplied that deficiency.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot, without much trouble, take notice to you of the disappointment we had at Cadiz. I have not yet had a particular account of that enterprize, nor of all the difficulties our forces may have met with there. But I have had such a representation of disorders and abuses committed at Port St. Mary's, as has obliged me to give directions for the strictest examination of that matter.

"I am earnestly desirous, for all our sakes, that this may prove a short session. However, I hope you will find time to consider of some better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and to improve that manufacture, which is of so great consequence to the kingdom. On my part, nothing shall be omitted for its encouragement.

"I am firmly persuaded, that the love and good affection of my subjects is the surest pledge of their duty and obedience, and the truest and justest support of the throne. And as I am resolved to defend and maintain the church as by law established, and to protect you in the full enjoyment of all your rights and liberties; so I rely on your care of me. My interests and yours are inseparable; and my endeavours shall never be wanting to make you all safe and happy."

These sentiments, which every sovereign ought to cultivate, had the merit of sincerity; and the addresses of both houses were full of the strongest expressions of duty, esteem, and acknowledgment. The address of the commons was remarkable for their prejudice against the memory of the late king. The purport of the address was, that the astonishing progress of her majesty's arms, under the earl of Marlborough, had retrieved the ancient honours of the English nation. This expression was very injurious to the memory of William; and therefore occasioned long and very warm debates in the house. The word "retrieved" was particularly objected to, and the word "maintained" offered to be substituted in its room. But the Tories supported the expression, and it passed by a majority of a hundred voices.

The necessary supplies were granted. The duke of Ormond and admiral Rooke received the thanks of both houses for the expedition to Vigo. Marl-

borough was created a duke, and received the honours he so justly deserved. The queen settled a pension upon him of five thousand pounds a year, and was desirous it should descend to his posterity. This occasioned very warm debates in the house of commons; and the duke intreated the queen to give up a requisition which might be injurious to the public: and the commons, in extolling the services of the general, said, they were only afraid of authorizing, by a precedent, an alienation of the crown revenues, which had been extremely diminished by the excessive grants of the late reign. They secured to the prince of Denmark an annual pension of one hundred thousand pounds, provided he survived her majesty. He was also exempted from that clause in the act of succession, which excluded all foreigners from offices, though they were naturalized; and was created lord high-admiral of England. But the quality of husband to the queen gave him no authority. Anne reigned alone; and he shared in her glory, without acquiring any part of it himself.

The Tories, who had greatly the majority in the house of commons, and were favoured by the queen, carried all before them with the utmost violence. Firmly attached to the church of England, they covered their animosities under the pretence of zeal. Great part of the Whigs, though, to all appearance, united with the church of England, at least so far as not to scruple the ordinary oaths, frequented the assemblies of the non-conformists, without being deprived of any advantage as subjects. The reigning party, instigated by the hatred they bore them, were desirous of excluding them from all employments. They considered as a real schism that occasional conformity, which, under an appearance of submission, concealed a determined revolt from the orthodox faith. In consequence of this opinion, a bill was brought into the lower house, the preamble to which condemned persecution, though it seemed wholly calculated to promote it. Whoever had taken the oaths for holding a place, and afterwards frequented any of the assemblies of the non-conformists, became, according to the tenor of this bill, incapable of holding such employment, was liable to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day he held his employment, after having been at any such meeting: nor could he hold any other employment till after one whole year's conformity.

The promoters of this bill pretended, that a national church being requisite, as well for the support of religion as the tranquillity of the state, it was absolutely necessary to maintain it by trusting the civil power in the hands of such only as were faithful to its rules and principles; that it was absurd to give places of consequence to a set of men whose consciences were too tender to obey the laws, yet hardy enough to violate them; that it is contradictory to common sense to be at the same time a conformist and a non-conformist, and to embrace sincerely a communion to which they did not accede; and that this bill added nothing to the rights of the church of England, nor took any thing from the rights of toleration passed in the late reign.

In opposition to these reasons, the opponents of the bill alledged, that the dissenters were in general well affected to the present constitution; that in the last and greatest danger to which the church was exposed, they zealously supported her against all the papists, their common enemies, and have ever since continued to shew every mark of affection and submission to the government, in church and state; that to lay any real hardship upon them, or give rise to jealousies and fears at such a juncture, might be attended with dangerous consequences; that toleration had greatly contributed to the safety and reputation of the church; and plainly proved, that liberty of conscience and gentle measures were the most effectual means for increasing the votaries of the established religion, and diminishing the number of dissenters:



dissenters: that the non-conformists could not properly be termed schismatics; without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not only tolerated such schism, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were even more severe than those imposed by law upon the papists for assisting at the most solemn act of their religion; and, that toleration and tenderness had always been productive of peace and union, while persecution and violence had never failed to excite discord, and extend superstition.

These arguments were not, however, sufficient to induce the Tories to lay the bill aside: they supported it with all their interest, and the bill passed the lower house by a considerable majority. It was different in the house of peers, where many of the members were in the Whig interest. A very warm debate ensued on the first reading, and several amendments were made to it, namely, that Jacobite meetings should be included; that the one hundred pounds penalty should be reduced to twenty, and that the whole incapacitating clauses should be omitted. They also shortened the terms for information and prosecution, and exempted the dissenters from holding offices for which they could not be qualified without taking the sacrament, provided the act did not extend to university churches, to those of the French and Dutch, or to the governors of hospitals, or the assistants of corporations. These amendments were refused by the commons, and several conferences between the two houses were held on the occasion; but as the lords persisted in adhering to their amendments, and the commons in refusing them, the conferences broke up, and both parties published their proceedings, in vindication of their conduct. The whole interest of the court was exerted on this occasion, but the bill was rejected by one voice only.

A. D. 1703. The convocation had been summoned to meet with the new parliament, but no business of importance was transacted, the disputes between the two houses preventing their taking notice of any thing that required their attention. The whole body of the clergy ranged themselves into two different parties, distinguished by the appellations of "High Church" and "Low Church." The former accused the latter of being Presbyterian hypocrites, and the latter branded the former with being partizans of tyranny and persecution.

These disputes induced the queen to prorogue the parliament. Accordingly her majesty came to the house of peers on the twenty-second of February; and, after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, she put an end to the session by a speech from the throne, in which she thanked them for the dispatch they had given to the public affairs, for the large supplies they had given, and for the provision they had made for the prince. She told them she hoped the dissenters would rest satisfied with the act of toleration, which she was resolved to maintain; that the members of the church would remember she had been educated in their principles, and had been exposed to great difficulties for maintaining them, and therefore they might be assured she would make it her peculiar care to encourage and maintain the church, and transmit it, securely settled, to posterity. She thought some farther laws were necessary for restraining the licentiousness of the press, and hoped they would endeavour to suppress pernicious libels; but above all, she recommended union among themselves; and concluded with acquainting them, that she would apply her share of the prizes taken during the war to the public service.

Scotland was still full of troubles and disputes; and it was feared the contagion would be propagated in England. The queen, desirous of putting an end to all disputes between England and Scotland had made an attempt to unite the two kingdoms, and an act of parliament was passed for that purpose. But though the Scots acknowledged her authority, and swore obedience, they seemed averse to the project.

They gave incessant instances of their inquietude, jealousy, and the animosity of parties, during a long session of their parliament. The ancient genius of the nation shewed its turbulent activity. Bills followed bills without number; the spirit of party had infected all their deliberations. One Fletcher, a furious and intrepid republican, asserted, that Scotland would be enslaved if the submitted to the successor of the crown of England without previously establishing such conditions of government as might serve her as a rampart against the English ministry. The conditions he proposed for the queen's successors were, That all places civil and military; together with all pensions should be conferred by parliament; that the president should be chosen by the assembly; that during the recess of parliament a committee of thirty-six members should have the administration of government under the prince, should act in quality of his council, and be accountable to the parliament of Scotland. He also proposed that the successor should be elected by a majority of voices; and declared he would rather nominate a papist with these conditions, than a good protestant without them. These propositions, however extravagant they may appear, were supported by a strong party in the Scottish parliament, and they were reduced into the form of a bill. Fletcher had many imitators, and many friends. The cry of liberty, and invective against the minister echoed from every part of the house. At last the question was put whether they should take into consideration the supplies, or the state of the nation. One of the members said, that all the fruit of the labours and expences of the nation was only to burden them with fresh supplies, and bend their necks to the yoke of servitude. Another added that their liberties were destroyed, and that the privileges of parliament would soon share the same fate; but that he would defend his own rights at the hazard of his life, and rather die a freeman than live a slave. The duke of Queensberry, the queen's commissioner, opposed the deliberations on Fletcher's bill. This exasperated the party still more, and the earl of Roxborough declared, that if there were no other means of obtaining a right so essential to parliament, it should be sought by the sword. The whole house was now in the highest ferment, and the duke of Queensberry in the utmost danger of being cut to pieces. He however appeased the storm by promising, that in the first session of parliament they should pursue their measures in favour of liberty. He took advantage of this interval of quiet, and prorogued the parliament.

The duke of Ormond had lately been appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the earl of Rochford, who chose to resign his post rather than reside in that kingdom. Ormond was respectable for his merit and generosity, but too much addicted to pleasure, too fond of popular applause, and surrounded by a number of subalterns, whose interested conduct escaped his vigilance. The principal subjects of complaint were malversation and rapine. Great zeal was however shewn for the established government, and an act was passed against the papists, who were suspected to having formed fresh designs in favour of the pretender. The commons also voted the necessary supplies, and granted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the necessary branches of the establishment. They also voted a provision for the half-pay officers; abolished pensions amounting to seventeen thousand pounds a year as unnecessary branches of the establishment; and passed an act for settling the succession of the crown, according to a form sent over from England for that purpose.

In the mean time the greatest preparations were making for the ensuing campaign. It had been agreed that the archduke Charles, son to the emperor, should assume the title of king of Spain, demand the infant of Portugal in marriage, and with the assistance of the maritime powers, undertake some enterprise of importance. The emperor had also promised



to send so powerful an army into the field as to be able to drive the elector of Bavaria from his dominions; but he was so dilatory in his proceedings, that the French king broke all his measures by sending a powerful re-inforcement to the elector under the command of marshal Villars. The imperialists were defeated near Donavert; the duke of Burgundy made himself master of Old Brifac; Tallard took Landau, and gained a victory over the prince of Hesse. The emperor, who had now declared his son king of Spain under the title of Charles III. trembled for his empire.

The allies were successful only where Marlborough commanded; that able general made himself master of Bon, Huy, and Limbourg. The Dutch general Opdam was defeated by the marshal Boufflers, near Eckeren. Nor were the naval operations this year successful. Hardly any thing was done against the enemy. Sir George Rooke, indeed, in a cruise to the bay of Biscay took a French East India ship, worth an hundred thousand pounds, a man of war of thirty-six guns, and a West-India merchantman worth forty thousand pounds. But having been for some time in an ill state of health, he returned home, and obtained leave to go to Bath.

Lewis flattered himself he should now be able to make such successful efforts against the allies, as to obtain an advantageous peace, and support his grandson on the Spanish throne. But two incidents happened which seemed to wear an inauspicious aspect. The duke of Savoy, father-in-law to the young king of Spain, and to the duke of Burgundy, abandoned the cause which Lewis had undertaken to support, as well as the interest of his two sons-in-law, and joined the allies. The offers made him by the house of Austria, and the promises of money from England, induced him to take this unexpected resolution. The same interested motives prevailed upon the king of Portugal to declare in favour of the archduke and join the grand alliances.

On the ninth of November, the queen opened the session of parliament with the following speech from the throne.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I have called you together, as soon as I thought you could conveniently come out of your counties, that no time might be lost in making our preparations for carrying on the present war; in which I do not doubt of your cheerful concurrence, since you must be sensible, that on the success of it depends our own safety and happiness, and that of all Europe.

"I hope I have improved the confidence you imposed upon me last year to your satisfaction, and the advantage of us and our allies, by the treaty with the king of Portugal, and the declaration of the duke of Savoy, which, in a great measure may be imputed to the cheerfulness with which you supported me in this war, and the assurance with which you trusted me in the conduct of it. And we cannot sufficiently acknowledge the goodness of Almighty God, who is pleased to afford us so fair a prospect, as we now have, of bringing it to a glorious and speedy conclusion.

"I must therefore desire you, gentlemen of the House of Commons, to grant me such supplies, as shall be requisite to defray the necessary charge of the war in the next year, with regard not only to our former engagements, but particularly to our alliance lately made with the king of Portugal, for recovering the monarchy of Spain from the house of Bourbon, and restoring it to the house of Austria; which treaty being in itself of the highest importance imaginable, and requiring all possible dispatch in the execution of it, has necessarily occasioned a great expence, even in the present year; though not so much as it will require, and for which, I hope, we shall be amply recompensed in the next.

"The subsidies which will now be immediately required for the assistance of the duke of Savoy, will likewise occasion a farther necessary charge.

"I must take notice to you, that no particular provision was made in the last session, either for the charge of our present expedition to Portugal, or for that of the augmentation of troops desired by the states-general; yet the funds given by parliament have held out so well, and the produce of the prizes has proved so considerable, that you will find the public will not be in debt by reason of either of these additional services.

"I may further observe to you, that though the funds for the civil government are diminished by the war, I have, in conjunction with the states-general, contributed, out of my own revenue, towards some public services, and particularly the support of the circle of Suabia, whose firm adherence to the interest of the allies, under the greatest pressures, well deserved our reasonable assistance. And I shall still be careful not to engage myself in any unnecessary expence of my own, that I may have the more to spare towards the ease of my subjects.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I heartily wish some easy and less chargeable method could be found out for the speedy and effectual manning the fleet.

"I must recommend to you to make some regulation for preventing the excessive price of coals. I have examined this matter, and taken particular care to appoint convoys for that service; but the price has not been in the least abated, notwithstanding a considerable quantity has been imported since that time. This gives great ground of suspicion there may be a combination of some persons to enrich themselves at the general oppression of others, and particularly the poor. It will deserve your consideration, how to remedy this great inconvenience.

"And in all our affairs, I must recommend as much dispatch as the nature of them will admit. This is necessary to make our preparations early; on which, in a great measure, depends the good success of all our enterprizes. I want words to express to you my earnest desire of seeing all my subjects in perfect peace and union among themselves. I have nothing so much at heart as their general welfare and happiness. Let me therefore desire you all, that you would carefully avoid any heats or divisions, that may disappoint me of that satisfaction, and give encouragement to the common enemies of our church and state."

The admonition at the close of this speech was generally thought to regard the occasional conformity bill. The commons, however, determined not to lose sight of their favourite scheme; and the bill was revived early in the session, but with some mitigation in the penalties. It passed the commons by a considerable majority, but was rejected by twelve voices by the lords.

While the parliament was engaged in deliberating on this bill, the most dreadful tempest happened that had been known in the memory of man. The violence of the storm was confined to the southern parts of England, where the damage was very great. It began on the twenty-seventh of November, and the wind was so violent that several houses in London were blown down, and the whole city so dreadfully shaken, that the inhabitants expected to be buried under the ruins of the buildings. The greater part of our navy was then at sea, a circumstance that filled the nation with terror. And had not the fury of the storm happened at high-water the loss might have proved fatal to the nation. Fourteen or fifteen men of war was lost, and near fifteen hundred seamen perished. Several merchant ships were also cast away.

The commons immediately presented an address to her majesty, expressing their sense of this national calamity, and that they would not suffer any diminution in the royal navy, and would therefore make immediate provision for repairing the loss occasioned by the late storm, and besought her majesty to give orders for building such capital ships as she should think



think proper, assuring her that the house would effectually make good the expence.

When the treaty with Portugal was concluded, it was determined to send the archduke into that kingdom, in order to attempt to dethrone the duke of Anjou, and seize the crown, which he claimed as his right. A fleet was accordingly fitted out to convey him to Lisbon, under the command of Sir George Rooke. The prince landed in England about the middle of December, and soon after embarked with a considerable number of English and Dutch troops. At his arrival at Lisbon he was received with all the external marks of satisfaction.

A. D. 1704. Notwithstanding the loss of the occasional conformity bill had occasioned great dissensions between the two houses, they were unanimous in granting the necessary supplies to her majesty for carrying on the war with vigour, and enabling her to fulfil all the conditions of the treaties she had signed with foreign powers. They were so desirous of defeating the ambitious designs of France, that they resolved to maintain ninety thousand men by sea and land.

The heats between the lords and commons were hardly subsided, when an account of a plot in favour of the pretender, raised once more the flame higher than ever. Several persons concerned in this scheme being apprehended, the peers took upon them the business of trying the prisoners. This gave the commons offence; and embraced the opportunity of giving vent to that animosity, they had for a short time concealed. They represented to the queen their astonishment that the peers should violate the laws and wound the prerogative, by taking upon them the trial of the prisoners arrested by order of her majesty. They assured her of their readiness to support her prerogative, and oppose every attempt that might be made against her person. This address irritated the upper house. They declared it injurious, contrary to the rules of parliament, and pregnant with consequences destructive of the liberties and constitution of the kingdom. They farther declared, that they had an incontestible right to try state criminals whether prisoners or not; and supported this claim by a number of precedents. But all bodies of men are jealous of their privileges; and the commons, who had formerly, on the same account, contended with their princes, now made them matter of contest with the nobility. The lords, on their part did not fail to mortify the commons.

While these disputes continued between the two houses, her majesty sent a message to the commons, in which she told them, That having taken into her serious consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, she had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the said poor clergy; that she would grant her whole revenue arising from the first-fruits and tenths, as far as it should become free from incumbrances, towards an augmentation of their maintenance; and that if the house of commons could find any methods by which her good intentions to the poor clergy could be rendered more effectual; it would be a great advantage to the public, and very acceptable to her majesty.

Upon receiving this message the commons addressed the queen, expressing their thanks for her gracious message, and her pious concern for increasing the maintenance of the poor clergy out of her own revenue; and assured her majesty they would do their utmost to make her majesty's charitable intentions more effectual. Accordingly a bill was brought in "for making more effectual her majesty's gracious intentions for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, by enabling her majesty to grant in perpetuity the revenue of the first-fruits and tenths." They also repealed the statute of mortmain so far, as to give free liberty to all men, either by deed or their last wills, to give what they thought proper towards the augmentation of benefices. This part

of the bill was strongly opposed in the house of lords, where it was alledged it would be opening a door for the clergy to practise on the weakness of dying men. This argument was not, however, strong enough to gain over the majority: the bill passed both houses, and afterwards received the royal assent.

The queen exerted herself to bring about a reconciliation between the two houses, but in vain. Their animosities did not indeed hinder the more essential business of the nation; but as it was feared they might be productive of very fatal consequences, the queen determined to put an end to the session of parliament, which was accordingly done on the third of April, when her majesty, after thanking them for the large supplies they had granted, and the dispatch they had given to the public business, she added, "At the opening of this session, I earnestly expressed my desires of seeing you in perfect union among yourselves, as the most effectual means imaginable to disappoint the ambition of our enemies, and reduce them to an honourable and lasting peace. And though this has not met with the success I wished and expected, yet being fully convinced that nothing is so necessary to our common welfare, I am not discouraged from persisting in the same earnest desires, that you would go down into your several counties so disposed to moderation and unity as becomes all those who are joined in the same religion and interest.

"This I am persuaded will make you sensible, that nothing, next to the blessing God, can so much contribute to our success abroad and our safety at home."

The affairs of Scotland gave her majesty equal uneasiness. In order to settle the ferments in that kingdom, where the thirst of independence was grown outrageous, she consented to an act of surety, which had passed the Scottish parliament. The purport of this act was, that in case the queen died without issue, the parliament should immediately assemble and nominate a successor to the crown, distinctly from the crown of England, unless a national establishment, conformable to the laws of the country, and independent of the English councils previously took place, and the court had not given the people a power to arm in their defence. Lord Godolphin, then prime-minister, advised her majesty to yield, on this occasion, to the necessity of circumstances; though by this proceeding he exposed himself greatly to the censure of the Tories.

The affairs of the emperor were now in a deplorable situation. Pressed on one side by the Hungarians who had shaken off the yoke, and under prince Ragotski, were fighting for their liberty; and on the other by the elector of Bavaria, who held every thing upon the Danube, and threatened Vienna itself with a siege; he had no other resource than that of imploring the assistance of her Britannic Majesty. The duke of Marlborough strongly pressed the necessity of sending immediate assistance to the emperor, and the queen accordingly returned a favourable answer to the memorial of that distressed prince. Marlborough arrived at the Hague about the beginning of May, and represented, in the strongest terms, to the states-general the danger to which the empire, and even all Europe were threatened, if an immediate check was not given to the French and Bavarians in Germany. The states, persuaded that it would be bad policy to oppose the duke, though they were very desirous of keeping the army in Flanders, gave their consent; and Marlborough prepared for carrying into execution the plan he had formed, that of marching into the heart of Germany, and delivering the house of Austria from impending ruin.

He marched with such expedition that he reached Mildenheim on the tenth of June; where he was visited by prince Eugene, and the next day by prince Lewis of Baden. A long consultation was held by the generals, in which it was agreed that prince Eugene should command a separate army on the Rhine, and that the duke and prince Lewis should command alternately.



alternately. The march was prosecuted with the utmost expedition, till they reached the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, opposite to the Bavarian lines, where about eight thousand French and as many Bavarians lay intrenched to guard the country they had conquered. Alarmed at the approach of the allies, the duke of Bavaria sent a detachment of his best troops to reinforce count d'Arco, who was posted at Schellenberg, a rising ground on the Danube, near Donawert. As that post was of very great importance, d'Arco had, for some time, employed his troops in throwing up entrenchments. Marlborough knowing his works were not completed, resolved, if possible, to drive the enemy from their post. Accordingly, on the sixth of July, at three in the morning, he advanced at the head of a detachment of six hundred foot, thirty squadrons of English and Dutch, and three battalions of imperial grenadiers, the rest of the army following with the greatest diligence. But the distance, badness of the road, and other incidents, so greatly retarded his march, that it was three in the afternoon before the artillery passed the river Wermitz, which runs by Donawert.

The attack was now begun, with the utmost intrepidity, by the English and Dutch, before the Imperialists could come up. The enemy made a gallant resistance; but prince Lewis leading up the Imperialists, the entrenchments were forced; a terrible slaughter ensued; and the greater part of the enemy pushed into the Danube, where numbers of them perished. The victory was complete; and the troops that had the good fortune to reach the opposite side of the Danube, fled in the utmost confusion. Sixteen pieces of cannon and thirteen standards were taken. Donawert immediately surrendered; and the elector of Bavaria, informed of the defeat of his troops, repassed the Danube, marched with the utmost precipitation, and encamped under the cannon of Augsburg. He was offered very advantageous terms, provided he would abandon the French interest, and join the grand alliance. At first the elector seemed to listen to the proposal; but being informed that marshal Tallard had passed the Black Forest, and was advancing, by forced marches, to his assistance, he broke off the negotiation, declaring, that since the French monarch made such powerful efforts to support him, he thought himself obliged in honour to remain firm to his alliance. This conduct of the elector was highly resented by the confederate generals, who detached thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons to lay waste the country of Bavaria, to the very walls of its capital.

Eugene exerted all his vigilance to prevent marshal Tallard from joining the duke of Bavaria, but could not succeed. The junction was made at Bibarach, near Ulm, about the end of July. Marlborough immediately left his camp, and joined prince Eugene at Munster; while prince Lewis of Baden formed the siege of Ingoldstadt. On the twelfth of August, Marlborough and Eugene reconnoitred the camp of the enemy, whom they found advantageously posted on a hill near Hochstet, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzingen; and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom very marshy.

This advantageous situation did not, however, intimidate these two great generals: they resolved to attack the enemy before they had time to fortify their camp; advice having been received that Villeroy was on his march for Wirtemberg, in order to destroy that country, and cut off the communication of the allies from the Rhine, which must have been attended with very fatal consequences, could it have been effected. Orders were therefore issued that very night for all the baggage of the army to be sent towards Donawert, and the troops ready to march by break of day. About seven in the morning of the thirteenth of August, the allies appeared in sight of

the enemy's camp, where every thing was in a profound silence; not imagining the allies would dare to attack them in so advantageous a post. They were therefore thrown into the utmost confusion at the appearance of our troops: they discharged two pieces of cannon to call in their foraging parties, and set fire to several small villages that were between them and the allied army. About nine in the morning, the cannonading on both sides began, and continued, without intermission, till one in the afternoon.

The French and Bavarian armies consisted of near sixty thousand men. The right wing was commanded by marshal Tallard, and the left by the elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marfin. The confederate army did not exceed fifty thousand men. Prince Eugene commanded on the right; the lords Cutts and Orkney, the generals Churchill, Lumley, and Ingoldsbey, the left; while Marlborough took his post in the center, as commander of the whole.

Such was the situation of the two armies when the battle began about one in the afternoon. There was a necessity for crossing the rivulet already mentioned before the allies could attack the enemy, who had taken care to guard it with three squadrons of horse, under the command of M. de Zurlauben, a Bavarian general, who fell so vigorously on the allies, that they were obliged thrice to give ground; but this handful of men not being properly supported, they were soon overpowered by numbers, and driven from their post. Had the French generals properly supported these brave troops, the allies would not have found the passage of the rivulet an easy task; but by neglecting this, they committed an error they could never retrieve. Their artillery played very hotly, but did very little execution; and the passage of the rivulet was effected in the face of the enemy. As soon as the center and part of the right had passed the rivulet in different places, they formed on the other side, without any interruption from the enemy, who remained quiet on the hills. Marlborough immediately led his troops to the attack of Tallard's cavalry. The French stood the shock, with great firmness, for some time; but were at last broken, and forced to give way. Tallard flew immediately to the village of Blenheim, where he had posted twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons. These troops formed a distinct army, and kept up a continued fire on Marlborough's division while he attacked the right wing. Tallard having given his orders in the village, hastened back to the place of action, where the duke, with a body of horse and some battalions of foot between the squadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him, and which Tallard could not prevent.

In the mean time, the cavalry of the confederates left wing being now completely formed, ascended the hill of Lutzingen with astonishing intrepidity, and charged the enemy's horse with such fury, that tho' they rallied several times, they were obliged at last to betake themselves to flight. The victorious Marlborough now forced his way between the two bodies of the French army on one side, while the rest of the generals got between the village of Blenheim, and Tallard's division on the other. In this desperate situation, Tallard flew to rally some of his broken squadrons; but the badness of his sight completed his misfortune. He mistook a squadron of Hessians for his own forces, and was taken prisoner, together with many officers of distinction.

Prince Eugene had attempted the passage of the rivulet at a place where the banks of the stream were very steep, and the bottom rough and uneven. The least opposition on the part of the enemy must therefore have rendered his efforts fruitless, and have obliged him to retire and seek a more favourable spot for the execution of his purpose; but the enemy made none. He had no sooner reached the opposite bank, than he attacked the left wing, commanded by marshal Marfin, with the utmost vigour. But the imperial horse behaved very ill on this occasion; they



they were so intimidated by the constant fire of the enemy, that they could not be brought to advance within musket-shot. The Danish and Prussian troops also gave back in the same manner, but being at length animated by the gallant example of their officers, they flew to the charge, and exerted themselves with so much vigour, that they put the enemy to flight; and Marlborough finding it in vain to make any farther resistance, abandoned Oberklau and Lutzingen, and was pursued as far as the villages of Morfelingen and Teissenhoven, whence he retired to Dillingen and Lavingen. The route now became general through the whole French and Bavarian armies: every one fled with the greatest precipitation; numbers ran headlong into the Danube, and perished.

A small part of the infantry was saved by the count du Bourg, who retreated over the marshes of Hochstet. But the little army cooped up in Blenheim was forgot. It consisted of twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons, amounting in the whole to about eleven thousand effective men, and the best troops in France. They were waiting in Blenheim for orders, and knew nothing of the rout of their army till they were surrounded by the allies. It was impossible for them to make any effectual resistance: the streets were too narrow for them to form; and their own artillery, now in the hands of the allies, would soon have decided the contest. They therefore thought proper to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Such was the conclusion of this celebrated action, known in France by the name of the battle of Hochstet, and in England and Germany by that of the battle of Blenheim. The triumph of the allies was complete. Twelve thousand men were killed, and fourteen thousand taken prisoners. The trophies consisted of one hundred pieces of cannon, three hundred pair of colours, and an immense booty. The loss of the victors amounted to about five thousand killed, and eight thousand wounded.

The duke of Bavaria was obliged to fly, and abandon his country to the conquerors, who penetrated into Alsace, took Landau, and scattered terror in every region through which they passed. Marlborough signalized himself in the action, no less by his courage than by his military talents. His prisoner, Tallard, complimenting him on having conquered the best troops in the world, he answered, that his own were certainly better, because they had conquered them. Marlborough received a recompence worthy of his services. The emperor created him a prince of the empire; the states received him with the same respect as if he had been the stadtholder; and his country received him with every demonstration of joy.

The campaign in Portugal was, far from being successful. To fight in conjunction with heretics, was considered by the Portuguese as a kind of apostacy. It was therefore in vain to hope for success; and accordingly, instead of making conquests in Spain, several of the towns of Portugal were taken by the enemy. The duke of Schomberg, who commanded the allied army, was so enraged at the behaviour of the Portuguese, that he desired leave to resign his commission. His request was granted, and the earl of Galway sent over to succeed him, with eight thousand Dutch troops, who reached Lisbon the beginning of August.

The operations at sea were this year very considerable. Sir George Rooke, after landing Charles at Lisbon, cruised for some time on the coast of Portugal; but being requested to assist in executing a design on Barcelona, projected by the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, he readily gave his consent, took on board that prince with a detachment of land-forces; but the attempt proving fruitless, he crossed the Mediterranean, and came to an anchor in the road of Tetuan. A council of war was now held on board the admiral's ship, where it was determined to make an attempt on Gibraltar, which was known to be slightly garrisoned.

The next day the whole fleet got under sail, and on the twenty-first of July came to an anchor in Gibraltar bay. The land forces, amounting to eighteen hundred, with the prince of Hesse at their head, were landed, about four in the afternoon, on the neck of land to the northward of the town, in order to cut off all communication with the country. A summons was now sent to the governor to surrender the town; but he answered he would defend it to the last extremity. The next morning the cannonade from the ships began with the utmost fury; and it was soon perceived that the Spaniards were driven from the works at the south mole head, on which all the boats of the fleet were manned and armed, and took possession of the fortifications. The Spaniards immediately sprung a mine, which destroyed all the fortifications on the mole, killed two lieutenants and forty men, and wounded about sixty. The seamen, however, kept their post; and having made themselves masters of a redoubt between the mole and the town, they turned the cannon against the enemy. A peremptory summons was now sent to the governor, who, on the twenty-fourth in the morning, capitulated, and the prince of Hesse took possession of the place.

The town of Gibraltar being thus reduced, the admiral sailed again into the Mediterranean, in order, if possible, to meet with the French fleet, that had, for some time, been lying at Toulon. He discovered them on the eleventh of August; and on the thirteenth they were not above three leagues distant; and a little to the westward of Malaga. They now drew up in a line of battle, and lay ready to receive him. Their fleet consisted of fifty-two ships and twenty-four galleys, and the English of fifty-three ships. Sir George Rooke, assisted by the rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes, commanded in the center; Sir Cloudesly Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van; and the Dutch formed the rear.

The battle began about four in the morning, when the van and rear pressed forward to a close engagement; and soon obliged that part of the French line to give way; but the French center stood firm, and the fight was maintained with the greatest obstinacy till night obliged them to desist. The French took advantage of the night to bear away to leeward; and the wind shifting before the day appeared, they were seen three leagues at least to windward. Both spent the day in repairing the damages they had sustained; and in the night the French stood away farther to the northward; nor could the English bring them again to an engagement, though they followed them for two days for that purpose. Though this victory was far from being decisive, yet the French ships received so much damage, that they were never after able to engage the English during the whole war. A ruinous war had exhausted the resources of France, and a series of disasters threatened her with ruin. The two rear-admirals, Byng and Dilkes, and captain Jennings, commander of the *St. George*, received the honour of knighthood.

The parliament was opened on the twenty-fourth of October by a speech from the throne, wherein her majesty observed, that the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms, infused an unanimous joy through the whole kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the present advantages would enable her to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, as well as a firm support for the liberties of Europe. She declared, that her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects. She expressed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loss of this opportunity; and that there would be no contention among them, but who should do most for the public welfare. "Such a temper as this (added she) in all your proceedings, cannot fail of securing your reputation both at home and abroad. This would make me a happy queen, whose endeavours shall never be wanting to make you a happy and flourishing people."



Nothing so much encourages a passion for arms as success. The queen found her parliament no less ready to grant her supplies than to compliment her on the victories she had obtained over the arms of the common disturber of Europe. Almost five millions were voted for the service of the ensuing year.

The measures of the Scottish parliament, the act of surety, and the seeds of rebellion scattered through the kingdom, inspired at once apprehensions and resentments. The matter was first opened in the house of peers by lord Haversham, who observed, "that the settlement of the succession of Scotland had been postponed, partly because the ministry of that kingdom were weak and divided, and partly from a received opinion that the succession was never seriously and cordially intended by those who managed the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet-council:" he expatiated on the bad consequences that might attend the act of security, which he stiled a Bill of Exclusion; "for," said he, "can any reasonable man believe, that those who promoted that bill, could ever be real friends to the succession as settled by the English parliament?" He particularly mentioned that clause by which the heritors and burghs were ordered to exercise their fencible men every month: he said, "that the nobility and gentry in Scotland were as learned and brave as any in Europe, and that these were generally discontented; that the common people were very numerous, very robust, and very poor; and asked, who was the man that could tell what such a multitude, so armed and so disciplined, might do under such leaders, should they find opportunities suitable to their intention? Besides, added he, I look upon it as of the last importance to England, that there should not be the least shadow or pretence for a necessity to keep up a regular standing army in this kingdom in time of peace." These particulars he earnestly recommended to the consideration of the house, and concluded his speech with the following words of lord Bacon, "Let men beware how they neglect or suffer matter of trouble to be prepared, for no man can forbid the sparks that may set all on fire."

A warm debate ensued in the house of peers, but the majority agreeing with lord Haversham, they came to the following resolutions, "That to prevent the inconveniences that might happen by the late act passed in Scotland, the queen might be enabled, on the part of England, to name commissioners to treat about an entire union with Scotland, provided those powers be not put in execution till commissioners should be named on the part of Scotland, by the parliament of that kingdom: that no Scotsman should enjoy the privileges of an Englishman, except such as were settled in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the plantations, or such as might be in the sea or land service, until an union could be effected, or the succession settled as in England: that the traffic of cattle from Scotland to England should be stopped: that orders should be issued for seizing such vessels as should be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the parts of any of her majesty's enemies: that cruisers should be appointed for that purpose: and that the exportation of English wool into Scotland should be prohibited." On these resolutions a bill for an union with Scotland was brought into the house, and being passed by the lords, it was sent down to the commons, received the sanction of that house, and afterwards the royal assent.

The duke of Marlborough being returned to England received the thanks of both houses, for his great services to the nation; and the commons presented an address to the queen, intreating her to consider of some proper means to perpetuate the memory of such noble actions, particularly the battle of Blenheim. In answer to this address the queen informed the house that she was willing to part with her manor of Woodstock and hundred of Wootton to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs. A bill was immediately brought in for enabling her majesty to bestow these manors on the duke and his heirs. The com-

troller of the board of works was also ordered by her majesty to build a magnificent palace for the duke in Woodstock, and to be distinguished by the name of Blenheim-house.

But Sir George Rooke who had spent his life in the service, and who had done great honour to his country, was not only neglected, but dismissed from his command, and suffered to retire to his seat in Kent; and the command of the fleet bestowed on Sir Cloudesley Shovel. So capricious and uncertain are the favours of the great.

A. D. 1705. The good understanding that had subsisted between the two houses was now disturbed on a question relating to the rights of electing members of parliament. And particularly, whether an elector's vote being refused by the officer appointed to take the poll, he might not bring an action at law against the offender? Several conferences were held between the two houses in order to an amicable decision of the question; but neither being willing to recede in the least from the principles they had adopted, and the disputes seeming to threaten very serious consequences, the queen determined to put an end to the session. Accordingly she came to the house of peers on the fourteenth of March, and after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, and making a short speech from the throne, the prorogued the parliament. On the fifth of April it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for calling a new one pursuant to the act for triennial parliaments.

The Scottish parliament met on the twenty-eighth of June; but many of the members being absent, the lord-commissioner adjourned the house till the third of July, when the queen's letter was read to the assembly. She observed, "That at their last meeting she recommended to them, with the greatest earnestness, the settling of the succession of that kingdom in the protestant line; and several particulars having since happened which shewed the great inconvenience of that matter continuing in suspense; she could not but at present most seriously renew the recommendation of that settlement, as being convinced of the growing necessity of it, both for the preservation of the protestant religion, the peace and safety of all her dominions, and for defeating the designs and attempts of all her enemies. And to prevent any objection to the said settlement, that could be suggested from the views or fears of future inconveniences that might happen to that kingdom from thence, she should be ready to give the royal assent to such provisions and restrictions as should be found necessary and reasonable in a case of such importance; and therefore she must recommend it to them, as the most necessary for all the ends already mentioned; that they should proceed to the settlement of the succession before all other business."

She said, "she was fully satisfied, and doubted not but they were, that great benefits would arise to all her subjects, by an union of Scotland and England, and that nothing would contribute more to the composing of differences, and extinguishing heats that were unhappily raised and fomented by the enemies of both nations, than the promoting of every thing that had a tendency to procure so valuable an end; she therefore heartily recommended to them to pass an act for a commission to set a treaty on foot between the kingdoms, as the parliament of England had done, for effectuating what was so desirable, and for such other matters and things as might be judged proper for her honour, and the good and advantage of both kingdoms for ever, in which she should most heartily give her best assistance."

The duke of Argyle, high-commissioner for Scotland, strongly recommended the measures mentioned in the queen's letter to the consideration of the house, and was seconded by the lord-chancellor. The affair of the succession was accordingly taken into consideration, when duke Hamilton proposed that the treaty with England should be first discussed, and the



the limitations settled before they proceeded any farther in the act of succession. This was agreed to; and that nobleman made a motion for leaving the nomination of the commissioners to the queen. This occasioned a very violent debate; but the question being at last put, Whether the nomination should be left to the queen or the parliament? the duke's motion was approved of by a small majority. A bill was therefore brought in and passed by the house for treating about an union with England; but it was declared that the treaty should not commence till the clause in the English act of parliament, declaring the subjects of Scotland "Aliens," be rescinded.

The campaign was not filled with remarkable actions. The imperial army was so slow in its motion, that the plan laid by Marlborough for pushing his conquests on the Moselle, was rendered abortive. The French, animated by the absence of that famous general, did not fail of making use of their superiority in the Low Countries; they made themselves masters of Huy, and undertook the siege of Liege. But Marlborough marched back with so much expedition that he saved the latter, the enemy retiring at his approach with great precipitation. The duke soon retook Huy, and obliged the enemy to retire behind their lines. Marlborough determined to force them, though the French and Bavarians consisted of near one hundred battalions and one hundred and forty-six squadrons. The force of the allied army was nearly equal, consisting of ninety-five battalions and one hundred and fifty-nine squadrons.

To facilitate this difficult undertaking it was determined to make a false attack, in order to divide the attention of the enemy. Accordingly the army, under the command of M. d'Averquerque decamped early in the morning of the seventeenth of July, and marched towards Burdin on the other side of the Mehaigne. Marlborough made a motion at the same time, as if he intended to support Averquerque in his attack of the lines in the neighbourhood of Messelin, where they were weakest. This feint produced the desired success; the French detached large bodies of forces to these parts; leaving the others, where the duke really intended to make his attack, in a very weak condition. As soon as the night came on, the duke put his army in motion, while d'Averquerque repassed the Mehaigne to join, and both marched in conjunction to support a detachment ordered to make an attempt on the enemy's lines near Heylisham. This was the strongest part of the whole, and consequently where the enemy least expected an attack. They were therefore seized with astonishment when the allies appeared, and incapable of making any effectual opposition, the greater part of their forces having been drawn off to guard the other parts.

But the confederate troops had no sooner passed the lines than they were attacked by twenty-four squadrons of Bavarian horse and twenty battalions; the dispute was for some time very sharp; but the horse and dragoons of the right wing coming up, the enemy were put to flight, and all their standards, colours, and cannon, were taken. The French retired under the cannon of Louvain; and the deputies of the states-general having refused to concur with a proposal made by the duke of Marlborough for passing the river Ysch and attacking the French in their camp; he accepted of an invitation from the new emperor Joseph, and sat out for Vienna; the troops having retired into winter quarters.

Lord Galway had very little success this campaign. The Portuguese never acted with vigour. They took the towns of Valencia d'Alcantara, and Albuquerque. After which they invested Bajadox, and would have carried the place had they not been prevented by an unforeseen accident. Lord Galway being one day examining the trenches, a cannon-ball swept away his right arm, and he was obliged to be carried off the field. The siege was now pushed with less vigour than before, and the marquis de

Thesse found means to throw a thousand men into the place. All hopes of reducing Bajadox were now over; the allied army therefore abandoned the enterprise, and marched into winter quarters.

The success in Catalonia, however, made up for this disappointment. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and the earl of Peterborough, reduced Barcelona, and the whole province of Catalonia submitted to Charles. A very remarkable incident happened at the siege of Barcelona; which does the highest honour to the earl of Peterborough. While the viceroy was capitulating with the English general at one of the gates of the city, a party of German soldiers penetrated into the place, and began to pillage the houses and massacre the inhabitants. The viceroy complained of this treachery. Peterborough assured him he might depend on his honour, and desired permission to enter with his troops, promising to appease the tumult, and return to finish the articles of capitulation. He was trusted, and marched into the city, followed by the English; where he soon put a stop to the disorders, dispersed the German soldiers, took from them their plunder, and returned to sign the articles of the treaty.

The first session of the new parliament was opened by her majesty on the twenty-seventh of October, with a speech from the throne; wherein she represented the necessity of acting vigorously against France, as the common enemy to the liberties of Europe. She recommended the fortitude of the duke of Savoy, which, she said, was without example, and merited all their endeavours to encourage him to persevere in the same conduct. She informed them of her intention of issuing commissions for treating of an union with Scotland. She earnestly recommended unanimity and brotherly affection among her people; and observed, that some persons had endeavoured to foment animosities, and even to suggest in print, that the established church was in danger. "Such (added she) are enemies to me and my kingdom, and mean only to cover designs which they dare not publicly avow, by endeavouring to distract the nation with unmeasurable and groundless distrusts and jealousies." She declared she would always affectionately support and countenance the church of England, as by law established; that she would inviolably maintain the toleration; that she would endeavour to promote religion and virtue, encourage trade, and every thing else that had a tendency to make them a happy and a flourishing people. "And they (added she) who shall concur zealously with me in carrying on these good designs, shall be sure of my kindness and favour."

Addresses of thanks were voted by both houses, who promised to assist her majesty to the utmost of their power. They also voted their thanks to the duke of Marlborough for his eminent services to the queen and nation; and established the funds necessary for carrying on the war with vigour during the approaching campaign.

The next business that engaged their attention, was the union with Scotland; and the parliament of that kingdom having declared, that they would enter into no treaty with England till the act in which they were declared aliens should be rescinded, the two houses immediately repealed that act, and also took off the several prohibitions and restrictions which had been laid upon the trade between the two kingdoms.

A. D. 1706. Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, which happened on the nineteenth of March, her majesty appointed commissioners for treating of an union between England and Scotland, a treaty she was very desirous of concluding. Every thing being ready for entering on this important work, the commissioners of both kingdoms met on the sixteenth of April, at the council-chamber in the cockpit, in order to negotiate an agreement that was for ever to put an end to the disputes that had for so many ages subsisted between these two sovereignties.



It was at first proposed by the Scottish commissioners to conclude a federal union like that subsisting between the cantons of Switzerland; but nothing less than an incorporating union would satisfy the English, who were determined to take away effectually from the Scottish parliament the power of repealing the articles of this treaty. Pursuant to this resolution, the lord-keeper of England proposed, "That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be united into one nation, by the name of Great-Britain; that it should be represented by one parliament; and that the succession of the monarchy, in failure of heirs of her majesty's body, should be subject to the limitations mentioned in an act of parliament made in England, in the thirteenth year of the reign of king William III. intitled, An act for the farther limitation of the crown, &c."

The commissioners of Scotland finding a federal union would not be accepted, agreed to the preliminaries proposed by the lord-keeper, with this proviso only, "That all the subjects of the united kingdom of Great-Britain should have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation to and from any part or place within the said united kingdom, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there should be a communication of all other privileges and advantages which do or may belong to the subjects of either kingdom." No objection was made to this proviso, except a reserving such particulars as, in the course of the negotiation, should appear to be advantageous to the subjects of both countries. These preliminaries being settled, the queen made them a visit, in order to quicken their deliberations, and finish a treaty she had so greatly at heart. They accordingly exerted themselves, in order to satisfy the request of her majesty; and at last finished the negotiation for uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The following is the substance of the articles that composed the treaty of union.

#### ARTICLES OF UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

I. That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland shall, from the first of May, 1707, be united into one kingdom, by the name of Great-Britain; and that the ensigns armorial of the same united kingdoms be such as her majesty shall appoint, and the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George be conjoined in such a manner as her majesty shall think fit; and used in all flags, banners, standards, and ensigns, both by sea and land.

II. That the succession of the united monarchy of Great-Britain shall be to the princess Sophia, and her heirs; and that all papists, or persons who marry papists, shall be for ever excluded from inheriting the crown of Great-Britain, agreeable to the provision for the descent of the crown of England made in the first year of the reign of their late majesties, king William and queen Mary, intitled, An act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, &c.

III. That the united kingdoms of Great Britain shall be represented by one and the same parliament, to be stiled the parliament of Great-Britain.

IV. That the subjects of the united kingdoms shall have freedom of trade and navigation within the same, and plantations belonging to it; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges and advantages; except where it is otherwise expressed in these articles.

V. That all ships or vessels belonging to the Scots [at the time of ratifying the treaty of the two kingdoms in the parliament of Scotland] shall be deemed British built; the owners making oath that [at the time of ratifying the treaty of union in the parliament of Scotland] the same did, in the whole or in part, belong to them.

VI. All parts of the united kingdom to be under the same regulations of trade, and liable to the same customs and duties, except and reserving the

duties upon export and import of such particular commodities, from which any person, the subject of either kingdom, are especially liberated and exempted by their private rights, which, after the union, are to remain safe and entire to them, in all respects as before the same; and that from and after the union, no Scots cattle carried into England shall be liable to any other duties, either on the public or private account, than those duties to which the cattle of England are or shall be liable within the said kingdom: and seeing, by the laws of England, there are rewards granted upon the exportation of certain kinds of grain, wherein oats, ground or unground, are not expressed, that from and after the union, when oats shall be sold for fifteen shillings sterling per quarter, or under, there shall be paid two shillings and sixpence sterling for every quarter of the oat-meal exported in the term of the law, whereby and so long as rewards are granted for the exportation of grains. And that the beer of Scotland have the same reward as barley. And because the importation of victual into Scotland would prove a discouragement to tillage, therefore the prohibition now enforced by the law of Scotland against importation of victual from Ireland, or any other place beyond sea, into Scotland, do, after the union, remain in the same force as at present, until more proper and effectual ways be provided by the parliament of Great-Britain, for the discouragement of the importation of the said victual from beyond sea.

VII. That all parts of the united kingdom be liable to the same excise upon the same exciseable liquors, except only that the thirty-four English barrel of beer or ale, amounting to twelve gallons Scots present measure, sold in Scotland by the brewer at nine shillings and sixpence sterling, excluding all duties, and retailed, including duties and the retailer's profit, at two-pence the Scots pint, or eighth part of the Scots gallon, be not, after the union, liable, on account of the present excise on exciseable liquors in England, to any higher imposition than two shillings sterling upon the aforesaid thirty-four gallons English barrel, being twelve gallons the present Scots measure.

VIII. Foreign salt in England shall pay the same duty as in Scotland; [but because the duties of foreign salt imported, may be very heavy on the merchant importer, that therefore all foreign salt imported into Scotland shall be cellared and locked up under the care of the merchant importer, and the officers employed for levying the duties upon salt: and that the merchant may have whatever quantity thereof his occasions may require, not under a weight of forty bushels at a time, upon his giving security for the duty of what quantities he receives, payable in six months.] By this article it was also provided, that salt made in Scotland should be exempted for seven years from the English duty. But from the expiration of the said seven years, shall be subject to the same duties as salt made in England. [That Scotland shall, after the said seven years, remain exempted from the duty of two shillings and sixpence on home salt, imposed by an act made in the ninth and tenth year of king William III. and if the parliament of Great-Britain shall at, or before, the expiration of the said seven years, substitute any other fund in the place of the said two shillings and four-pence of excise upon the bushel of home salt, Scotland shall, after the expiration of the said seven years, bear a proportion of the said fund, and have an equivalent in the terms of this treaty.] No salt whatsoever shall be brought from Scotland to England by land under certain penalties denounced: and for establishing an equality in trade, it was provided, that all flesh exported from Scotland to England, and shipped in Scotland to be exported beyond sea; and provisions for ships in Scotland and foreign voyages, may be salted with Scotch salt, paying the duty for what salt is so employed, and the like quantity of fresh salt pays in England, and under the



same penalties, forfeitures, and provisions for preventing frauds as are mentioned in the laws of England. And that for the encouragement of the herring fishery, there shall be allowed and paid to the subjects inhabitants of Great Britain, during the present allowances for other fisheries, ten shillings and five pence sterling for every barrel of white herrings which shall be exported from Scotland; and that they shall be allowed five shillings sterling for every barrel of beef or pork salted with foreign salt, without mixture of British or Irish salts, and exported for sale from Scotland to parts beyond sea, alterable by the parliament of Great Britain.

IX. That whenever the sum of one million nine hundred, ninety-seven thousand, seven hundred, and sixty-three pounds, eight shillings, and four pence half-penny, shall be enacted by the parliament of Great Britain on land, that part of the united kingdom, now called Scotland, shall be charged with the additional sum of forty-eight thousand pounds, as the quota of Scotland for such tax; and so proportionally for any greater or lesser sum raised in England on land; the said quota to be assessed in the same manner as the assess now is in Scotland; but subject to such regulations as shall be made in the parliament of Great Britain.

X. That Scotland shall not be charged with the stamp-duties now in force in England.

XI. Nor with the duties payable in England on windows.

XII. Nor those on coals or culm.

XIII. Scotland shall not pay the malt duty during its continuance in England, which was to expire the twenty fourth of June 1707.

XIV. Scotland shall not be charged with any other duties imposed by the parliament of England before the union, except those consented to in this treaty: and if the parliament of England in their provision for the service of the year 1707 shall impose any farther customs, the Scots shall have an equivalent for the share thereof they may be liable to. [And Scotland shall not be charged with any imposition on malt made or consumed in that kingdom during the war.]

XV. Stipulates, that whereas by the terms of this treaty, the subjects of Scotland, for preserving an equality, of trade throughout the united kingdom, will be liable to several customs and excise now payable in England, which will be applicable towards paying the debts of England, payable before the union, it is agreed that an equivalent shall be made to Scotland for such part of the English debts, as Scotland may hereafter become liable to pay by reason of the union, other than such appropriations as have been made by parliament in England, of the customs and other duties on exports and imports, excises and all exciseable liquors, in respect of which debts equivalent are herein before provided; which equivalent is here stipulated to be three hundred ninety-eight thousand, eighty-five pounds ten shillings sterling, to be granted by the parliament of England in the manner as in this article is particularly and at large explained. The distinction of this equivalent is in the same article applied, 1. For indemnifying private persons from any losses they may sustain by reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of that of England. 2. For indemnifying the sufferers in the late African and Indian company of Scotland. 3. For discharging the public debts of Scotland. 4. For improving the manufacture of the coarse wool of Scotland. 5. For encouraging and promoting the fisheries, and such other manufactures and improvements in Scotland, as may most conduce to the general good of the united kingdom: and for which end commissioners were to be appointed. [It seems the Scots were so inflamed by the destruction of their Darien and African company by the government of England, that nothing but the absolute assurance of an equivalent for reimbursing their whole capital employed in that affair, with interest, amounting to two hundred and thirty-two thousand, one hundred and sixty-two pounds, sixteen shillings and eleven pence

halfpenny, could have induced them to agree to treat of the union, and they even insisted on the insertion of the above clause.] That if the said stock, capital and interest shall not be paid in twelve months after the commencement of the union, that then the said company may from henceforth trade, or give licence to trade until the said whole capital stock and interest shall be paid.

XVI. That the coin be of the same standard throughout the united kingdom as now in England, and a mint to be continued in Scotland under the same rule as the mint of England.

XVII. That the same weights and measures be used throughout the united kingdoms as are now used in England; and standards shall be kept in the burghs, agreeable to the standard of the English exchequer.

XVIII. That the laws for the regulation of trade, custom, and such excises as Scotland is to be liable to, shall be the same as those in England. Other laws in Scotland to remain as before the union, but alterable by the parliament of Great Britain. Laws which concern public right, policy, and civil government, may be the same throughout the united kingdom; but no alteration shall be made in the laws which concern private right, except for the evident utility of the subjects of Scotland.

XIX. The court of session and other courts shall remain in Scotland the same as before the union, subject nevertheless to such regulations, for the administration of public justice, as shall be made by the parliament of Great Britain; and that hereafter none shall be named by her majesty or her royal successors to be ordinary lords of session, but such as have served in the college of justice as advocates or principal clerks of session for the space of five years, or as writers to the signet for the space of ten years, with this provision, that no writer to the signet be capable of being admitted a lord of session, unless he undergo a private and public trial on the civil law, before the faculty of advocates, and be found by them qualified for the said office two years before he be named to be a lord of session, yet so as the qualification made or to be made, for capacitating persons to be named ordinary lords of session, may be altered by the parliament of Great Britain.

XX. That all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, be reserved to the owners thereof as rights of property, in the same manner as they are now enjoyed by the laws of Scotland, this treaty, in any wise notwithstanding.

XXI. The rights and privileges of the royal burghs in Scotland, as they now are, shall remain entire after the union, and notwithstanding thereof.

XXII. That by virtue of this treaty, sixteen of the peers of Scotland, at the time of the union, shall sit and vote in the house of lords, and forty-five of the members of the representatives of Scotland in the house of commons in the parliament of Great Britain, the choice whereof to be according to the act passed in Scotland for that purpose; which act is hereby declared to be valid, as if it were a part of it, and engrossed in the treaty: and in case her majesty shall on the first of May 1707, declare this present parliament to be the first of Great Britain, the present parliament of England may be so on the part of England; and the sixteen peers and the forty-five commoners for Scotland to sit with them; such parliament to continue no longer than the English parliament is allowed to continue.

XXIII. That the aforesaid sixteen peers of Scotland, mentioned in the preceding article, to sit in the house of lords in the parliament of Great Britain, shall have all the privileges of parliament which the peers of England now have, and which they or any peers of Great Britain shall have after the union, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trial of peers; and that all peers of Scotland, and their successors to their honours and dignities, shall, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and have rank and precedence next, and immediately after the peers of the orders and degrees in England at the time of the union



on, and before all peers of Great Britain of the like orders and degree, who shall be created after the union.

XXIV. That from and after the union there shall be one great-seal for the united kingdom of Great Britain, which shall be different from the great-seal now used in either kingdom; and that the quarter of the arms, as well as the rank and precedence of Lyon king at arms in Scotland, shall be left to her majesty; and that in the private seal, signet, cassel, &c. now used in Scotland, be continued; but that the said seals be altered and adapted to the union, as her majesty shall think fit: that the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls and records whatsoever, both public and private, general and particular, and warrants thereof, continue to be kept as they are, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland; and that they shall so remain, in all time coming, notwithstanding the union.

Such were the articles agreed to and signed by the respective commissioners of England and Scotland. They immediately waited on the queen with the treaty; and lord-keeper Cowper, in the name of the English commissioners, made a speech to her majesty, congratulating her on the conclusion of a negotiation, which had so happily united the different parts of this island under the same monarchy. The earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor of Scotland, spoke to the same effect on the part of the commissioners of that kingdom; and her majesty was pleased to return the following answer.

"My Lords,

"I give you many thanks for the great pains you have taken in this treaty, and am very well pleased to find your endeavours and applications have brought it to so good a conclusion: the particulars of it seem so reasonable that I hope they will meet with approbation in the parliaments of both kingdoms. I wish therefore my servants of Scotland may lose no time in going down to propose it to my subjects in that kingdom; and I shall always look upon it as a particular happiness if this union (which will be so great a security and advantage to both kingdoms) can be accomplished in my reign."

While the ministers of the two kingdoms were employed in establishing an union between their respective countries, the armies of the belligerent powers were carrying on their hostile attempts with great fury. Lewis XIV. had determined to exert his utmost efforts in the course of this campaign, and had accordingly sent very numerous forces into the field. His army in Flanders was commanded by the marshal de Villeroy, a nobleman of great generosity and a favourite at court; but an indiscreet general, blindly confident, and deaf to counsel. He formed the design of surprizing the duke of Marlborough before he could be joined by the Danes and Prussians, who were employed last year to act as auxiliaries. The French accordingly passed the Dyle early in May, and advanced directly towards the confederate army. It was in vain to hope that it was possible to surprize so vigilant a general as Marlborough. He was well informed of all their motions, and dispatched an express to the Danes to join him immediately, and was readily obeyed. Before this junction the allied army consisted of seventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three squadrons of horse and dragons, provided with one hundred pieces of cannon, twenty howitzers, and forty-two pontoons. About the same time the Danes joined the allied army, that of the French was joined by the marshal Marfin's horse, and by this addition their army amounted to seventy-fix battalions and one hundred and thirty-two squadrons. This superiority determined Villeroy to give battle to the allied army, though he knew his hopes of surprizing the active Marlborough were rendered abortive.

The allies moved forward to meet the enemy, who had now taken possession of the strong camp of Mont

St. André, their right extending to the Mahaigne, and their left to Anderkirk, the villages of Offuz and Ramillies being in the center. On the twelfth of May, about two in the afternoon, the allied army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz, on the brook Yause, and the left near the village of Franquennes, which was occupied by the enemy. The action was begun on the left of the allied army, who pushed a brigade of foot from their post on the Mahaigne. About the same time M. d'Auverquerque, the Dutch general, charged the French household troops at the head of the horse of the left wing. For near half an hour the success was doubtful; but a reinforcement coming up, the French retired. Lieutenant Scultz was now ordered, with twelve squadrons, and twenty pieces of cannon, to attack the village of Ramillies, which was strongly fortified with artillery. The attack was made with great vigour and resolution; and the enemy at last driven from the village, who endeavouring to make their retreat, were most of them killed or taken prisoners.

In the mean time the Dutch and Danish horse of the left wing of the allied army fell upon the foot in the right of the enemy, cut twenty battalions of them to pieces, and made themselves masters of their colours and artillery. The French now began to retreat in good order, covered by the cavalry of their left wing; but the English horse forcing their passage over the rivulet which separated them from the enemy, attacked them with so much intrepidity that they entirely abandoned their foot, who were now exposed to all the fury of the cavalry. The French now gave way on all sides, and it was not without difficulty that marshal Villeroy, and the elector of Bavaria saved themselves by flight. An accident which now happened completed the destruction of the French army. Several of the waggons of the vanguard happening to break down in a narrow pass, so obstructed the passage, that neither the baggage nor artillery could proceed, nor could the troops defile in order. The opportunity was not neglected by the victorious horse; they pressed upon them so vigorously, that the French king's own regiment of foot called for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours. The pursuit was continued with great success about five miles from the field of battle.

Few battles recorded in history were more complete than this of Ramillies: the greater part of the enemy's cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the allies, with above an hundred and twenty colours, and several pair of kettle-drums. The French lost about forty thousand men, near one half of their army; while the loss of the allies was not more than two thousand. Louvain, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, all opened their gates to the victors. Ostend, Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth, surrendered after a short resistance.

Nor was this the only misfortune attended the arms of France during this famous campaign. Turin was besieged by the duke de Feuillade, who, like Villeroy, was more capable of making a figure at court, than at the head of an army. Chamillard, his father-in-law, had exhausted the treasury to support this expedition; but the siege was ill-directed and of long continuance. The city was, however, at last reduced to extremity, and the duke of Savoy had joined prince Eugene, who commanded the army in Italy. They advanced to the relief of the city, dispersed the French army commanded by the duke of Orleans, who commanded in the trenches, took all the provisions, baggage, and military chest, made themselves masters of Piedmont, and soon after of the rest of the Spanish territories in Italy. The faults of Feuillade, added to a secret order of the court, which forbade him to advance against the enemy, if they offered to relieve Turin, were the causes of this ruinous defeat.

The affairs of France were equally unsuccessful in Spain. Philip, assisted by the marshal de Tesse, laid siege to Barcelona early in the spring. The city



*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Walpole*

*W. J. G. J. G.*

*The Duke of Queenberry and Dover  
Presenting the ACT of UNION to QUEEN ANNE*







was defended by Charles, his rival, in person. The siege was carried on with the utmost vigour, and the place at last reduced to extremity. The earl of Peterborough advanced to its relief at the head of two thousand men; but finding it impossible to enter the city, he took post on a neighbouring hill, and harassed the besiegers with perpetual skirmishes. The siege was, however, pressed with such vigour, that it was thought impossible for the besieged to hold out many days, when the news of the approach of the English fleet obliged the French admiral, who had blocked up the place by sea, to retire. Philip, however, seemed determined to carry on his approaches, even after the combined fleets of England and Holland came to an anchor in the bay: but the next morning he raised the siege in a very disorderly manner, leaving behind him all his tents, and great part of his military stores, together with his sick and wounded. The marshal de Tessé recommended the latter to the care of the earl of Peterborough. He could not have applied to a more humane general. The sick and wounded felt the lenient hand of compassion, and were used with the greatest tenderness. In the mean time, lord Galway took several Spanish towns, and penetrated to the capital itself, which was abandoned at his approach; but Charles protracting his stay in Arragon, notwithstanding repeated expresses, lord Galway was obliged to abandon Madrid, and retire before the Spanish army.

While great part of Europe was desolated by the sword of war, England and Scotland were engaged in treating of a union between the two kingdoms. The Scottish parliament met on the third of October, when the queen's letter was read, acquainting them, that the commissioners appointed to treat of an union between the two kingdoms had finished the treaty, and hoped the articles would prove acceptable to her subjects of Scotland: that an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace; it would secure their religion, their liberties, and their properties; remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. She renewed her assurance of maintaining the government of the church; and told them they had now an opportunity of taking such steps as might be thought necessary after the union: desired the necessary supplies till the parliament of Great-Britain could provide for those matters: and observed, that the great success with which it had pleased God to bless her majesty's arms, afforded a nearer prospect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union: and concluded with recommending calmness and unanimity in debating on this great and weighty affair, of such important consequence to the whole island of Great-Britain.

But though the union was so useful in the system of government, and so necessary to the well-being of the state, it met with the most violent opposition in the Scottish parliament. All parties seemed at first united to oppose it. The presbyterians imagined their religion would be lost; and the Jacobites were enraged to see the pretender forever excluded from the crown. The nobility were shocked at the loss of their best privileges, by the total abolition of their parliament. The merchants trembled for their commerce, notwithstanding the advantageous liberty of trading to the English colonies. The nation in general considered itself as robbed of its rights, given up to slavery, and sold to a foreign power. The duke of Hamilton, who headed the party that opposed the union, made a most vehement speech against the treaty. "What!" cried he, "shall we abandon in the space of one half hour, what our ancestors have maintained for so many ages at the expence of their lives and fortunes? Are there here no descendants of those brave patriots, who defended the liberty of their country against every assault? Where are the barons, where are the peers, who once joined

their breasts as a bulwark to the nation? Shall we sacrifice the sovereignty, the independency of our country, when our constituents call upon us to defend them; when they promise us support?" Others observed, that to consent to the treaty would be to overturn the constitution of the kingdom; that every people had their fundamental laws, which no authority could invade; that the existence of the rights of parliament forming an essential part of the state, the parliament itself had no right to dispense with them: that the whole body of individuals ought to concur in the sacrifice of their privileges; and that a sacrifice of that kind was most palpably pernicious.

The clamour without doors was still greater than within; the presbyterian preachers employed all their power and credit to rouse the resentment of their hearers against the treaty; nor did they labour in vain. The populace, transported with fury, erected the standard of rebellion, burnt the articles of the union publicly, published a manifesto, and declared they intended to dissolve the parliament. Even in the capital itself the people grew mutinous, and assaulted the house of Sir Patrick Johnson, provost of Edinburgh, and one of the commissioners of the union; nor did the person of the high-commissioner escape insult, the rabble throwing stones into his coach as he passed through the streets though surrounded by his guards. These tumults alarmed the ministry, and it was thought necessary to march several regiments of horse and dragoons into the north of England, that they might be in readiness should the enraged multitude break out into open rebellion. At last, however, affairs took a more favourable turn; whether the influence of the court or the means of corruption prevailed over the national spirit; whether the advantages of the union appeared in the end to over-balance its inconveniences, and the first alarms subsiding, reason and argument took place, or whether all these operated in concert, the Scottish parliament ratified all the articles with some slight alterations. Thus was a project that had been long wished by all the thinking parts of the inhabitants of both kingdoms, and which had been several times attempted in vain, fully completed. Real utility will, sooner or later, prevail, and every thing rests in the power of government, if that power be steadily exerted with wisdom.

The English parliament met on the third of December, when the queen in her speech to both houses, congratulated them on the glorious success of the British arms; desired the commons would grant such supplies as would enable her to improve those successes; and concluded with recommending dispatch in public affairs, as the surest method of convincing our friends and enemies of the vigour and firmness of our proceedings.

This speech was very pleasing to the parliament, and affectionate addresses were presented by both houses. The commons, after examining the estimates, voted near six millions for the ensuing year; and when the speaker presented the money bills to her majesty, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was gained before it could be supposed the armies were in the field, so the commons had granted supplies to her majesty before the enemy could well know that the parliament were sitting. The parliament also voted their thanks to the duke of Marlborough for the eminent services he had done his country during the last campaign, and then adjourned to the twenty-eighth of January.

A. D. 1708. On the day the parliament met after their adjournment, her majesty came to the house of peers, and, in a speech to both houses, observed, that the treaty of union, with some small alterations and additions, was ratified by the Scottish parliament; that she had ordered it to be laid before them, and hoped it would meet with their approbation and concurrence; desired the commons would provide for the



the payment of the equivalent in case the treaty was ratified; and addressing herself to both houses, concluded in the following manner:

"You have now an opportunity before you of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms, which I hope will be a lasting blessing to the whole island, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm security to the protestant religion.

"The advantages that will accrue to us all from an union are so apparent, that I will add no more, but that I shall look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which has been so often attempted without success, can be brought to perfection in my reign."

On the third of February, the commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole house on the treaty of union; when it was opposed, with the utmost violence by the tory party. Sir John Packington observed, that the union might be compared to a forced marriage, where the woman does not consent. "An act like this," said he, "produced by corruption within doors, and by violence without, can never be permanent. The queen obliged by her coronation oath to maintain the church of England, hath now farther engaged herself to support the presbyterian kirk of Scotland. How can two objects so incompatible be conciliated in the same kingdom? How can two nations differing in a matter so essential be united?" He concluded with observing, that the church of England being established "jure divino," and the Scots pretending that the kirk was also "jure divino," he desired the convocation might be consulted on this critical circumstance.

Colonel Mordaunt answered Sir John Packington. He began with observing, that for his part he knew of no other "jure divino" than God's permission, and in this sense the church of England and the kirk of Scotland might both be said to be "jure divino," because God had permitted the former to prevail in England, and the latter in Scotland. "The member who spoke last," continued the colonel, "may, if he pleases, consult the convocation, for his own particular information; but I believe the commons stand in no need of such instruction: they are sufficient judges of the propriety of their own measures; and in any event it would be derogatory to the rights of the commons of England to ask, on this occasion, the advice of any inferior assembly, who had no share in the legislature."

The debate was continued for a considerable time with great spirit; till the tory members, finding there was a very considerable majority against them, quitted the house. All opposition was now at an end: the commons examined the treaty article by article; and on the eleventh of February approved of the whole.

The lords took the treaty into consideration on the fifteenth of February, and the debates were more solemn, and carried on with more deliberation than they had been in the lower house. Lord Haversham observed, that the articles came to their lordships with the greatest countenance of authority that it was possible for any thing to receive; but authority, though the strongest motive to restrain the will, was certainly the weakest in the world to convince the understanding. He was not, he said, against a federal union, a union in interest and in the succession; but this was a matter of a different nature: the question was, whether two nations, independent in their sovereignties, with distinct laws and interest, and, which is not to be forgotten, of different forms of worship, church-government, and order, shall be united into one kingdom? That, in his opinion, this was an union composed of so many dissimilar pieces, of such jarring, incongruous ingredients, that he feared it would require a standing force to keep the whole from falling asunder, and breaking to pieces every moment. He farther observed, that by this act, an hundred Scots peers, and as many commanders, were excluded the British parliament;

gentlemen who as little thought of being excluded a year or two before as any of their lordships did then; that their rights were as well and as strongly secured to them as their lordships were at that time, by the fundamental laws of their kingdom, by the claim of right, and by act of parliament, whereby it was made high-treason to make any alteration in the constitution of the kingdom. He said that the union was contrary to the sense of the Scottish nation, as was sufficiently evident from the murmurs of all ranks of people while the treaty was under consideration by that parliament. But the argument on which he laid the greatest stress, was the injury the good old English constitution, justly allowed to be the most equal and best poised government in the world, might suffer by having the weight of sixty-one Scottish members, and those too returned by a Scottish privy-council, thrown into the scale.

It was easy to refute these arguments. Great affairs wear many different aspects. The advantages and disadvantages appear in contrast; when the former preponderate, they ought to determine the debate. "The security and tranquillity of the kingdom," said one of the advocates for the union, "will evidently be the fruits of this treaty. Our inveterate enemies, France and Popery, will be no longer formidable, when Great-Britain is united into one body. With respect to ecclesiastical affairs, a wise and moderate government may put an end to disputes. Are not the Swiss cantons united, though of different religions? And is not the German diet a proof that diversity of creeds is no obstacle to political union?" A treaty supported by reason, and opposed only by weak objections, naturally carried the majority of votes. The parliament approved the union; and experience soon made those phantoms vanish, which imagination had raised against the good of the public. A bill of ratification was now brought in, and having passed both houses, received the royal assent on the fourth of March, when the queen made the following speech to both houses.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is with the greatest satisfaction I have given my assent to a bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom.

"I consider their union as a matter of great importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island; and, at the same time, a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that, till now, all attempts that have been made towards it, in the course of above one hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. I desire and expect from all my subjects of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness one to another, that so it may appear to all the world they have hearts disposed to be one people.

"This will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good effects of this union.

"And I cannot but look upon it as a particular happiness, that in my reign so full a provision is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the security of our religion, by so firm an establishment of the protestant succession throughout Great-Britain.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I take this occasion to remind you of making effectual provision for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland within the time appointed by the act; and am persuaded you will shew as much readiness in this particular, as you have done in all the parts of this great work.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The season of the year being now pretty far advanced, I hope you will continue the same zeal, which has appeared throughout this session, in dispatching what yet remains of the public business before you."

Thus



Thus this great design, so long wished and laboured for in vain, was brought to a happy conclusion, and a final period put to those fatal quarrels that had so often desolated great part of both kingdoms. The miscarriage of their settlement at Darien had convinced the merchants of Scotland, that every attempt of a similar kind must be rendered abortive; while they were opposed by their more powerful neighbour; and this consideration rendered them very desirous of an union with England; especially as their sister kingdom offered to reimburse them the expences that had attended their making that settlement. The thinking part of the nation had long observed, that Scotland was entirely at the mercy of the ministry, and that every new set of ministers made use of that power to enrich themselves and their creatures at the expence of the public; that the judges being made by them, were so dependent on their will, that in Scotland, where no juries were impanelled in civil causes, the whole property of the kingdom was in their hands, and at their disposal. Experience had also convinced them, that it was of no consequence to complain to the English council. The indigent noblemen and more indigent burghers formed a very considerable majority in the Scottish parliament, and were easily brought over to the interest of the court by promises and rewards. The only method, therefore, of removing these disorders, was that of an incorporating union with England. The court was engaged to support the union, in order to avert the dreadful blow with which they were threatened for passing the act of security in the year 1704. The lord treasurer, to whom the passing that act was chiefly imputed, had been threatened with an impeachment. He therefore exerted all his interest with the utmost alacrity and zeal, to complete a treaty, on which his own power, as well as the happiness of both kingdoms, in a great measure, depended. The court of France was reduced to so much distress, that it was impossible for them to give the Scots any assistance, either in men or money. These various incidents acting in concert, brought this great work to a happy conclusion; and hence the reason is sufficiently evident why the many attempts made at different times, and in different reigns, proved abortive: nothing but so remarkable a conjunction of incidents could now have rendered the design effectual.

The king of France, though long unfortunate, determined to make another attempt to recover his affairs, and, if possible, procure an honourable peace. He sent fresh troops into Spain, however necessary they might be in Flanders, where the victorious Marlborough triumphed over every opposition. The duke of Berwick, natural son to James II. commanded the army of Philip, and advanced to Almanza; while the allies, under the command of lord Galway, marched to meet the enemy. On the fourteenth of April, the two armies were in sight of each other, and a general engagement was now unavoidable. This was the most fatal battle the allies suffered during the whole war; and the following account of it was published by authority.

“Our army entered the plain of Almanza about noon, formed into a line of battle, and marched in that position till they came within a mile of the enemy. Lord Galway, to supply our want of cavalry, had interlined a brigade of foot with each wing of horse: but the enemy having drawn from the left some squadrons to reinforce the right wing, lord Tyrawley, who commanded on the left wing, ordered the Portuguese horse of the left of the rear-line, commanded by the count of Attalaya, to double into our first line, in order to make an equal front with the enemy.

“About three in the afternoon the earl of Galway posted himself at the head of the English dragoons, and advanced to begin the battle with the enemy's right wing of horse; the Portuguese being ordered to take the charge as it should come to them from

the left, but not before the English and Dutch were actually engaged. While we were advancing, the enemy began to play upon us from a battery on a rising ground; nearly in the front of their right; but our troops pressing on to come to a close engagement; the cannon on either side did very little execution; and a detachment of dragoons being sent, under colonel Dormer, to attack the enemy's battery, they retired, with their artillery, with great precipitation. As soon as our left wing was advanced within an hundred paces of the enemy's horse, they also advanced out of their line to meet our charge, and the engagement soon became very bloody and obstinate on both sides. The enemy, by the weight of their squadrons, forced ours to retreat some paces; but two regiments of foot, on the left of that brigade which was interlined with the horse in the first line, coming up, threw in their fire upon the enemy's flank and rear; and our cavalry, at the same time, renewing their charge in front, they were drove, in disorder, through their own lines, with great slaughter.

“By this time the English and Dutch foot, who formed the center of our army, under the command of lieutenant-general Erle and baron Freyheim, were sharply engaged, and broke through the enemy's first and second lines, bearing down all before them as far as the walls of Almanza: but this success was not of long duration; for the enemy's squadrons of the second line fell upon their flank, and forced our infantry back with great loss.

“The enemy observing that the cavalry of our right did not advance with our left wing, detached some squadrons to fall upon the Portuguese, who formed the right wing, under the command of the marquis das Minas. These troops, in the most dastardly manner, gave way upon the first charge; the whole horse of the right wing fled, and abandoned their infantry, who were most of them either killed or taken prisoners. The battle still continued on our left wing, the enemy still charging us with fresh squadrons, but without success; which the duke of Berwick perceiving, he sent nine battalions, most of them French, who drew up before the first line of Spanish horse, to oppose our brigade of foot, consisting of five regiments. At the same time, he brought up several fresh squadrons, to make another charge upon our left wing of horse. The count de Attalaya, who commanded the Portuguese horse that were mixed with our dragoons, was carried off wounded. Our troops were now attacked on every side; and being left naked in the flanks by the cowardly flight of the Portuguese wing, were surrounded and hemmed in on all sides.

“In this dreadful situation, they formed themselves into a hollow square, and retired from the field of battle. Had they been able to make good their retreat, the enemy would have had no great cause to boast of the victory, the loss on both sides being nearly equal; but the men, after marching nine hours without any refreshment, and fighting about six, were faint with fatigue: all their ammunition was spent; they saw themselves abandoned by their own horse, and in a country to which they were utter strangers; destitute of provisions, and cut off from all hopes of a supply. These considerations induced them to surrender themselves, amounting to thirteen battalions, prisoners of war. They accordingly dispatched a messenger to the duke of Berwick, desiring honourable terms, which were very readily granted. The duke, who believed this body beyond his reach, immediately dispatched the count d'Asfeldt to receive their surrender, on these conditions: that they should be prisoners of war till exchanged; that they should be all disarmed, except the officers, who were to keep their swords; and that they should have liberty to send for their baggage before they marched any farther. The Portuguese, and part of the English horse that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira.”



In this fatal action, the allies lost above ten thousand men, two thousand of whom were left dead on the field of battle, and among those several officers of distinction. Lord Galway himself was wounded in the face, and several others very dangerously. The loss of the enemy on the field was nearly equal to that of the confederates. The provinces of Valentia and Arragon were reduced, and the campaign was closed with the taking of Lerida, which happened on the second of November. Catalonia was now the only province in Spain that remained to Charles; all the rest of his conquests having been lost by the fatal battle of Almanza.

In the mean time, Villars became formidable in Germany; but France was still in danger. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene passed the Var, and besieged Toulon. The combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, blocked up the place by sea, and assisted in the reduction of this important place. Had the enterprise succeeded, Provence would have been lost, and the allies might have carried the conquest much farther into France. But the operations were not pushed with that vigour that seems to command success. The secret of the expedition had not been kept, and a powerful reinforcement arrived before the place could be taken. It was therefore determined to raise the siege, but not before they had left evident marks of their visit. Orders were therefore issued for a general bombardment, both by sea and land. This dreadful farewell greatly distressed the enemy: eight ships of the line were burnt in the harbour, twenty-three were sunk at the entrance of the mole, few of which could ever be recovered; several magazines, and above sixty houses, were destroyed in the city; and the devastations committed in the adjacent country were estimated at near five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

But England suffered a still greater misfortune, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in his return with the fleet to England, ran upon the rocks of Scilly, where his own ship, the *Association*, together with that of the *Eagle*, *Firebrand*, and *Romney*, were lost, and all the crews perished.

The campaign in the Netherlands produced no actions of consequence. Marlborough had made a journey to Leipzig, where he endeavoured to bring over Charles XII. of Sweden to the interest of the allies. His negotiation was fruitless; and when he returned, and put himself at the head of the allied army, the French refused to fight; nor was it in his power to force them to an engagement.

The first parliament of Great-Britain met at Westminster on the twenty-third of October, and the session was opened by her majesty with a speech from the throne. She told them, that she did not doubt but they came with hearts prepared to make the union so prosperous, that it might answer the most sanguine expectations of her subjects, and the reasonable apprehensions of her enemies; that nothing was so material as to convince their foes by demonstrating, that the uniting their interests had not only improved their abilities, but also their resolutions to prosecute the war with vigour, till an honourable peace could be obtained.

She observed, that though the attempt upon Toulon had not been attended with the desired success, it had not been wholly without effect. She mentioned the loss we had sustained in Spain, and the operations of the war in Italy; and requested the supplies necessary for prosecuting the war during the approaching campaign. Then directing her discourse to the late union, she said, "It is impossible but some doubts and difficulties must have arisen on account of that measure, which, however, she hoped, were so far overcome, as to have defeated the designs of those who would have made use of that handle to foment disturbances." After recommending several particulars rendered necessary to be provided for by

the articles of union; she concluded with assuring them, "that nothing should be wanting on her part to procure her people all the blessings that could follow from that happy circumstance of her reign, and to extinguish the least occasion of jealousy; that either the civil or religious rights of any part of her united kingdom could suffer by the consequences of the union; and hoped they would suffer nothing to prevail with them to dispute among themselves, or abate their zeal in opposing the common enemy."

Both houses presented very affectionate addresses to her majesty, and voted near six millions for the service of the ensuing year. They afterwards presented an address to her majesty, against making any peace, as it could not be favourable to her and her allies, while Spain and the West Indies, or any part of the Spanish monarchy remained in the hands of the house of Bourbon.

Lewis XIV. after trying every method to induce the allies to accept his offers for a general peace, resolved to attempt an invasion of Great Britain. He knew that the generality of the Scots were exasperated by the union, and flattered himself that they would readily join a French army to place the son of the late abdicated monarch on the English throne. He was not deceived with regard to the Scots. Highly averse to an incorporating union with England, they could not, without the highest indignation, behold themselves reduced to a state of dependence upon the English; and thought no means so likely to shake off the yoke as that of bringing about a revolution in the government. Lewis accordingly received the most flattering promises of joining his army with thirty thousand men completely armed, if he would land a small army in their country.

Desirous of embracing every method to distress the English, Lewis collected a fleet at Dunkirk, consisting of eight ships of the line, and seventy transports, on board of which six thousand men were embarked for an invasion of Scotland. The troops were commanded by the count de Gracé, and the fleet by the chevalier de Fourbin Janson, one of the best sea officers of his time. Could these troops have been landed in Scotland it might have been attended with very disagreeable consequences, there not being above three thousand regular troops in that kingdom, while England was absolutely defenceless, her forces being engaged on the continent.

A large fleet of ships under the command of Sir George Byng, was stationed off Dunkirk. Several regiments of foot, and some squadrons of cavalry arrived from Flanders, and marched immediately towards the borders of Scotland. The habeas corpus act was suspended, and a proclamation was issued, declaring the pretender, his accomplices and adherents, rebels and traitors.

A strong gale of wind having driven the English admiral from his station into the Downs, the French admiral took the opportunity of sailing from Dunkirk, directing his course towards Scotland. Sir George was soon informed of the escape of the enemy; and entered the Frith of Edinburgh only a few hours after the French. The sudden appearance of the English so intimidated the enemy, that they immediately crowded all the sail they could carry, and favoured at once by the darkness of the night and a fresh gale from the shore, and escaped. The *Salisbury*, a ship the French had taken some time before, fell into the hands of the English. Several of the Scottish nobility were arrested; and Lewis gained no other reputation than that of adding a rash enterprise to his other misfortunes.

The only inconvenience that attended this attempt was a considerable run upon the bank, which it was feared would affect the credit of the nation. The commons immediately voted, "that whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy or lessen the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was in



danger of an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and an enemy to her majesty and the nation." The lord treasurer also signified to the bank, that her majesty would allow for six months, an interest of six per cent. upon their bills. This advantageous proposal induced several opulent noblemen and merchants to offer them very considerable sums; and the directors having called in twenty per cent. on their capital stock, they were soon in a condition to answer all the demands made upon them by the timorous, the envious, or the disaffected.

Lewis, equally chagrined by adversity as elated with success, made strong efforts to triumph over fortune. Notwithstanding his losses were immense he still found resources. An army of one hundred thousand men, commanded by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the duke of Vendome, was to retrieve the honour of the French arms in the Low Countries. But these generals, unfortunately for Lewis, were of different dispositions; the former pious, the latter licentious, and consequently agreed but ill with each other. They, however, surprized Ghent and Bruges; advanced into Dutch Flanders, and laid the country under contribution.

Marlborough immediately wrote to prince Eugene, desiring he would hasten his march and join him, being determined to give the enemy battle, though the allied army was inferior in number to the enemy, as the only method, in his opinion, to prevent their farther progress, which might otherwise end with cutting off the communication of the allies with Brabant. The prince had no sooner joined the army than it was determined to pass the Dender and offer the enemy battle. Confident of success from their superiority of numbers, the French invested Oudenarde, from a persuasion that they should be able to take it before the prince could join Marlborough's army. They were deceived. The allies marched with surprizing expedition, and the French thought to raise the siege at their approach. The duke of Vendome was for drawing up the army in order of battle; but was opposed by the duke of Burgundy, who resolved to continue his march. But an incident soon convinced him that it was now impossible to avoid an engagement. General Cadogan, at the head of sixteen battalions and eight squadrons, fell upon seven battalions of foot posted in the village of Heynem, a little below Oudenarde upon the Schelde. The attack was made with so much success, that the enemy was soon driven out of the village, and being pursued with a close fire, a whole brigade threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. The duke of Burgundy now endeavoured to disengage his troops from the hollow ways and defiles through which they were marching, in order to draw them up in the plain; but the confederate generals were too experienced to give him time to effect his purpose: their army was already formed in order of battle, and advanced to the charge with great alacrity. The enemy faced about and formed, but with great disorder, which was increased by the misunderstanding that prevailed between their two generals, the duke of Burgundy continually countermarching what the duke of Vendome had ordered.

About four in the afternoon the battle began, and continued with great firmness till ten at night. The confederates had the advantage in every attack, and drove the enemy from one post to another, till night put an end to the combat. The foot were principally engaged in this action, the broken ground rendering it very difficult for the horse to act. Marlborough perceived it, and detached the greater part of his cavalry from the right and left wing to a very considerable distance, where they fell upon the enemy both in flank and rear with such impetuosity, that the French were thrown into confusion, part of them retired with the baggage and artillery towards Deynse and Ghent, and another part to Couray. The duke de Vendome, seeing the forces flying in every part, formed a rear-guard of about twenty-five squadrons,

and the same number of battalions, with which he secured the retreat of his forces. This precaution proved the safety of the whole French army; for the next morning at day-break the duke of Marlborough detached a large body of horse and foot, under the command of the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lutley, to pursue the fugitives; but the prudence of the duke de Vendome prevented them from executing their design.

In this action, which was called the battle of Oudenarde, about four thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field of battle, two thousand deserted, and about eight thousand were taken prisoners, including a great number of officers. The allies also took ten pieces of cannon, about one hundred standards, eight pair of kettle-drums, and four thousand horse. The loss of the confederates did not exceed two thousand men.

It was not at all surprizing that two such great generals as Marlborough and Eugene, who always acted in concert, should defeat an army more numerous than their own; but all Europe was astonished when they saw them lay siege to Lille, in sight of a formidable army, which might at least carry off their convoys, and by that means reduce them to the last extremity, if they did not attack them in their entrenchments. But notwithstanding all these circumstances, the place was invested on the thirtieth of August; prince Eugene commanding on one side, and the prince of Orange on the other, while Marlborough encamped at Helchin to cover the siege. Lille was the strongest town in Flanders, furnished with ammunition, and every necessary, and the garrison had been lately reinforced with one and twenty battalions of the best troops in France, commanded by marshal Boufflers.

The siege was pushed with the utmost vigour, while every effort was made by the French to oblige the confederates to abandon the undertaking. The dukes of Burgundy and Vendome marched towards the duke of Marlborough, and for some days cannonaded his camp: but finding all their endeavours to bring him to an engagement fruitless, and not daring to attack him in his strong camp, they retired, and determined for the future to employ their troops in cutting off the convoys coming with provisions and ammunition for the besiegers; and in covering those provinces which were exposed to the incursions of the allies.

Marlborough had detached six thousand men to cover the march of seven hundred waggons coming from Ostend with supplies to prince Eugene's camp. The duke of Burgundy had information of this convoy, and sent an army of twenty-two thousand men to intercept it. But the small detachment that guarded the waggons, made so noble a defence, under the command of major-general Webb, that they obliged the enemy to retire with the loss of seven thousand men killed on the spot. This action is generally called the battle of Wynendale, and was one of the most glorious achievements performed during the whole course of the war. It was also of the utmost importance to the allies; for had the convoy been taken, they must have raised the siege.

The siege was now carried on with such vigour and success, that on the twenty-second of October the town was surrendered, and the garrison retired into the citadel, where they made a gallant defence till the eighth of December, when the marshal delivered up the place, the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, and were escorted to Douay. At the same time the duke of Savoy was master of the passes leading to Dauphiny. The emperor Joseph, brother to the archduke Charles, was in possession of Landau, one of the keys of France. Paris trembled, and the whole kingdom was thrown into the utmost confusion.

Philip V. whose destiny fluctuated on the tide of events, could not be much happier than Lewis XIV. The emperor had already taken from him Naples and



and Lombardy. The English had taken Sardinia for the emperor, and the island of Minorca for themselves. Pope Clement XI. in alliance with the family of Bourbon, took up arms against Joseph; but was soon obliged to lay them down, and acknowledged the archduke Charles, king of Spain. The duke of Orleans, who commanded the army in Spain, had indeed some success; but his misfortunes were greater than his acquisitions; and the fidelity of the Catalonians had many heavy flocks to maintain.

While victory attended the allies in every quarter, the queen had the misfortune to lose her husband, the prince of Denmark. He died about ten in the morning on the twenty-eighth of October, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was a prince of a very amiable character, without ambition or intrigue, and therefore incapable of giving offence to either party. He always contented himself with being the first subject, seldom interfering in business, though his office of lord high-admiral gave him a claim to a very considerable share. Her majesty, who had been the most tender and affectionate wife, was inconsolable for his loss.

A singular event that happened about this time engaged the attention of the nation. Count Matheoff, the Russian ambassador, was arrested in the street at the suit of one Morton, a laceman, and insolently treated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to a spunging-house; nor could he obtain his liberty till he was bailed by the earl of Feverham and a merchant in the city. This insult on the person of an ambassador was loudly complained of as an atrocious breach of the law of nations. Enraged at the insult, the ambassadors of the emperor, the king of Prussia, and those of several other powers, demanded redress. The Czar himself declared he would be satisfied with nothing less than the death of the offenders. The queen, who resented the injury as much as the Czar, was very desirous of making him satisfaction; but the laws of England admitted of no such punishment. She observed to the Czar that justice in this country is dispensed by the laws only; and no exception was found for a case of this nature. The judges of the queen's-bench granted informations against the laceman and thirteen others. They were found guilty, and the privileges of ambassadors again acknowledged; and the parliament passed a bill for securing the privileges of foreign ministers. The queen consented to make apologies by her ministers to the Russian court; and the Czar was satisfied. He could not help admiring, notwithstanding his despotism, that mild legislation which is so attentive to guard the meanest subject from the attacks of arbitrary power.

On the second of November the parliament met at Westminster, and the session was opened by commission, when the lord chancellor informed the house, "that the commissioners were appointed by her majesty to acquaint them, that she expected they would continue to prosecute the war with the same vigour and resolution, with which it had hitherto been conducted: that she hoped they would enable her to make such augmentation of her forces as they should judge necessary for preserving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands: that she desired they would prepare such bills as might confirm and perfect the union: that if they would propose means for the advancement of trade and manufactures, she would take pleasure in enacting such provisions: and that as she had the most sincere regard for the preservation of their liberties and the support of the protestant succession, she would continue to exert her utmost endeavours to defeat the designs of the pretender and all his abettors.

Addresses of condolence on the death of her consort, and of congratulation on the success of her arms, were presented by both houses; and the commons voted above seven millions for the service of the ensuing year; this it was imagined would be sufficient

to augment the army with ten thousand men, and procure new advantages over the armies of the grand disturber of Europe.

Several important affairs came under the consideration of parliament during this session, but the principal was the naturalization of foreign protestants. This proposition was debated with great spirit in both houses; and many forcible arguments were advanced on both sides of the question. The whigs supported the bill; the Tories opposed it. The former affirmed, that it would prove an effectual means of encouraging industry, improving trade and manufactures, and repairing the loss of men which the war had occasioned. They instanced the conduct of the king of Prussia, who, by inviting the French to settle in his dominions, had fertilized a barren and ill-peopled country, improved its trade and manufactures, augmented its revenues, and procured many other very considerable advantages. But the chief motive of the whigs for pushing this bill, was to throw an additional weight of foreigners into the balance against the landed interest. The opposers of this act of naturalization objected, that such a swarm of aliens might bring with them many dangerous consequences to the constitution; that it was, in fact, inviting so many spies and informers among us, since it could not be supposed they would leave all affection for their mother-country behind them, tho' they might gladly embrace, for the present, the asylum offered them in this kingdom. It was said, they would find means to insinuate themselves into many places of trust and profit, and even to seats in the great assembly of national representatives; and, by frequent intermarriages, contribute to the extinction of the English race. It was added, that they would greatly increase the number of our poor, already so great a burden to this country; and take out of the mouths of English tradesmen and labourers great part of the bread they now earned by their industry. These arguments, however powerful, were not sufficient to prevent the bill from passing both houses, and afterwards receiving the royal assent.

A. D. 1709. A motion being made in the house of commons for leaving out the prayer for the queen's having issue, on presumption that her majesty would continue a widow during the remainder of her life; Mr. Watson, son to lord Rockingham, moved to address the queen, "That he would not suffer her just grief to prevail so far; but that she would, in compliance with the earnest wishes of her people, entertain thoughts of a second marriage." This motion was carried, and presented to the queen, who returned for answer, "That the provision she had made for the protestant succession would always be a proof of her hearty concern for the happiness of the nation; but that the subject of their address was of such a nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer."

A very severe winter had greatly increased the miseries of France. The olive trees in the southern provinces were destroyed, and the greater part of the fruit-trees killed by the frost. There were no hopes of a harvest, and very little corn in the granaries. The numerous armies of Lewis seemed to be perishing for want, and that haughty monarch was reduced to the necessity of imploring a peace. He offered to demolish Strasburg and Dunkirk, to abandon the pretender, to renounce all pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, to grant the states-general the barrier they demanded in the Low Countries, and to treat with the emperor, agreeable to the treaty of Ryswick. The more this proud monarch was humbled by distress, the more his misfortunes were insulted. Prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the grand pensioner Hensius, united in the same political views, were wisely for reducing him to the last extremities. They were desirous of preventing him from troubling the repose of Europe for the future. Accordingly they demanded, that as he gave up the crown of Spain, he should take proper measures to see



see it vacated, and even employ his troops for that purpose. This was a proposal nothing but the utmost distress could reduce the French monarch to accept. He absolutely refused it, and determined to carry on the war for some time longer, rather than submit to such unworthy conditions. "If I must use arms," (said he) "I should rather chuse to use them against mine enemies, than against my own children."

Lewis, on this occasion, had recourse to a very extraordinary measure. He laid the unreasonable demands of the allies before his people, in a circular letter; and after acquainting them with the additional burdens he was obliged to lay upon them, he endeavoured to excite their indignation, to rouse their honour, and even excite their pity. This produced the desired effect: the people resolved to expend their whole substance in defence of the honour of their king, and even to fight his battles without pay, rather than abandon him to the infamy of accepting such humiliating terms. The manufacturers and labourers, who wanted bread, turned soldiers: Villars was appointed commander in chief, Boufflers, tho' his senior, consenting to serve under him. This patriotic concession acquired him more honour than if he had been intrusted with the principal command.

On the twenty-second of June, the allied army assembled in the neighbourhood of Lille, amounting to one hundred and ten thousand men; and it was determined by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough to open the campaign immediately. Villars had taken possession of a very advantageous camp in the plain of Lans, where he threw up intrenchments, in order to act on the defensive. The allies, not chusing to attack the enemy in their intrenchments, opened the campaign with the siege of Tournay. The town itself made no great resistance; but the citadel was so strong, both by art and nature, and so gallantly defended by lieutenant-general Surville, at the head of four thousand men, that it held out a month against all the efforts of the allies, and was at last surrendered by an honourable capitulation.

Mons was now threatened by the victorious confederates; and Villars, in order to cover the place, posted himself behind the woods of la Merte and Trainiere, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The French amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men; and the allies, who were now joined by the Hessians, to near the same number. On the ninth of September, the two armies were so near one another, that a cannonade began between them; and the allies perceiving that it would be impossible to invest Mons while the French army continued in its present situation, it was determined to attack the enemy in their intrenchments. Pursuant to this resolution, batteries were erected on the wings and in the center of the allied army, and every thing prepared for making the attempt.

General Schuylenburgh and the duke of Argyle began the attack about eight in the morning, at the head of eighty-six battalions, supported by two-and-twenty squadrons, commanded by count Lotum. The attack and resistance were equally obstinate; but the assailants at last prevailed, and the left wing of the French were driven from their intrenchments into the woods of Sart and Trainiere. The right of the enemy, posted in the wood of la Merte, and secured by triple entrenchments, was next attacked by the prince of Orange and baron Fagel, at the head of thirty-six battalions of Dutch troops. The battle was here supported with the most desperate courage on both sides. The French were obliged to quit the first entrenchment, but were repulsed, with great slaughter from the second. But marshal Villars, having received a wound in his knee at the attack, was obliged to be carried from the field of battle. The loss of their commander greatly depressed the courage of the French, and their resistance, from that moment, became less vigorous. The prince of Orange having rallied his forces, returned to the charge, and soon drove the enemy from their in-

trenchments, and out of the wood into the plain, where their horse were all drawn up in proper order. The battle now became general, and the victory was disputed with great vigour till three in the afternoon; when the French began to give way, and were pursued, with great slaughter, to the desile of Bavay.

This was the dearest victory the allies purchased during the whole war; near eighteen thousand of their troops being slain on the field of battle, and among them several officers of distinction. The loss of the enemy did not amount to more than eight or nine thousand; but the disgrace of a total defeat, and even of being driven from their intrenched camp, struck such a panic into the French soldiers, that their generals did not think it prudent to make any farther attempt to save Mons, which surrendered about the middle of November, when both armies retired into winter quarters.

The parliament met on the fifteenth of November, and the queen opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which she told both houses, "That the enemy had, in the beginning of the year, endeavoured, by false appearances, and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace, to create jealousies and divisions among the allies; but that they had been disappointed in their expectations, such measures having been taken as rendered it impossible for them to disguise their insincerity: that God had been pleased to bless the arms of the confederates with a most remarkable victory, and other successes, which had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms, and consequently rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign: that she hoped they would enable her to prosecute the advantages she had gained, by reducing within proper limits that exorbitant and oppressive power, which had so long threatened the liberties of Christendom."

This speech was very agreeable to the parliament: they presented addresses of thanks to the queen for her speech from the throne, congratulated her on the success of her arms, and thanked the duke of Marlborough for his signal services. The commons were so eager for prosecuting the war with vigour, that they voted above six millions for the service of the ensuing year. These immense sums granted by parliament struck the court of France with terror; as they sufficiently demonstrated that the credit of England was in its full vigour, while their own was reduced to the lowest ebb. At the same time, it was evident that the English parliament was determined to carry on the war till the haughty Lewis was sufficiently humbled.

But while we were triumphing over Lewis, and France was mourning over her misfortunes, a very singular trial re-kindled the animosity of parties. Dr. Sacheverel, an enthusiastic preacher, a man of little knowledge and great prejudice, carried away by the spirit of party, which is too often, though very unjustly, called zeal, exerted his talents strongly in favour of passive obedience, and against the toleration of the non-conformists; insisting that the church was in danger, and that there was a necessity for taking proper measures for her defence. This was boldly attacking the principles of the whigs; the chief authors of the revolution; and gave occasion to the most violent debates. The house of commons voted Sacheverel's sermons to be scandalous and seditious libels, and impeached him before the house of lords of high crimes and misdemeanors.

A. D. 1710. The trial came on before the peers on the twenty-seventh of February. This trial continued near three weeks, during which time all business was suspended, and the capital thrown into the utmost ferment. The doctor was attended to and from Westminster, during the time of his trial, by multitudes of people, crying out, "God bless the church and Sacheverel." They even proceeded to such lengths, that they demolished several meeting-houses, and made bonfires in the streets with the materials,



materials, with loud huzzas of "High-church and Sacheverel."

The debates in the house of lords became so interesting, that the queen herself was present. The earl of Wharton observed, that Sacheverel's doctrine of passive obedience might have the most serious and dangerous consequences; that the principle of resistance was the corner-stone of the revolution; that to suppose it unlawful, was to suppose a great part of the people, and the parliament itself, guilty of rebellion and injustice; that, of consequence, the present government could not be considered as lawful, because the queen's right was wholly derived from the revolution. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, the famous partizan of William, justified resistance from history, both ancient and modern. He alledged the examples of the Maccabees, the Dutch, the conduct of Elizabeth in their behalf, and the succours granted to the Hugonots; adding, that though the contrary opinion had prevailed, those who affected to support it were the first to plead for resistance when they saw themselves oppressed. The bishop of Bath and Wells, who was more a tory in his principles than Burnet, agreed that resistance might be lawful in certain extraordinary cases; but added, that the doctrine ought not to be propagated among the people, who would be ready, on many occasions, to abuse it; and that the revolution, which should rather be called a "Vocation," ought not to be cited as an example; that the term, "original contract," if not used with great reserve, might inspire the most pernicious sentiments; and that obedience could not be preached with too much zeal, when resistance was supported by indiscreet apologies. These reflections irritated the duke of Argyle: he asserted, "that the clergy had, in all ages, abandoned the interests of the people, and extolled the majesty of kings, that they might govern them with greater ease; and that this was a sufficient reason why they should not interfere in political matters." Several of the most distinguished tories owned, that the doctor's sermons were extravagant and absurd; but insisted that they were not sufficient to condemn him. He was, however, found guilty by a majority of seven votes; on which he was suspended from the pulpit for three years, and his sermons condemned to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman, together with the famous decree of the university of Oxford in favour of absolute authority and the irrevocable right of kings.

This sentence was thought so favourable by Sacheverel's party, that they considered it as a victory over the whigs. The queen herself seemed to favour a doctrine that tended to secure her throne, and to establish the public tranquillity. She now prorogued the parliament, after expressing her concern both for the time that had been lost on a private affair, and for the injurious supposition that the church was in danger under the government.

The last campaign having weakened still more the resources of France, Lewis XIV. once more sued for peace. The allies enjoyed the humiliation of his ambition. The negotiations were opened at the little town of Gertruydenberg, where the French ambassadors met with a thousand mortifications. It was in vain that Lewis made such offers as would have been shameful if necessity had not the same power over sovereigns as over common men. He even offered to furnish money sufficient to drive his grandson from the throne of Spain, in case he refused to abandon it, in exchange for a small dominion that should be assigned him. It was absolutely insisted upon, that Lewis himself should dethrone him by force of arms. This the French monarch refused, and the ambassadors returned to their respective countries.

The operations of the field were not suspended, even while the negotiations were carrying on. The forces of the allies were assembled, and the campaign was opened with the siege of Douay, which surrendered on the twenty-ninth of June, after a noble

defence of two months. Marshal Villars had posted himself near Arras, and strongly fortified his camp. Marlborough did every thing in his power to bring the French to a general engagement, but without success: Villars acted with so much precaution, that he not only avoided a battle, but also prevented the allies from besieging Mons. There was, indeed, the utmost necessity for his acting in this prudent manner. Mons was the key of Picardy; and had that place been taken, the whole province had been wholly at the mercy of the confederates. Disappointed in their design against Mons, the allies invested Bethune, which, in about three weeks, surrendered. They also made themselves masters of St. Venant and Aire. The last surrendered on the tenth of November, when Marlborough put his troops into winter-quarters.

Philip V. was now reduced to the brink of ruin. Stanhope, the English general, was the first that gained an advantage over his troops. Stamberg, the German general, defeated them at Saragossa, and Charles entered Madrid in triumph. Still the zeal of the Castilians supported them under all their misfortunes. Lewis was no longer in a condition of supporting them. He, however, sent the duke de Vendôme, a man adored by his soldiers, and who highly merited their love. He no sooner arrived in Spain, than a multitude of volunteers flocked to his standard; and notwithstanding the public calamities, efforts were made to furnish him with money and provisions. He immediately besieged Stanhope in Brihuega, and took him and his garrison prisoners. He gained a decisive battle against Stamberg, at Ville-Viciosa; and in three or four months, restored the affairs of Philip, and put him in possession of a kingdom of which he had hardly the title left. Had Vendôme never been called from the solitude to which he had retired, in all probability, the house of Bourbon would have totally lost the kingdom of Spain. Of such consequence to the affairs of empire is a single leader of genius and talents, when he is revered for his virtues!

Marlborough, though born to be an honour to his country, was a man, and therefore subject to failings. He was too fond of wealth and grandeur, and this gave a handle to his disgrace. He daily lost credit with the queen, because he wanted to act the master rather than the subject. The caprice and intolerable haughtiness of his dutchess occasioned an incurable rupture. The queen had now another favourite, and the tories determined to employ her interest in bringing about a total change in the ministry. Mrs. Masham, the name of the lady, was intimately connected with Mr. Harley, the late secretary of state, who directed her in the manner she was to proceed with the queen, and such springs it was necessary to put in motion, in order to effect the intended purpose. Mrs. Masham was possessed of every requisite to make her the agreeable companion and confederate. The dutchess of Marlborough grew intolerably jealous, and, by her natural impetuosity, widened the wound she should have endeavoured to close. She wrote a very insolent letter to the queen, in which, among other haughty expressions, she said, "Do me justice, and give me no answer." She was, however, soon sensible of her fault, and was very desirous of making reparation; but neither her repentance, her prayers, nor her tears, had power to move a wounded heart she had so long held in slavery. "You desired no answer," said the queen, "and you shall have no answer."

In the mean time, Mrs. Masham neglected neither art nor opportunity to fix herself firmly in the affections of her royal mistress; and succeeded beyond her hopes. In one of their conversations, she artfully gave the subject a political turn, in the course of which she informed her of many things to which she was before wholly a stranger; and when she perceived her curiosity was sufficiently awakened, she referred her, for further satisfaction, to Mr.

Harley.



Harley, of whom the queen had entertained a very high opinion. He was accordingly admitted to several private conferences, and by him the queen was informed of the general discontent which prevailed in every part of the kingdom; at seeing its most essential interests sacrificed to gratify the ambitious views of a private family. He assured her majesty she had nothing to fear from the malignancy of party; that by far the major part of her people were inspired with the genuine principles of loyalty, and entirely devoted to her service; and engaged, if she would remove from about her person the petty tyrants who kept her enslaved, and engage to call a new parliament, such representatives would be sent to the house of commons, as were the truest friends to monarchy, to the established church, and to the protestant succession.

These arguments prevailed: the queen determined to shake off the yoke of the whigs, and supply their places with a tory ministry. Accordingly the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state; the earl of Godolphin, lord-treasurer; the lord chancellor Cowper; the earl of Wharton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; lord Somers, president of the council; and several other whigs, were displaced, and their employments enjoyed by their rivals. Other changes followed, till at last no whig remained in any place of trust. The parliament, in which the whiggish interest had prevailed, was dissolved, and sure measures were taken for obtaining a parliament of tories.

Though this change was entirely brought about by the interest of Mrs. Masham, yet the trial of Dr. Sacheverel seems first to have rendered the queen uneasy with regard to the principles of the whigs, who, in their speeches on that memorable occasion, had treated monarchical power in such indecent terms, that the queen was alarmed: she found herself, according to their doctrine, reduced to a mere servant of the people. This determined her to examine the matter to the bottom; and the consequence was a total change of the ministry.

Dr. Sacheverel, whose trial had occasioned so much noise, a feeble instrument in himself, but very capable of enflaming the populace, now became one of the principal agents of the court. He was appointed to a living in Wales, and repaired thither in triumph, with a pompous equipage. The university of Oxford treated him as some illustrious personage; and the towns through which he passed expressed their zeal to do him honour. Thousands of the populace ran before him with acclamations. The clergy in general encouraged the enthusiasm of the people, and every place resounded with "The church and Dr. Sacheverel." This happened at the time of the general election; and no incident could have been of more advantage to the tories, of whom this parliament was almost wholly composed.

The new parliament met on the twenty-fifth of November, and on the twenty-seventh was opened by a speech from the throne, in which her majesty recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour, especially in Spain. She declared she was firmly resolved to support the church of England, to preserve the British constitution agreeable to the union, to maintain the indulgence allowed by law to scrupulous consciences, and to employ none but such as were sincerely attached to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover.

Both houses presented very affectionate addresses, and the commons voted the necessary supplies for carrying on the war. They, however, gave sufficient indications that they were determined to humble the whigs, and suffered their writers to abuse the duke of Marlborough in the most outrageous manner. That great general, so often extolled by both houses, so respectable for his actions, the idol of the army, and the terror of France, now suffered the most shameful indignities, as the reward for his services. So uncertain is the favour of princes, and so changeable is the breath of popular fame! The people now

insulted the hero they had before almost worshipped. He was accused of pride, avarice, cruelty, violence, extortion, fraud and rapine: even his courage was disputed in the midst of his victories. Never had Rome or Athens known popular clamour more absurd or unjust. The parliament enquired, with the same partiality, into the unsuccessful war in Spain. They censured the conduct of Galway and Stanhope, and loaded Peterborough, their rival, with encomiums. To blacken the former ministry, the house resolved, that those who had supported the bill for a general naturalization, in consequence of which, vast numbers of poor Palatines were brought into England, were enemies to the queen and to the nation.

A. D. 1711. A bill passed, by which it was enacted, that no person should represent a county in parliament, who was not possessed of six hundred pounds a year: the representative of a borough was to be possessed of half that revenue. An attempt was also made to exclude merchants from sitting in the house of commons, where the uncommercial landholder was thought to have a prior right.

Though Harley had so eminently contributed to bring about the late change in the ministry, he soon lost the confidence of the tories, because he was too prudent to join in their violent measures. But a dangerous circumstance soon after restored his reputation. The marquis de Guiscard, a French refugee in the English service, thinking his services not sufficiently rewarded, made offers to the court of France to furnish them with secret intelligence. His letters were intercepted; he was apprehended, by virtue of a warrant from Mr. St. John, secretary of state, and carried before the council for examination. Enraged at this discovery, he desired leave to speak with the secretary, probably with an intention to stab him. His request was refused; and Mr. St. John being at a distance from him, he fell upon Mr. Harley, crying, "Then have at thee," stabbed him in two places in the breast with a pen-knife, and received himself several wounds, of which he died soon after in Newgate. The injurious suspicions that had been entertained of the minister vanished, when an enemy to the state had attempted his life. The two houses of parliament passed the highest encomiums on his loyalty and fidelity. They threw the blame on the papists; and the queen caused the laws that had been enacted against them to be put in execution.

Mr. Harley, on the death of the earl of Rochester, became prime minister, and was created baron of Wigmore, and earl of Oxford and Mortimer. He now established a commercial society, under the title of the South-Sea Company, which was to pay off the navy debts by means of the funds assigned it. The minister imagined, that by the approaching treaty of peace, the company would be permitted to trade to Peru, in the south-sea. He was mistaken; the Spaniards never could be prevailed upon to grant any liberty of that kind.

The new ministry well knew that it would be impossible for them to carry on the war with the same advantage as before, unless Marlborough continued at the head of the army, and acted with his usual alacrity. They were therefore determined to bring about a peace. This measure appeared the more reasonable, as the emperor Joseph being dead, Charles, his brother, was elected to fill the imperial throne; and it was inconsistent with the political system to unite the Austrian power with that of Spain. But the people were so intoxicated with victory, and inflamed with the desire of conquest, that it required no small address to inspire them with pathetic sentiments. It was first necessary to awaken their hatred and contempt for the late ministry, the authors of a war as useless as it was glorious. The commons very readily seconded the views of the court. In a remonstrance to the queen, they said they had discharged the heavy debts of the state; that on enquiring into the causes of these debts, they had discovered frauds and iniquitous employment of



the public money : that those who directed the administration during the preceding years, had omitted to give account of more than thirty millions which had passed through their hands ; that their pernicious practice had ruined England ; and that without the intervention of her majesty's prudence, the evil would soon become irremediable. They therefore prayed the queen, that those whom they had accused might be brought to account. This remonstrance produced the desired effect. The late ministry was rendered so odious, that every measure contrary to theirs was approved. It is not uncommon for the people to become dupes to political artifice.

Marlborough, though he had lost his power in the cabinet, was still at the head of the allied army, and appeared again with applause on the theatres of his victories. The lines which marshal Villars had formed to secure his army were thought impenetrable ; he therefore bid defiance to all the efforts of the English general. These lines began at Bouchain on the Scheld, and were continued along the Sanset and the Scharpe to Arras ; and thence along the Upper Scharpe, and the Ugy to the Canche, the openings between these rivers being intrenched and fortified with the utmost art and care. But difficulties only stimulated Marlborough to overcome them. He determined to make himself master of the French lines, and succeeded in a most extraordinary manner. By a feigned march he so artfully diverted the attention of Villars, that he entered the lines near Arleux, almost without opposition, on the fourth of August. This was justly considered as the boldest attempt that had been made during the whole war ; and the honour of it was the greater to the duke of Marlborough, as his army was not only weakened by a large detachment which prince Eugene had carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over five thousand of the best troops in his army for an expedition intended to be undertaken by sea ; so that the troops of the enemy were superior in number to his own. This raised his reputation beyond all he had done formerly ; it was considered as a master-piece of generalship, which had hardly ever been exceeded. Villars, on the contrary, was not only censured for his conduct at Paris, but even ridiculed by his own officers. Marlborough immediately dispatched brigadier Sutton to London with the news that he had made himself master of the French lines, without the loss of a man, though the enemy had boasted they were impenetrable.

Marlborough now determined to besiege Bouchain, contrary to the opinion of the deputies of the states-general, who thought the attempt too difficult. The town was situated in the middle of a morass, strongly fortified, well supplied with provisions and stores, and defended by a numerous garrison. Add to this, that Villars with an army superior in number to that of the allies, was encamped within a mile of the town. The place was invested on the tenth of August by thirty battalions and twelve squadrons, commanded by general Fagel. The siege was pushed with the utmost vigour, and the town soon laid in ruins by the artillery and bombs. Marshal Villars attempted to raise the siege, but in vain. Marlborough had taken his measures so well, that his designs were rendered abortive ; and the place surrendered, on the thirtieth of August. Nor could the garrison obtain any better terms than that of being prisoners of war.

This was the last service the great Marlborough ever performed in the field. The allies were now in possession of the Maese almost to the influx of the Sambre, of the Scheld beyond Tournay, and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. Besides the conquests in Germany, they had also reduced so much of Guelderland, as had formerly been left to Spain by the treaty of Munster ; and likewise Limburg, Brabant, Mechlin in Flanders, two thirds of Hainault with their fortresses, the conquest of which was thought almost

impracticable. By the taking of Bouchain, and the progress of the confederate army on the Scharpe and the Lys, they were become masters of two rivers, which, by means of the Deule and its canal, had been serviceable to the French for many years in their continual invasions of the Spanish Netherlands, of which they were wholly deprived. All these important conquests the allies had made during the course of this war, under the conduct of the duke of Marlborough ; who, having given orders for securing the navigation of the Scharpe to Douay, and covering the workmen employed in fortifying several posts on that river and on the Scheld, left the army, and after a short stay at the Hague, landed in England on the seventeenth of November.

A negotiation for a peace with France had been negotiating during the last summer, and the preliminaries offered by that power had been approved of by the English ministry, and the city of Utrecht appointed for holding the conferences. On the seventh of November her majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, in which she observed, " That notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the time and place for a general congress were finally appointed : that her allies, especially the states-general, whose interest she considered as inseparable from her own, had, by their ready concurrence, expressed an entire confidence in her conduct : that her chief concern was, that the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the nation should be preserved inviolate, by securing the succession as it was limited by parliament, in the house of Hanover : that she should use all her endeavours, in the ensuing negotiation, to obtain all the advantages of trade and commerce, which a tender and affectionate sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people : that with regard to the princes and states who were engaged in the war, she would leave no means unattempted to obtain for each of them all reasonable satisfaction : that as the best way to forward the treaty would be to make early provision for opening the campaign, she hoped they would grant the necessary supplies for the ensuing year, and begged they would proceed in this affair with such dispatch, as might convince the enemy, that if she could not obtain a good peace, she was ready to prosecute the war with vigour."

Satisfied that while Marlborough continued at the head of the army, the strongest opposition would be made to the offers of peace, the ministry determined to strip him of all his posts. The committee for examining the public accounts, having proved that he had received annually a considerable sum from the victuallers of the army, the queen declared in council, that in order to enquire impartially into that affair, she thought it necessary to remove him from all his employments. This declaration was the next day imparted to him in a letter wrote by the queen's own hand, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received from him and his friends. It was now sufficiently evident what reliance is to be placed on the favour of the people, when the object, however deserving, is no longer in power. That great general, whom they had so lately in a manner deified and adored, and whose glorious actions filled every mouth with praises, was now become the object of the most indecent satire, and the most bitter invectives. He who had so lately possessed the favour and confidence of almost every power in Europe, now found himself unable to oppose the envenomed shafts of destructive party.

But notwithstanding the ministry had found means to destroy the power of Marlborough, they perceived that it would be impossible to procure the approbation of the house of lords to the intended peace, unless some method could be found to turn the majority in favour of the court, it being now sufficiently evident that it was in favour of the other party. Accordingly the queen was persuaded to create no  
less



less than twelve new peers; a number which the ministry imagined would secure them the majority in the upper house.

A.D. 1712. While these measures were in agitation, prince Eugene arrived in England, and was introduced by Mr. secretary St. John to a private audience of her majesty. After a short compliment, which her majesty very graciously returned, he delivered to her a letter from the emperor, which he desired her majesty to peruse, as it contained the whole purport of his visit to her court. After reading the letter, the queen was pleased to tell the prince, "that she was extremely sorry the state of her health did not permit her to speak so often as she could wish with his highness; but that she had ordered her secretary and treasurer to receive his proposals, and confer with his highness as frequently as he should think proper."

Eugene still treated Marlborough with the same respect as if he had been still in favour. Oxford inviting him one day to dinner, congratulated himself with being honoured with the presence of the greatest general in Europe. "If I am the greatest general," answered the prince, "it is to you I am indebted for the favour." This spirited compliment was undoubtedly due to Marlborough, whom Oxford's ministry had disgraced.

Mr. secretary St. John immediately acquainted the commons, that he had received her majesty's commands to lay before the house a proposition made her by prince Eugene, in the name of the emperor, for supporting the war in Spain. The substance of it was, "That his imperial majesty judges that forty thousand men will be sufficient for this service; and that the whole expence of the war in Spain may amount to about four millions of crowns, towards which his imperial majesty offers to make up the troops he has already in that kingdom, to thirty thousand men, and to take one million of crowns upon himself."

This proposal was received with great coldness in the house of commons; so that though Eugene was received with all the honours due to his birth and merit, he saw no prospect of succeeding. He therefore hastened back to the continent, to take upon himself the command of the army, in which he had now no competitor for glory. In the mean time, the trial of Marlborough was deferred, but notwithstanding all the regard and friendship Eugene shewed for that great leader, the commons kept no measures with the duke. They accused him of malversation; and it is certain that too great a thirst of wealth had sullied the glory of that illustrious general. But that glory, and his eminent services, were surely sufficient to have thrown a veil over a few failings, especially as he had it in his power to justify his conduct by orders from the ministry. He was, however, unwilling to enflame the nation, and prudently sought refuge in foreign countries, to elude a prosecution carried on by a party who could not bear to see him any longer in power, or even enjoy, unmolested, the rewards of his victories.

During this session of parliament, some bills were passed, which must not be passed over in silence. The duke of Hamilton, a Scottish peer, demanded his seat in the house of lords, in quality of duke of Brandon. The question was, whether Scottish peers, created peers of England since the union, had a right to a seat in parliament. Though there had been already a precedent favourable to the duke, the question was carried in the negative by five voices. All the peers that voted for the question protested against the decision, and the Scotch lords complained with the greatest acrimony. The bill for occasional conformity, so long opposed by the whigs, and desired by the church of England, passed into a law, but in a more moderate form than that in which it had been before proposed. The naturalization bill, which had occasioned such prodigious numbers of poor protestant foreigners to settle in England, was

annulled; it having been found, that the idle and the indigent were as great a burden to the state as the industrious were a benefit. A bill also passed in favour of the episcopalians, who were always precluded from toleration in Scotland. This was a dreadful mortification to the presbyterians; and their resentment was raised to the highest pitch, when an order was published for shutting the courts of judicature during the Christmas holidays, which they considered as a relic of popery. "As the house will make no alteration in the bill," said one of the members, "I submit; but desire it may be intitled, A bill to establish jacobitism and licentiousness of manners."

The Dutch having shewn evident signs of displeasure at the peace now in agitation, the commons, in revenge, attacked the treaty concluded some years before with the states, by which the barrier was granted to them in the Low Countries. They represented to the queen, in a studied remonstrance, "that Holland had not furnished her contingent of troops, and that England had been overcharged nineteen millions during the war. The states general published a memorial in vindication of their conduct, and the commons voted it a scandalous libel, injurious to the house, and tending to alienate the minds of the people from the present government. Such untoward incidents formed the prelude to the approaching peace!"

But notwithstanding these alarming appearances, the conferences were opened at Utrecht with all the appearance of success. The emperor and the states general continued obstinate to their proposals, and were for reducing Lewis XIV. to the most humiliating concessions. The British ministry therefore found it absolutely necessary to carry on the treaty without them, or break off the negotiation. The French now delivered their specific explanation of the offers for a general peace. These were transmitted to London, and, as far as they related to Great-Britain, were as follow:

"The French king will acknowledge, at the signing of the peace, the queen of Great-Britain in that quality; as also the succession of that crown according to the present settlement; and in the manner her Britannic majesty shall please.

"His majesty will cause all the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demolished immediately after the peace, provided an equivalent be given him to his satisfaction.

The island of St. Christopher's, Hudson's Bay, and freight of that name, shall be yielded up entire to the crown of Great-Britain; and Acadia, with Port Royal and the Fort, shall be restored entire to her majesty.

As to the island of Newfoundland, the king offers to yield up that also to Great-Britain, reserving only to himself the port of Placentia, and the right of catching and drying fish, as before the war.

"It shall be agreed to make a treaty of commerce, before or after the peace, as England shall chuse; the conditions of which shall be made as equal as possible between the two nations."

These offers were treated as trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majesty and her allies, by several members in the house of peers. Some endeavours were made to adjourn the debates, but in vain; and it was resolved, without a division, to address the queen, representing the just indignation the house entertained at the insolence of France, in having proposed to acknowledge her majesty's title to these realms no sooner than when the peace should be signed; as also at the terms of peace offered to her and her allies by the plenipotentiaries of France, declaring, at the same time, that they would assist her majesty to the utmost of their power in prosecuting the war, until they should obtain a safe and honourable peace.

The duke of Ormond having been appointed commander in chief of the English forces, in the



room of the duke of Marlborough, passed over to the continent in the beginning of April, and on the twentieth of May, his grace, in concert with prince Eugene, assembled the army between Douay and Marchiennes, where it was found, upon a review, that the allied army consisted of one hundred and twenty-two thousand, two hundred and fifty men. Prince Eugene soon after proposed to attack the French army under marshal Villars, or to invest the town of Quesnoy; but Ormond, who had now received fresh orders from Mr. secretary St. John, gave the prince and deputies of the states-general to understand, that her Britannic majesty, having a prospect that the negotiations for a peace would prove successful, had commanded him not to act offensively against the enemy.

Alarmed at this unexpected refusal, the states-general not only complained to the British ministers at the congress, but also sent over a letter to the queen, ordering their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. It contained an excuse for the backwardness they had shewn in acting in concert with her majesty. They said, "That all the difference between the queen and them, was a disparity of sentiments; and if for such a cause, confederates united by the strongest ties, might quit their engagements, no engagements could be relied on for the time to come. The Dutch envoy also received orders to publish copies of this letter in the public papers. This was accordingly done, and they were printed and dispersed at the very time when the letter came to the queen's hand.

Inceded at these proceedings, which were considered as a remonstrance rather than a representation, and an appeal to the people than an address to the sovereign, the queen wrote a very sharp letter to the states. At the same time, the commons voted an address to her majesty, wherein they assured her, "of the just sense the house had of the indignity offered to her majesty, by printing and publishing a letter from the states-general; and humbly desired, that she would so far resent such indignities, as to give no answers for the future to any letters or memorials that should be so printed and published."

Lewis had lost the dauphin, his only son, the duke of Burgundy his grandson, the eldest of the duke of Burgundy's children; and the duke of Anjou, now on the Spanish throne, was threatened with approaching death. From these misfortunes there was great reason to fear that the crowns of France and Spain would be soon united. The conclusion of the treaty, the secret articles whereof were regulated by the two courts of France and England, depended upon this renunciation. Experience had, indeed, taught, that very little reliance could be placed on such renunciations; but it was hoped, that in case of necessity, this would be insisted on by all the powers interested in preserving the balance of Europe. Philip V. yielded to necessity; and the queen agreed to a suspension of arms. Orders were immediately sent to the duke of Ormond to put an end to hostilities. The queen laid the plan of the treaty before the parliament; and notwithstanding all the efforts of the whig party, the two houses presented addresses to her majesty, wherein they declared at once their gratitude and approbation.

When the duke of Ormond abandoned the allies, Eugene was employed in the siege of Quesnoy. Almost all the foreign troops in English pay refused to follow him; so strong were their ideas of new triumphs, and of humbling the enemy in the dust. Lewis agreed to give up Dunkirk as a pledge to the English for his engagements, and waited with impatience the events of a critical campaign. Eugene took Quesnoy, and besieged Landreci; while detachments from his army ravaged the country, and the kingdom of France was thrown into the utmost confusion. But the lines of Eugene were too much extended. Villars forced the entrenchments of general Albemarle, who was encamped at Denain, and

the prince was unable to give him any assistance. He took Marchiennes, where the magazines of the allies were formed; raised the siege of Landreci, retook Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain; and in one campaign became superior to the conqueror; so long flushed with victory.

A.D. 1713. The allies began now to perceive that all their efforts, without the assistance of England, would be in vain: they therefore came into the measures of England, and the famous treaty of Utrecht was signed on the first of April. By this treaty, the French king acknowledged the protestant succession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great-Britain; and engaged for himself, his heirs and successors, not to suffer the pretender to return into France, nor any way to succour or assist him.

"That the crowns of France and Spain should never be united under one head; that renunciations should be made by both sides in due form; and that they should never be united under any pretence whatsoever.

"That the trade between France and Spain shall be on the same footing as in the time of Charles II.

"That the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and the harbour filled up, never to be repaired. That the bay and freights of Hudson should be restored, and satisfaction be made to the company for the damages they had sustained.

"That the whole island of St. Christopher should be hereafter possessed by the English, and also Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the port now called Annapolis Royal.

"That the island of Newfoundland should belong wholly to Great-Britain; the French having only huts for drying their fish, and liberty to fish only from Cape Bona Vista to the northern point of that island, and so down the western side as far as port Roche. But the French were to retain Cape Breton, and other islands in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

"That the French in Canada should not molest the five nations of Indians subject to Great-Britain; nor the subjects of Great-Britain molest the Indians under the protection of France.

"That all letters of marque, counter-marque and reprisal, be annulled.

"That justice shall be done to the Hamilton family with regard to the dutchy of Chatelault; to the duke of Richmond, concerning such requests as he had to make in France; and to Charles Douglas, with regard to certain lands to be reclaimed by him."

The treaty having been laid before the parliament, and approved of, the queen came to the house of peers on the sixteenth of July, and put an end to the session with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I come now to put an end to this session with great satisfaction, and return you all my hearty thanks for the good service you have done to the public.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I must particularly thank you for the supplies you have now given: I will take care to apply them, as far as they will reach, to satisfy the services you have voted.

"I hope, at the next meeting, the affair of commerce will be so well understood, that the advantageous conditions I have obtained from France will be made effectual for the benefit of our trade.

"I cannot part with so good and loyal a house of commons, without expressing how sensible I am of the affection, zeal, and duty, with which you have behaved yourselves; and I think myself therefore obliged to take notice of those remarkable services you have performed.

"At your first meeting, you formed a method, without farther charge to my people, to ease them of the heavy load of more than nine millions; and the way of doing it may bring great advantage to the nation.



" In this session you have enabled me to be just in paying the debts of my servants.

" And as you furnished supplies for carrying on the war, so you have strengthened my hands, by obtaining a peace.

" Thus you have shewed yourselves the true representatives of my loyal commons, by the just regard you have paid to the good of your country, and my honour. These proceedings will, I doubt not, preserve the memory of this parliament to posterity.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" At my coming to the crown, I found a war prepared for me. God hath blessed my arms with many victories, and at last has enabled me to make them useful by a safe and honourable peace.

" I heartily thank you for the assistance you have given me therein, and I promise myself, that, with your concurrence, it will be lasting.

" To this end I recommend it to you all, to make my subjects truly sensible what they gain by the peace; and that you will endeavour to dissipate those groundless jealousies, which have been so industriously fomented among us, that our unhappy divisions may not weaken, and, in some sort, endanger, the advantages I have obtained for my kingdoms.

" There are some (very few I hope) who will never be satisfied with any government: it is necessary, therefore, that you shew your love to your country, by exerting yourselves, to obviate the malice of the ill-minded, and to undeceive the deluded.

" Nothing can establish peace at home, nothing can remove the disorders that have happened during so long a war, but a steady adhering to the constitution in church and state.

" Such as are true to these principles, are only to be relied on; and as they have the best title to my favour, so you may depend upon my having no interest or aim but your advantage, and the securing of our religion and liberty.

" I hope, for the quiet of these nations, and the universal good, that I shall next winter meet my parliament, resolved to act upon the same principles, with the same prudence, and with such vigour, as may enable me to support the liberties of Europe abroad, and reduce the spirit of faction at home."

Few speeches ever delivered from the throne have been more reflected upon than this. It seemed strange, that the queen, who did not pretend to understand trade, should pass such a censure upon both houses, for not being wiser in that particular than herself, especially as it appeared, from the information given at the bar of both houses, and the debates which ensued upon it, that the treaty, with regard to commerce, was so opposite to the interest of England, that it seemed to be a contempt on their understanding to represent it as advantageous, and to rank all those who opposed it among the ill-minded, or at least among the deluded. Nor did her asserting the nation to be eased of nine millions, without any farther charge, escape censure; because it was well known the nation must support the constant burden of interest at six per cent. till the capital was paid off.

The emperor Charles VI. refused to enter into the negotiations, but had soon cause to repent of his obstinacy. Marshal Villars, having nothing to fear in Flanders, marched towards the Rhine, took Landau and Friburgh, and defeated a considerable body of German troops. Charles then desired peace, and at last obtained it by the treaty of Rastadt, but on less advantageous conditions than he might have acquired, had he joined the allies in their negotiations at Utrecht. He might then have had Landau, and, possibly, Strassburg; but he knew not when to cease hostilities in the most profitable manner.

A. D. 1714. In the beginning of the year, the ratifications of the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Spain were brought over to England, and peace was proclaimed on the first of March. The following are the chief articles in this treaty:

That the crowns of France and Spain should never be united: that the protestant succession should be acknowledged, and never be opposed on any pretence: that navigation and commerce should be on the same footing as in the treaty of 1667: that no licence should be given to the French, or other nations, to introduce negroes, or any merchandises, into the Spanish dominions in America, except what might be agreed on by the treaty of commerce, and the privilege granted by the assiento of negroes, except also what should be granted by the catholic king, after the assiento should be determined: that the American dominions should not be alienated from the crown of Spain, to France, or any other nation: that Gibraltar and the island of Minorca should be given up to England for ever: that no Moors were to come thither but on account of traffick: that all the Spanish inhabitants should enjoy their estates and religion, or have liberty to sell their estates, and retire: that the South-sea company should have the privilege of introducing negroes into several parts of America for thirty years, commencing with the year 1713, in the same manner as enjoyed by the French: that the Catalans should have a full and free pardon, with the possession of all their estates, and honours, and enjoy the same privileges with the inhabitants of both Castiles: that Sicily should be yielded to the duke of Savoy; but in case of his dying without heirs, the kingdom should return to Spain. By two separate articles, the queen promised to persist in the measures, by which she had taken care, that no other part of the Spanish monarchy should be torn from it; and obliged herself to procure the prince of Ursini to be put into possession of Limburg, or some other country in the Netherlands, which should produce thirty thousand crowns a year, pursuant to a grant made her by king Philip in the year 1713. The parliament had been opened by commission some time before this peace was published; but the day after, her majesty repaired to the house of peers, and delivered the following speech:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I have much satisfaction, in being able, at the opening of this parliament, to tell you, that the ratifications of the treaties of peace and of commerce with Spain are exchanged, by which my subjects will have greater opportunities than ever to improve and extend their trade. Many advantages formerly enjoyed by connivance, and procured by such methods as made a distinction between one British merchant and another, are now settled by treaty, and an equal rule is established.

" It hath pleased God to bless my endeavours to obtain an honourable and advantageous peace for my own people, and for the greatest part of my allies. Nothing that I can do shall be wanting to render it universal; and I persuade myself, that, with your hearty concurrence, my interposition may at last prove effectual to complete the settlements of Europe.

" In the mean while, I congratulate with my own subjects, that they are delivered from a consuming land war, and entered on a peace, the good effect whereof nothing but intestine divisions can obstruct.

" It was the glory of the wisest and greatest of my predecessors to hold the balance of Europe, and to keep it equal by casting in their weight as necessity required. By this conduct, they enriched the kingdom, and rendered themselves dreadful to their enemies, and useful to their friends. I have proceeded on the same principles, and I doubt not but my successors will follow these examples.

" Our situation points out to us our true interest; for this country can flourish only by trade, and will be most formidable, by a right application of our naval force.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons, I now

" I have ordered such accounts to be prepared and laid before you, as will shew you, at the conclusion



clusion of the war, the true state of your condition; whereby you will be better able to judge what aids are necessary; and I only ask of you supplies for the current service of the year, and for the discharge of such debts as you shall find, on examination, to be just and reasonable.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The joy which has been generally expressed on my recovery from my late indisposition, and on my coming to this city, I esteem as a return for that tender affection which I have always had for my people.

"I wish that effectual care had been taken, as I have often desired, to suppress those seditious papers and factious rumours, by which designing men have been able to sink credit, and the innocent have suffered.

"There are some who have arrived to that height of malice, as to insinuate, that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover is in danger under my government.

"Those who go about thus to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, can only mean to disturb the present tranquillity, and bring real mischief upon us.

"After all I have done to secure our religion and your liberties, and to transmit both safe to posterity, I cannot mention these proceedings without some degree of warmth; and I must hope you will all agree with me, that attempts to weaken my authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to me, can never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession.

"I have done, and shall continue to do my best for the good of all my subjects. Let it be your endeavour, as it shall be mine, to unite our differences, not by relaxing from the strictest adherence to our constitution in church and state, but by observing the laws yourselves, and enforcing a due obedience to them in others.

"A long war has not only impoverished the public, (however some particular men may have been gainers by it) but has also greatly affected government itself.

"Let it be your care so to improve the present opportunity, as to lay the foundation of recovering from those disorders.

"I had the concurrence of the last parliament in making the peace. Let it be the honour of this to assist me in obtaining such fruits from it as may not only derive blessings on the present age, but even down to the latest posterity."

This speech produced some debates in both houses; but addresses of thanks were voted both by the lords and commons; and the queen, after thanking the lords for their affectionate address, added, "That they who were nearest the throne would first of her subjects feel the evil consequences of any diminution of the regal authority; that it was a comfort to her she had the assurance of their support; and they might depend upon it, she would never give way to the least attempt on the just authorities of the crown, or any of their rights and privileges."

The next day the convocation complimented the queen in a joint address "on her recovery and happy return to her royal city in health and safety," concluding with their wishes, "That after a long and happy reign, she might be able to transmit the protection of the church and state to a protestant successor in the illustrious house of Hanover, which her majesty, to the great satisfaction and comfort of all her faithful and good subjects, had so often declared to be at her royal heart."

The lords taking the state of these kingdoms into consideration, the leaders of the whigs represented the danger that threatened the protestant succession, on account of the pretender's not being yet removed from Lorrain, and the ill condition the affairs of Europe were left in by the late treaties of peace, and moved, that addresses be presented to the queen,

"First for an account of what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain, and what answers had been given by that duke. Secondly, an account of the negotiations of peace: what measures had been taken to render the peace universal: and what obstructions her majesty had met with. Thirdly, an account of what instances had been made for restoring the Catalans their ancient privileges, and all letters relating to that negotiation. Fourthly, an account of the monies granted since the year 1710, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal." These addresses were presented without opposition. But the ministry, perceiving that the whigs were forming several other motions which could not fail of greatly embarrassing their measures, the lord-treasurer moved to adjourn the house till the thirty-first of March, which was carried by a small majority.

Though the ministry had increased their party during the recess of parliament, yet the debates were carried on with as much zeal as ever in the house of lords; and the papers addressed for being laid before the house, the whigs represented, "That the crown of Great-Britain having drawn in the Catalans to declare for the house of Austria, and engaged to support them, those engagements ought to be made good." To this lord Bolingbroke answered, "that the queen had used all her endeavours to procure to the Catalans the enjoyment of their ancient liberties and privileges; but that after all, the engagements she had entered into, subsisted no longer than while Charles was in Spain; but that prince being advanced to the imperial dignity, and having himself abandoned the Catalans, she could do no more, than interpose her good offices in their behalf, which she had not been wanting to do." To this it was replied, "That God had put more effectual means into her majesty's hands."

After some other speeches, earl Cowper moved for an address to the queen, importing, "That her endeavours for preserving to the Catalans the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties, being proved ineffectual, their lordships made it their humble request, that she would continue her interpositions in the most pressing manner in their behalf." The ministry perceiving that it would be in vain to oppose the motions of the whigs, the address was agreed to.

Still no satisfactory account was given with regard to the present residence of the pretender, who was said still to continue in Lorrain. The earl of Sunderland said, "that notwithstanding the earnest application made last session by both houses to her majesty, to use her utmost endeavours to get him removed from thence, yet he was assured by baron Fostner, the duke of Lorrain's minister, some weeks before his departure, that, to his certain knowledge, no instances had yet been made to his master for that purpose." To this lord Bolingbroke answered, "He wondered baron Fostner could make such a declaration, since he himself had made those declarations to him in the queen's name." But lord Halifax confirmed what the earl of Sunderland had advanced by saying, "That baron Fostner had told him as much but four days before; so that lord Bolingbroke must be mistaken, at least in point of chronology."

This debate brought on a motion of more consequence; the question was "whether the protestant succession be in danger under the present administration? This question gave rise to a very warm debate, which continued for near seven hours, during which time many warm speeches were made against the ministry. That of the earl of Anglesea was remarkable. He said, among other things, "That when he came into the house, he thought indeed the protestant succession to be still in danger on the part of France, whose interest it was to restore the pretender: But that after he had heard what so many noble members of that august assembly, persons of undoubted



undoubted honour and probity, had alledged against the ministers, and no answer offered to confute it, either by the ministers themselves or their friends, he could not but believe the succession to be in danger." He afterwards endeavoured to clear himself with regard to the share he had in some late transactions. "I own," said he, "I gave my assent to the cessation of arms, for which I take shame to myself, and ask God, my country, and my conscience pardon. But, however, this fault I did not commit, till that noble lord (turning towards the lord treasurer) had assured the council, that the peace would be glorious and advantageous both to her majesty and her allies." Adding, "That as the honour of his country, and the good of his sovereign, formed the rule of his actions, so he had no respect of persons; and if he found himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil minister from the queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold." The lord-treasurer, against whom the latter part of his speech was levelled, said, "That the peace was as glorious and advantageous as could be expected, considering the necessity of affairs, and the opposition the queen's ministers had met with, both at home and abroad." Several lords replied, that no ministers ever had it in their power to make so honourable and advantageous a peace as the queen's ministers had. The duke of Argyle added, "That he had lately crossed the kingdom of France, both in going to and returning from Minorca. That it was indeed one of the finest countries in the universe, but that there were marks of a general desolation in all the places through which he passed. That he had rid forty miles together without meeting a man fit to carry arms: that the rest of the people were in the utmost misery and distress; and therefore he could not apprehend what necessity there was to conclude a peace so precipitately with a prince whose dominions were so greatly exhausted of men, of money, and of provisions." With regard to the question in debate he said, "That he firmly believed the succession of the illustrious house of Hanover to be in danger from the present ministers, whom he durst charge with mal-administration both within doors and without: that he knew, and offered to prove, that the lord-treasurer had yearly remitted four thousand pounds to the highland clans in Scotland, who were known to be entirely devoted to the pretender, in order to keep them under discipline, and ready for any attempt: that, on the other hand, the new-modelling of the army, by disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and by removing from their employments a vast number of officers merely on account of their known affection for the house of Hanover, were clear indications of the designs in hand: that it was a disgrace to the nation to see men, who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the posts of several brave officers, who, after they had often expoled their lives for their country, were now starving in prison for want of their pay." The lord-treasurer now rose, and laying his hand upon his breast, said, "I have, on so many occasions, given such signal proofs of my affection to the protestant succession, that I am sure no member of that august assembly could call it in question. At the same time I own I have remitted to Scotland, for two or three years past, three thousand eight hundred pounds to the highland clans; but I hope the house will give me an opportunity of clearing my conduct with regard to that point. As for the reformed officers, I have given orders they shall be paid directly."

After several other speeches the question was put and carried in the negative by twelve voices only. But though the protestant religion was thus voted not to be in danger, lord Halifax, in order to put their professions of affection for the house of Hanover to the test, moved, "That an address be presented to the queen, that she would renew her instances for the speedy removing the pretender out of Lorrain; and that she would, in conjunction with the states-gene-

ral, enter into the guaranty of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and also with such other princes as she should think proper." He was seconded by the earl of Wharton, who moved likewise, that in the address, "Her majesty might be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should bring the pretender dead or alive:" this motion was seconded by the duke of Bolton, who also moved, that the reward might be suitable to the importance of that service. Nothing was said in opposition to the motions: but it being late, some members expressed their desire that the house should adjourn. But the other side calling for the question, it was unanimously resolved that the address should be presented.

When the address against the pretender was reported by the committee appointed to draw it up, the lord North and Grey made a long speech, "Wherein he endeavoured to shew the barbarity of setting a reward upon any man's head; which, he said, was nothing less than giving encouragement to murder and assassination; and how repugnant such a practice was to the laws of christianity, the law of nature, and the laws of all civilized nations." He represented in particular, "How inconsistent such a proceeding was with the honour and dignity of so august an assembly in a nation and government famed for lenity and clemency." He concluded with saying, "No man either had more respect for the illustrious house of Hanover, or would do more to secure them than himself; but that they must excuse him, if he would not incur perdition for them." He was supported by lord Trevor, who said, "What that noble peer had spoke was sufficient to shew, how inconsistent such a proceeding was with christianity, and the civil law; and therefore he would confine himself to the laws of England; and, if he knew, or understood any thing of these, he was confident they were no less opposite to such proceedings than the civil law. He knew he did not speak there as a lawyer or judge, but as a peer: but he was so fully satisfied of our law discountenancing all such proceedings, that if ever such a case should come before him as a judge, he should think himself bound in justice, honour, and conscience, to condemn such an action as murder; and therefore he hoped the supreme court of judicature in England, and the most august tribunal in the universe, would not make a precedent for encouraging assassination;" and therefore he moved, "that the reward should be for apprehending and bringing the pretender to justice, in case he should land, or attempt to land, either in Great Britain or Ireland: and that her majesty should issue her royal proclamation, whenever in her great wisdom she should judge it necessary." To this it was answered, "That however contrary such a proceeding might be to the precepts of christianity, it was warranted by the practice of the old Romans, of the most civilized nations in Europe, and of our own nation in particular. For without recurring to remoter instances, we have the example of king James II. who set a price on the head of his own nephew, the duke of Monmouth." But these reasonings were not well supported, and the motion was agreed to by a majority of ten voices. When the address was presented to the queen, she returned the following answer:

"My lords,

"It would be a real strengthening to the succession of the house of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end were put to these groundless fears and jealousies, which have been so industriously promoted.

"I do not, at this time, see any occasion for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having one issued.

"As for the other particulars in this address, I will give proper directions therein."

This answer revived the hopes of the pretender's friends, who, before the late warm speeches were



made against him in the upper house, were so elated, that an agent from King James' queen, had attempted to file a bill in chancery, wherein he demanded, in her name, the sum of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, since the death of James II. But the agent having in the bill given her the title of queen-mother, the officer refused to file it; upon which the agent changed the title, and presented it in the name of "the most illustrious princess Maria, relict of James II. king of England." Though no notice was taken of this formal demand, yet, pursuant to a formal agreement made in France by lord Bolingbroke, about fifty thousand pounds were remitted thither for her use.

The very day the address was presented an incident happened, which threw the ministry into the utmost confusion. Most of the whig lords had held a consultation at the house of lord Halifax, to which baron Scütz, envoy from the elector of Hanover was admitted. In this meeting it was resolved, that the baron should take the first opportunity of demanding a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers, as duke of Cambridge. Accordingly Scütz made a visit to the chancellor, and among other civilities acknowledged the affection he had shewn on several occasions to the house of Hanover. The chancellor told him, "he was extremely sensible of the honour he did him by his visit and compliment; and desired him to assure the elector of his entire devotion to his service; hoping his highness gave no credit to the false reports that were industriously spread, in order to give him jealousies of her majesty's ministers." The baron answered that he would not fail to discharge so agreeable a commission; but he had a favour to ask of him, in the name of the electoral prince, that his lordship would be pleased to make out a writ for his sitting in the house of peers as duke of Cambridge. Surprized at this unexpected demand, the chancellor told the baron, "That though it was unusual to make out writs for peers who were not in the kingdom, yet he would immediately apply to her majesty for directions." The baron answered, "he did not doubt his lordship's performing the duties of his office. But, with regard to the objection of the duke's being out of the kingdom, he could assure him his electoral highness proposed coming over very speedily, and might perhaps be landed before the writ was made out." The baron now took his leave, and the chancellor desired him to remember, "That he did not refuse his demand, but thought proper to acquaint the queen of it, which he would do immediately." A council was directly held in the queen's presence, and after very long debates it was resolved, that the chancellor should make out a writ for the duke of Cambridge. The queen was, however, so highly offended at the baron's making his application to the chancellor, before he had informed her of his intentions, that he forbade him the court.

But though the writ was ordered to be made out for the duke of Cambridge, the ministry was determined he should not visit England; and a report prevailing that the princess Sophia intended to desire the queen's approbation for the duke of Cambridge's coming into England, her majesty, with the advice of her cabinet council wrote that princess the following letter:

"Madam, Sister, Aunt.

"Since the right of succession to my kingdom has been declared to belong to you and your family, there have always been disaffected persons, who, by particular views of their own interest, have entered into measures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even while I am living. I never thought till now, that this project would have gone so far, as to have made the least impression on your mind. But, as I lately perceived, by public rumours, which are industriously spread, that your electoral highness is come into this sentiment, it is of importance, with respect to the succession of your family, that I should call you such a proceeding will infallibly draw along

with it some consequences, that will be dangerous to that succession itself, which is not secure any other way, than as the prince, who actually wears the crown, maintains her prerogative. There are here (such are our misfortunes) a great many people, that are seditiously disposed. So I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raise, if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself, therefore, you will never consent, that the least thing should be done, that may disturb the repose of me and my subjects.

"Open yourself to me with the same freedom I do to you, and propose whatever you think may contribute to the security of the succession, I will come into it with zeal, provided it do not derogate from my dignity which I am resolved to maintain. I am with a great deal of affection, &c.

At the same time her majesty wrote the following letter to the duke of Cambridge:

"Cousin,

"An accident which has happened in my lord Packer's family, having hindered him from setting forward so soon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with respect to the design you have formed of coming into my kingdoms. As the opening of this matter ought to have been first to me; so I expected you would not have given ear to it, without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendship I have for you, and the electoral house to which you belong; and the true desire I have, that it may succeed to my kingdom: and this requires of me that I should tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions, and the right of succession in your line, and consequently more disagreeable to me, than such a proceeding at this juncture.

"I am, &c."

These letters greatly affected the princess Sophia, who was now in the eighty-fourth year of her age, that the very day after she had received them, she was seized with an apoplectic fit as she was walking in the gardens of Herenhäusen, and died in the arms of the electoral princess, before physicians could come to her assistance. She was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth of England only daughter of James I. This princess was of a strong and healthy constitution, and a perfect mistress of most of the modern languages; her genius was equally turned for conversation or business, and hence she became at once the ornament and delight of her court. Her turns of wit were sprightly and surprising; her judgment solid and penetrating. Nothing could exceed the beauties and advantages of her conversation, but her letters; both were easy, entertaining and useful. She enjoyed a fund of happiness within herself, which gave a relish to her retirements: but her care in government and economy shewed the just sense she entertained of being born for the good of others. Her piety was exemplary without affectation; and her sentiments of religion just and noble. She lived beloved, and her hearse was bedewed with the tears of the good and the virtuous.

Bolingbroke and the other leaders of the tory party, determined, if possible, to defeat the protestant succession, brought in the famous schism bill, it being thought necessary for accomplishing their scheme, to ruin the dissenters. It was presented to the house of commons by Sir William Windham, and strenuously opposed by the whole power of the whig party; but passed the house by a considerable majority.

When it was read the first time in the house of peers, lord Bolingbroke said, "It was a bill of the last importance, since it concerned the security of the church of England, the best and firmest support of the church and monarchy; both which all good men, and particularly that august assembly, who derive their lustre from and are near the throne, ought to have



have most at heart, and therefore he moved that, it should be read a second time." Lord Cowper replied, "That no man was more ready than himself to do every thing that should appear necessary to attain the seeming intention of this bill, the preventing the growth of schism, and the farther securing the church of England. But that the enacting part would be so far from answering the title of it, that, in his opinion, it would have a quite contrary effect, and prove equally pernicious to church and state. That instead of preventing schism, and enlarging the pale of the church, this bill tended to introduce ignorance, and its inseparable attendants, superstition and irreligion. That in many country towns, reading, writing and grammar schools were chiefly supported by the dissenters; not only for the instruction and benefit of their own children, but likewise of those poor churchmen; so that the suppressing those schools, would, in some places, suppress the reading of the Holy Scriptures." On the other hand he observed, "that this bill struck at the ancient rights and prerogative of the house of peers; which, by the constitution, is the supreme court of judicature, and the dernier resort in all causes; whereas, by this bill, the justices of the peace were empowered to hear and finally determine the offences against the same. I would, my lords, added he, rather enlarge than abridge the power of justices of the peace, were it only to encourage gentlemen to take upon them an office so troublesome, and so unprofitable, unless it be, perhaps, in the county of Middlesex. But, at the same time, my lords, I shall never consent to give up the birth-right and ancient privileges of this august assembly, of which I have the honour to be a member."

The earl of Wharton attacked the supporters of the bill with the most poignant irony. "I am," said he, "agreeably surprized to see some men of pleasure become on a sudden so religious; as to set up for patrons of the church." But I am astonished that persons who have been educated in dissenting academies, whom I could point out, and whose tutors I could name, should appear the most forward in oppressing them. This is surely but an indifferent return for the benefit the public has received from those schools; which have bred those great men, who have made so glorious a peace, and treaties that have executed themselves. I can therefore see no reason for suppressing these academies, unless it be from an apprehension, that they may still produce greater geniuses, that may drown the merits and abilities of these great men. To be serious, my lords, it is no less melancholy than surprizing, that at a time when the court of France prosecutes the design they have long since formed to extirpate our holy religion; when not only secret practices are used to impose a popish pretender on these realms, but men are publicly enlisted for his service: it is, I say, melancholy and surprizing, that at this very time a bill should be brought in, which must tend to divide the protestants; and consequently to weaken their interest, and hasten their ruin. But the wonder will cease when we consider, that madmen were the contrivers and promoters of this bill." He declaimed particularly against the word schism, with which the frontispiece of the bill was decorated, and said, "It is something strange that they should call schism in England, what is the established religion in Scotland; and therefore, if the lords who represented the nobility of that part of Great Britain, were for this bill, he hoped, that in order to be even with us, and consistent with themselves, they would move for bringing in another bill to promote the growth of schism in their own country." He added, "That both in the bill itself, and also in the speeches of those who had declared for it, several laws were recited and alledged, but there was a law which had not yet been mentioned, it is the law of the gospel, To do unto others as we would be done unto."

Several other very remarkable speeches were made on this remarkable bill, and several amendments were made to it, which rendered it very different from what it appeared in its original state. With these amendments it was carried in the house of peers by a majority of five voices, and afterwards received the royal assent.

The house seemed now determined to censure the conduct of lord Bolingbroke; but the queen in order to prevent the consequences, that might ensue, came to the house of Lords on the ninth of July, and put an end to the session with the following speech, from the throne:

"My Lords and Gentlemen;

"The progress which has been made in public business, and the season of the year, render it both convenient and necessary, that I should put an end to this session.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I return you my hearty thanks for all your good services to me and to your country, and particularly for the supplies you have given me, as well to defray the expences of the current year, as towards the discharging of the national debt. In our present circumstances it could not be expected, that a full provision should be made on both these heads. What you have granted shall be laid out with the best husbandry, and to the greatest advantage.

"My Lords and Gentlemen;

"I hope early in the winter to meet you again, and to find you in such a temper as is necessary for the real improvement of our commerce, and of all the other advantages of peace. My chief concern is to preserve to you, and to your posterity, our holy religion, and the liberty of my subjects; and to procure the present and future tranquillity of my kingdom. But I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be attained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts; unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you be laid aside; and unless you shew the same regard for my prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expressed for the rights of my people."

This was the last speech the queen ever made to her parliament: her constitution was now quite broken; one fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health, was the disorders that prevailed among her ministers. While the parliament continued sitting, they maintained some appearance at least of unity; the fear of an attack from that branch of the legislature; but their fears being now over, they laid no restraint upon their passions. Their disputes became intolerable; they so far forgot their duty to her majesty, and regard for their country, that whenever Oxford and Bolingbroke met in council, they studied rather to oppose each other, than to settle or pursue any regular plan of government. And their jealousies arrived at last to such a shameful height, that it is believed a quarrel that happened between them in the queen's presence, hastened her death. It is certain that the severest reproaches passed between these ministers on the twenty-seventh of July, when Oxford was deprived of the white staff. He imputed his disgrace to Bolingbroke, lady Masham, and the chancellor, and told them, in the queen's presence, "That he had been wronged and abused by lies and misrepresentations; but he should be revenged, and leave some people as low as he found them." These expostulations could not fail of shocking the queen, whose ill state of health rendered her incapable of supporting such unexpected strokes of fortune. She could not help reflecting that she must have been abused by some, if not by all her principal ministers; and she actually intimated to one of her physicians, that she should not long survive it.

She was soon after seized with a lethargic disorder, and the next day was struck with an apoplexy. She, however,



however, recovered, in some degree, the use of her senses, and during that interval, gave the white staff to the duke of Shrewsbury, bidding him use it for the good of her people. This was the last act of her government, dying on the first of August, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Few sovereigns ever merited higher eulogiums than this princess, without either great talents or a cultivated mind, and without spirit sufficient to give her an ascendant over her favourites. She shone in the

qualities of the heart, a sincere piety, a steady virtue, a tender affection for her subjects, an invariable affability, as well in government as in civil life. From these qualities which will render her name respectable, she was called "The good queen Anne;" a title more glorious than all the victories that adorned her reign.

Queen Anne had six children, but none survived her. The duke of Gloucester only reached his twelfth year, all the rest died very young.

## B O O K XIV.

From the Accession of George I. to the Conclusion of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748.

## G E O R G E I.

A.D. 1714. **T**HE death of the queen disconcerted all the schemes of the Tories. Bolingbroke was left without power, and consequently incapable of executing the designs he had formed. His genius, more brilliant than solid, was not calculated for the government of a nation. The Jacobites had flattered themselves that hereditary right would prevail in favour of the pretender, over the motives which had excluded that family from the crown of England. They were deceived, and George I. was proclaimed without opposition. The protestant succession had been too firmly established by acts of parliament to be shaken by the attempts of a few persons, who were no friends to the peace of their country.

George I. was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, when queen Anne sunk into the grave. He was endowed by nature with an extensive genius, which had been cultivated by an excellent education; which, together with his experience, rendered him perfectly capable of supporting the weight of a crown, to which he was now called by the voice of the people. He had long been known to the English, having commanded a body of troops in the allied army, where his valour and conduct had gained him universal esteem.

The king was proclaimed on the first of August, at the usual places, and with the usual ceremonies, in the cities of London and Westminster. The streets were crowded with multitudes of people, for having been born and educated in the bosom of the protestant church, all who wished well to the established religion in England, had fixed their hopes on him for the preservation of their constitution both in church and state.

The same ceremonies were performed in all the cities and towns in England without the least disturbance any where except at Oxford, where a person, in the habit of a student, brought a letter to the mayor, requiring him to proclaim the pretender. The mayor communicated the letter to the vice-chancellor, and both of them transmitted copies of it to Mr. secretary Bromley, representative for the university of Oxford, who returned them letters of thanks. In the mean time, the vice-chancellor offered a reward of a hundred pounds for discovering the author.

All possible precautions had been taken by the lords of the regency, to guard against a surprize. They dispatched such officers of the army as they knew they could trust to their respective posts; gave

orders to reinforce the garrison at Portsmouth; and sent vessels out to view the harbours of France and discover whether any preparations were making for an invasion of this kingdom. They chose Mr. Joseph Addison for their secretary, and ordered all letters and dispatches directed to the secretary of state to be sent to him. This was a mortifying circumstance to lord Bolingbroke, who was now obliged to stand at the door of the council-chamber, with his bag and papers, and to receive orders from those, whom, but a few days before, he expected to command.

Both houses of parliament met at Westminster on the very day the queen died, and a speech was made by the chancellor in the name of the lords-justices, suitable to the occasion of their meeting. Both houses voted addresses of condolance and congratulation to the king. The commons actually made good all funds which had been granted by parliament, for the security of any money that had or should be advanced for the public service. These addresses being transmitted to the king, his majesty returned very affectionate answers.

M. d'Iberville, the French minister, having for some time behaved in a very haughty manner, was, on the queen's death, so apprehensive of being insulted by the people, that he sent a letter to the duke of Ormond, desiring his protection. The duke laid the letter before the lord-justices, who ordered a party of the trained-bands to guard his house. He had already assured the regency, "That his master would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace, concluded at Utrecht, particularly with regard to the settlement of the crown in the house of Hanover." And the earl of Peterborough, who arrived in London from France on the seventh of August, informed the regency, that the French king had given him the same assurances. Some days after Iberville received a letter from the marquis de Torcy, approving of his conduct, and another from his master Lewis XIV. to the British regency, containing the same declaration. That monarch also declared, "That having been informed of some reports, which hinted his having designed to make some alterations in the late treaty, he thought proper to declare, as he had already done to the earl of Peterborough, that these reports were altogether false and groundless; that the king of Spain having sent the cardinal del Guidice as ambassador to France, which might create some suspicions, his most christian majesty had desired the king his grandson, to recal him: and that the elector of Brunswick





Engraved for Sydney's History of England.



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Brunswick having, some time before the death of the queen, signified that whenever his accession to the crown of Great Britain should take place, he would cultivate an acquaintance with France, his most christian majesty, on his part, assured the lords-justices, that he would do all that lay in his power to maintain a good intelligence and amity between the two crowns."

But sensible how little dependence could be placed on the French king's assurances, they exerted all their power to put the nation in a posture of defence, as the only way of rendering any designs against the peace of the realm abortive. While they were thus nobly employed, Mr. Murray arrived with expresss from Hanover, informing the regency that his majesty had deferred his departure for some days, and ordered the lords-justices to remove lord Bolingbroke from his office of secretary of state. This was accordingly done on the thirty-first of August, and not without particular marks of displeasure; for the seals were not only taken from him, but the doors of his office were locked and sealed.

The sudden death of the queen confounded the court of France; they found it was impossible for them to oppose the protestant succession to the crown, and therefore they acknowledged George, elector of Hanover, king of Great Britain. The pretender, who had been flattered with the hopes of assuming the English throne, both by the ministers of France and England, no sooner heard that the queen was either dead, or past all hopes of recovery, than he posted immediately to Versailles; but before he reached the palace, he was met by the marquis de Torcy, who told him, "That his most christian majesty was surprized at his being returned into his dominions, knowing the engagements he was under, with regard to the succession of the crown of Great Britain in the house of Hanover; and therefore desired him to quit his territories immediately." Astonished at this unexpected reception, the pretender made a melancholy visit to the queen-dowager of England, who resided at Chaillot, and returned to the court of Lorraine at Luneville.

The king landed at Greenwich on the sixteenth of September about six in the evening, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lord-chancellor at the head of the lords of the regency. His majesty chose to walk to his house in the park, accompanied by most of the nobility, and great numbers of the principal gentry, through an infinite croud of persons of all conditions. The parliament had already granted him the same revenue enjoyed by the late queen. And instead of five thousand pounds promised in the late reign, one hundred thousand were now offered to any one who should take the pretender in case he attempted an invasion.

The duke of Marlborough was distinguished among the croud of courtiers; for king George was both a politician and a soldier; and his maxim was, "Never to abandon his friends, to do justice to all, and to fear nobody." The king made his public entry on the twentieth of September, with great pomp and magnificence. Above two hundred coaches belonging to the nobility and gentry, all drawn by six horses, preceded the king's. He was met at St. Margaret's-hill in Southwark, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, recorder, sheriffs and officers of the city of London, in whose name Sir Peter King, the recorder, made a congratulatory speech. The lord-mayor delivered the sword to the king, who returned it, and he bore it in the procession.

The animosity which subsisted between the two parties, was at this time higher than ever. The whigs, who had been in disgrace during the four last years of the queen's reign, were filled with resentment at the usage they had received from the tories, and hoped to have full satisfaction under a reign, the commencement of which they considered as the end of their humiliation. The tories were apprehensive

of a fall, and this had engaged several of their leaders in practices not only dangerous, but directly opposite to the measures for maintaining the protestant succession. The king, highly esteemed for his prudence, seemed capable of distinguishing the heats of faction, or at least of turning them to the public good. Possibly he might have succeeded had he maintained an equal balance between the two parties, and endeavoured to unite them by a proper conduct and address; but whether he thought it impossible to reconcile the turbulent passions of the two parties, or whether the prejudice he had conceived against the tories carried him beyond proper bounds, he gave all his confidence to their adversaries, who were more devoted to the new government.

This tended only to widen the breach, and increase the number of enemies to the principles of the revolution. Not only the papists espoused the interest of the abdicated family, but also great numbers of those who professed the tenets of the church of England; and it was feared they would join with the catholics, to dethrone a prince whom they considered as a foreigner. Neither the famous distinction between a king *de jure* and a king *de facto*, nor the doctrine of passive obedience, was yet forgot; and hence several refused to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

The changes that ensued were a farther proof that the tories, were to expect no favour from the new king. Bolingbroke had been dismissed before his arrival, and lord Townsend appointed secretary of state in his room. The command of the army was taken from the duke of Ormond, and restored to the duke of Marlborough. The lord Cowper was made lord-chancellor; the earl of Wharton, lord privy-seal; and the earl of Sunderland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Devonshire was appointed steward of the household, in the room of earl Pauler; and Mr. James Stanhope, secretary of state in the room of Mr. Bromley. The duke of Somerset was made master of the horse, the duke of St. Albans captain of the band of pensioners, and the duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. William Pulteney was made secretary at war, and Mr. Robert Walpole receiver and paymaster-general of all the forces in Great Britain, and paymaster to Chelsea hospital. This revolution extended to other public employments, and the whigs triumphed with as high a hand on this occasion, as they had before been humbled and disgraced. Such beginnings could not fail of inflaming the animosity of parties, and cherishing the spirit of contention.

The great art of gaining the hearts of the people consists not of obtaining the attachment of a few at the expence of others. George shewed more wisdom in declaring, "that he was resolved to maintain the churches of England and Scotland as by law established; that he hoped to succeed without infringing that toleration granted to the protestant non-conformists, a toleration so advantageous to commerce and the public welfare; and that he would be particularly careful to secure property, that precious right of the subject, which essentially constitutes the happiness of the nation."

The king was crowned at Westminster on the fifteenth of October, with great magnificence. There was never so great an appearance of lords spiritual and temporal, as on this occasion, no less than seventeen archbishops and bishops, though two sees were vacant; all the dukes in and about London, except the duke of Buckingham; seventy earls and viscounts, and among them the earl of Oxford and viscount Bolingbroke, and as many barons. The demonstrations of joy throughout the kingdom seemed to be general on this happy event, some few places excepted, where the populace shewed their hatred to the protestant succession by riots and outrages.

One of the principal articles of the treaty of Utrecht prescribed to Lewis XIV. was the demolition of Dunkirk, a port which had cost immense sums, and



was become an object of jealousy and terror to the English. On executing the treaty, the canal of Mardyke was widened, and made a port almost equal to that of Dunkirk. Lord Stair, the English ambassador, complained of this in very strong terms. It is said the answer made by Lewis was, "I have always been master at home, sometimes abroad; do not make me remember it." Voltaire assures us that this answer, which he thinks an improper one, did not come out of the mouth of Lewis. But whether this was really the case or not, his pride was certainly capable of uttering it. Times were now altered; and the English obtained satisfaction: the works of Mardyke were suspended and afterwards demolished under the regency.

The spirit of mutiny still prevailed in the nation. The complaints of the vanquished party echoed from every quarter, and in almost every town. The Tories did not fail to call in the interest of the church as a sanction to their own. "Down with the whigs! Sacheverel for ever!" was the cry. The pretender, who went by the title of the chevalier de St. George, attempted to avail himself of this juncture, by publishing a manifesto, wherein he complained that a foreign prince had been proclaimed contrary to the fundamental and incontestable law of hereditary right; observing that no act of parliament could set aside that law, and that his subject, by violating it were no less injurious to themselves than to him.

A. D. 1715. It is natural to suppose that the king would be very desirous of having the advice of his parliament. A proclamation was accordingly published for dissolving the old and calling a new parliament. This proclamation was filled with complaints against those who had shewed themselves disaffected to the established government. It was added, "that his majesty hoped such persons only would be elected as were capable of putting an end to the present disorders, and that particular attention would be paid to such as had supported the protestant succession when in danger." Nothing could be more clearly pointed out to the whigs, nor mark more strongly on which side he wished the votes to fall. A very strong opposition was, however, made by the tory party; but the influence of the court, and the spirit of liberty among the people, produced the desired effect: a large majority were on the side of the revolution. The new parliament met on the seventeenth of March, and the commons having elected Mr. Spencer Compton for their speaker, the session was opened on the twenty-first, by the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"This being the first opportunity, I have had of meeting my people in parliament, since it pleased God to call me to the throne of my ancestors, I most gladly make use of it, to thank my faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness, which hath been shewn in defence of the protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices that have been used to defeat it; and I shall never forget the obligation I have to those, who have distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

"It were to be wished that the unparalleled successes of a war, which was so wisely and cheerfully supported by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a suitable conclusion; but it is with concern I must tell you, that some conditions, even of this peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, are not yet duly executed, and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious until we have formed defensive alliances, to guaranty the present treaty.

"The pretender, who still resides in Lorraine threatens to disturb us, and boasts of the assistance which he still expects here, to repair his former dis-appointments.

"A great part of our trade is rendered impracti-

cable. This, if not retrieved, must destroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

"The public debts are very great, and surprizingly increased, ever since the fatal cessation of arms. My first care was to prevent a farther increase of those debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ships, which had been kept in pay, when there was no occasion for continuing such an expence.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I rely upon you for such supplies as the present circumstances of our affairs require for this year's service, and for the support of the public faith. The proper estimates shall be laid before you, that you may consider of them, and what you shall judge necessary for your safety, I shall think sufficient for mine.

"I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the support of the credit of the nation, than a spirit of observance of all parliamentary engagements.

"The branches of the revenue, formerly granted for the support of the civil government, are so far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remain and have been granted to me, will fall greatly short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown. And since it is my happiness, as I am confident you think it yours, to see a prince of Wales, who may, in due time succeed me on the throne, and to see him blessed with many children, the best and most valuable pledges of our care and concern for your posterity, this must occasion an expence, to which the nation has not for many years been accustomed, but such as surely no man will grudge, and therefore I do not doubt but you will think of it with that affection which I have reason to hope from you.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the issue of this first session. Let no unhappy divisions of parties here at home divert you from pursuing the common interest of your country. Let no wicked insinuations disquiet the minds of my subjects. The established constitution in church and state shall be the rule of my government. The happiness, ease and prosperity of my people shall be the chief care of my life. Those who assist me in carrying on these measures I shall always esteem my best friends; and I doubt not but I shall be able, with your assistance, to disappoint the designs of those who would deprive me of that blessing which I most value, the affection of my people."

The addresses of both houses were agreeable to the king's speech. The concluding clause by which they declared "they would take such measures as would preserve the public credit, restore our trade, extinguish the very hopes of the pretender, and recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts; the loss of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions, is by no means to be imputed to the nation in general," gave occasion to a very warm debate. The Tories alledged "that it was injurious to the late queen's memory, and clashed with that part of his majesty's speech, which recommended to both houses, the avoiding the unhappy divisions of parties, and that it was unjust to condemn persons without hearing them." Lord Bolingbroke, in particular, was very warm on this subject, and moved that part of the clause might be omitted. But it was carried against him, and the address was presented in its original.

But though lord Bolingbroke spoke with great boldness in parliament, and appeared every where in public with great boldness, yet he did not think proper to submit his conduct to a fair trial. He departed privately from London, and disguised as a servant to la Vigne; he passed over to the continent, and landed at Calais on the thirtieth of March.

Some of the members had the boldness to propose an examination of the royal proclamation. Sir William Windham declared it was indefensible, unprecedented



cedented, and of dangerous consequence to the constitution of parliament. The house was immediately in a flame, and the cry, "To the tower! to the tower!" resounded from every corner. He was ordered to withdraw, and one hundred and twenty members accompanied him. The rest agreed that he should be reprimanded by the speaker, which was done accordingly.

The whigs now determined to enquire into the late negotiations, and a secret committee was appointed for that purpose. The famous Sir Robert Walpole was appointed chairman, who, after delivering the report, impeached lord Bolingbroke of high-treason, as the author of a particular treaty concluded with Lewis XIV. Lord Coningsby immediately rose, and said, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand; I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk; I the judge: he the scholar; I the master. I impeach Robert Harley, earl of Oxford; of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Harley, the earl of Oxford's brother, spoke in his defence. He alledged, "that the minister had done nothing but by the immediate order of the queen; that the peace of Utrecht was an advantageous peace, and, as such, it had been approved by two parliaments."

On the twenty-first of June, Mr. secretary Stanhope impeached James duke of Ormond of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors. The duke was defended by several members. Sir Joseph Jekyll in particular said, "That if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had, in a course of many years, exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country: that as the statute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treason against him was founded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the house ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors. This occasioned a long and warm debate; but the question being put, it was carried for his impeachment. The duke perceiving he was already pre-judged by his enemies, who were determined to carry on the impeachment with the whole force of their party, consulted his own safety, by withdrawing himself from the kingdom.

The articles being agreed to by the commons, lord Coningsby, attended by most of the members who had voted for the impeachment, went up to the lords, and, at the bar of the house, impeached Robert earl of Oxford of high-treason; demanding, at the same time, that he might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to safe custody. The earl, after protesting his innocence, and observing, that if ministers of state, who only executed the orders of their sovereign, were responsible for their conduct, every member of that house might one day be exposed to the same misfortunes. He added, "My lords, I am about to take my leave of your lordships and this honourable house, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life with pleasure, in a cause favoured by my dear royal mistress. When I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content: and, my lords, God's will be done."

He was suffered to return to his own house, in custody of the black rod, in consequence of his being ill of the gravel. The next day he was brought to the bar of the house, where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. But he was ordered immediately to the Tower, notwithstanding his bad state of health. The populace followed him in crowds, inveighing against his persecutors:

These rigorous proceedings increased the popular ferments. London and Westminster had a little before been filled with tumults. The populace, on the king's birth-day, burnt William in effigy, and insulted the courtiers. The jacobites were in motion in every part of the kingdom; and his majesty in-

formed the parliament, that the nation was threatened with an invasion. The habeas corpus act was immediately suspended, and orders were issued to arrest all suspected persons. A reward of one hundred thousand pounds was offered to any person who should take the pretender, dead or alive. Troops were raised; a fleet was equipped; and every necessary preparation made for rendering the attempt abortive. The alarm was not without foundation. The tories had held a correspondence abroad; and the pretender relied on the promises of Lewis XIV. but that prince dying on the first of September, the face of affairs in that kingdom was totally changed. The regency devolved to the duke of Orleans, who had neither the power nor inclination to sacrifice the treasures of the state he governed to support the interest of a wretched exile, who had very small hopes of obtaining the crown he claimed as his birth-right.

The jacobites had, however, proceeded too far, to think of retreating; and the earl of Mar erected the pretender's standard on Brae-Mar on the twenty-fifth of September. He afterwards caused him to be proclaimed at Cullinstown, Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, and several other places. Several suspected persons were seized, and committed to the castle of Edinburgh. Two vessels found means to elude the vigilance of the English fleet, and landed several officers, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, in Scotland. This was, however, the only assistance the pretender received from France. The regent found it his interest to cultivate a friendship with the English ministry. The rebels now published a manifesto, in which they gave their reasons for taking up arms; enumerated the grievances of the nation, and promised to redress them.

About the same time, a conspiracy was formed at Edinburgh for surprising the castle, on the eighth of September, between eleven and twelve at night; but the design was rendered abortive by the care and vigilance of Sir Adam Cockburn.

The duke of Argyle being appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, set out, on the ninth of September, for that kingdom; and about the same time the earl of Sutherland offered his service to go and raise the highland clans in the most northern counties of Scotland, which was readily accepted, and the Queenborough man of war was appointed to carry him thither. Several other Scottish peers, particularly the duke of Roxburgh, the marquises of Anandale and Tweedale, the earls of Selkirk and Loudon, Ross, Haddington, Forfar, &c. readily embraced this opportunity of shewing their loyalty to their king, and zeal for their country.

About this time a dangerous conspiracy was discovered and rendered abortive in England. On the second of September, lieutenant-colonel Paul, who had a company in the first regiment of foot-guards, was secured, and the next day sent prisoner to the Gatehouse. He was charged with enlisting men for the pretender's service, and other treasonable practices. The titular duke of Powis, a Roman catholic, was committed to the Tower for high-treason; and the lords Landsdown and Duplin were also taken into custody, and a warrant issued for apprehending the earl of Jersey. At the same time, Mr. secretary Stanhope acquainted the commons, "that he was commanded by the king to communicate to them, that his majesty, having just cause to suspect that Sir William Windham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Hervey, sen. of Combe, Mr. Thomas Foster, jun. Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, were engaged in a design to support the intended invasion of this kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them, and desired the consent of the house, to his causing them to be committed and detained, if he should judge it necessary." This was unanimously agreed to and an address presented to his majesty for that purpose.

The consent of the house being thus obtained, warrants were immediately issued for apprehending the



six members, two of whom, Hervey and Anstis, happened to be then in town, were immediately secured. Mr. Hervey, some few days after, stabbed himself with a knife, in two or three places of his breast; but the wounds did not prove mortal. Mr. Foster bid defiance to justice, and with the assistance of two Romish lords, raised a rebellion in Northumberland. Sir John Packington was brought up to town from Worcestershire, and after being examined before the council, was honourably discharged. Mr. Kynafton made his escape, and colonel Huike, a captain in the foot guards was sent down with a messenger to apprehend Sir William Windham, in Somersetshire. On their arrival, which was about five in the morning, they desired to see Sir William immediately; but the porter told them he was in bed and could not yet be spoke with. The colonel told him he came express, and that the person with him had a packet of letters of such consequence, that it was absolutely necessary for him to inform his master of their arrival immediately. This alarmed the porter, and Sir William immediately leaped out of bed, and came in his gown to the colonel, who told him he was his prisoner, the messenger at the same time shewing him the badge of his office. Sir William said he readily submitted; but desired no noise might be made to frighten his lady, who was then with child. They now entered a chamber, where the colonel, seeing Sir William's coat and waistcoat lie, told him he had orders to seize all his papers, and that he must take leave to search his pocket, where he found a bundle of papers, which he secured. Sir William would have diverted him by offering him the keys of his escrutores in order to search for more; but the colonel had now secured those of the most importance. Sir William desired the colonel would stay till seven o'clock, when he would order his carriage to be ready; adding, he would only retire and put on his clothes, and take leave of his lady. This was granted; but the colonel soon found he had been too complaisant; Sir William instead of returning made his escape. On the colonel's return a proclamation was issued, promising a thousand pounds reward to any person who should apprehend Sir William.

Sir William found it would be in vain to secret himself, and therefore repaired to London, and surrendered himself to the earl of Hertford, captain of one of the troops of life-guards. After a strict examination before the council, he was committed to the Tower; notwithstanding the duke of Somerset offered to bail him. This refusal so irritated the duke, that he immediately resigned all his places.

On the twenty-first of September, the king came to the house of peers, and after giving the royal assent to such bills as were ready, put an end to the session with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am persuaded you are all by this time very desirous of some recess, and that it cannot be deferred longer without great inconvenience to your private affairs.

"But before I can part with you, I must return you my most sincere thanks, for your having finished, with so much wisdom and unanimity, what I recommended to your care; and particularly I thank you gentlemen of the house of commons, for the provision you have made, as well for the support of the honour and dignity of the crown, as for the other necessary occasions of the public; especially for your having done it by means so little burthensome to my people; which I assure you recommends the supplies to me, above any other circumstance whatever.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The open and declared rebellion, which is now actually begun in Scotland, must convince all, who do not wish to see us given up into the hands of a popish pretender, of the dangers to which we have been and are still exposed.

"I thought it incumbent on me to give you the earliest notice of the designs of our enemies; and I

cannot sufficiently commend the zeal and dispatch with which you empowered me, at a time when the nation was in so naked and defenceless a condition, to make such preparations as I shall think necessary for our security. You shall have no reason to repent of the trust and confidence you repose in me, which I shall never use to any other end, than for the protection and welfare of my people.

"It was scarce to be imagined, that any of my protestant subjects, who have known and enjoyed the benefits of our excellent constitution, and have heard of the great dangers from which they were wonderfully delivered by the happy revolution, should by any arts or management, be drawn into measures, that must at once destroy their religion and liberties, and subject them to popery and arbitrary power. But such has been our misfortune, that too many of my people have been deluded, and made instrumental to the pretender's designs, who had never dared to think of invading us, or raising a rebellion, had he not been encouraged by the success his emissaries and adherents had actually had in stirring up riots and tumults, and by the farther hopes they entertain of raising insurrections in many parts of my kingdoms.

"The endeavouring to persuade my people that the church of England is in danger under my government, has been the main artifice employed in carrying on this wicked and traitorous design. This insinuation, after the solemn assurances I have given, and my having laid hold on all opportunities to do every thing that may tend to the advantage of the church of England, is both unjust and ungrateful. Nor can I believe so groundless and malicious a calumny can make any impression on the minds of my faithful subjects, or that they can be so far misled, as to think the church of England is to be secured by setting a popish pretender on the throne.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The proofs this parliament has given of their unshaken duty and affection to me, and of their love and zeal for the interest of their country, will recommend you to the good opinion and esteem of all, who have their religion and liberty truly at heart, and has laid a lasting obligation upon me; and I question not, but by your farther assistance in the several counties to which you are going, with the blessing of Almighty God, who has so frequently interposed in favour of this nation, I shall be able to disappoint and defeat the design of our enemies.

"Our meeting again to do business, early in the next winter, will be useful on many accounts, particularly that the sitting of parliaments may be again brought into that season of the year which is most convenient; and that as little delay may be given as possible to your judicial proceedings; and I shall at present give such orders to my lord chancellor, as may not put it long out of my power to meet you on any sudden occasion."

The designed insurrection in the western counties was so well concerted, and the conspirators so powerful and numerous, that the jacobites at Bath, depending on their majority, openly asserted, that the affair of Scotland was only a diversion to draw the king's troops that way; but that the effectual attempt would soon be made in the west. The government, however, having received information of the secret proceedings of the malecontents, took such measures as rendered all their designs abortive. Their first attempt was intended to be against Bristol, which they proposed to make a place of arms. This was prevented by the earl of Berkeley, lord-lieutenant of the county, and governor of that city, who repaired thither immediately and took the necessary precautions for securing that important place. Several persons were apprehended, and among the rest Mr. Hart, a merchant, who was charged with having collected a vast quantity of warlike stores for the use of the conspirators. Besides part of Lumley's regiment of horse, and the two battalions of Stanwix and Pocock, who were already in Bristol, colonel Chudleigh's



Chudleigh's regiment of foot marched thither about the beginning of October. At the same time lord Windfor's regiment of horse, and Rich's dragoons, under the command of major-general Wade, marched to Bath, which was both the rendezvous and one of the arsenals of the conspirators. Upon a strict search the king's officers discovered and seized eleven chests of fire-arms; a hoghead filled with basket-hilted swords, and another of cartouches, three pieces of cannon and one mortar, which had been buried underground. About two hundred horses were seized; and eight of the principal leaders.

The disaffected in the north of England were more successful than their brethren in the west. Measures had been concerted at London by the pretender's friends, some time before the insurrection broke out in Northumberland. The insurgents received great assistance from captain John Shaftoe, a half-pay officer, and captain John Hunter, in North Tyne, who had a commission from queen Anne to raise an independent company. Besides these was captain Robert Talbot, an Irish papist, who had been in the French service. He carried an account of the resolutions formed in London, and by his advice every necessary precaution, was taken for preventing any part of their scheme from transpiring.

The first appearance of their rising in arms was about the latter end of September, when the earl of Derwentwater was informed, that a warrant was issued by the secretary of state for apprehending him, and that the messengers were already in the neighbourhood of Durham. This sufficiently alarmed the whole party, and a meeting of all the chiefs was held, where it was resolved to throw off the masks, and openly declare their intentions. The pretender was accordingly proclaimed in several towns with the usual formalities. They did not doubt of being received very willingly into Newcastle; but on approaching the town, they were surprized to find the gates shut against them. They marched immediately to Hexham, where they seized all the arms and horses they could meet with and proclaimed the pretender. Here they received advice, that the lord Kenmure, the earls of Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, who had taken up arms in the west of Scotland, had entered England to join them and advanced as far as Rothbury. They accordingly left Hexham on the nineteenth of October, and after a long march, joined the Scots that night. They all marched the next day to Woller, where they received advice that the highlanders, who had crossed the Forth under Mackintosh were marching to join them, upon which they continued their route to Kelfo in Scotland.

The rebellion being thus kindled both in England and Scotland, it was thought proper to demand from the States-general, the six thousand men stipulated by treaty. The demand was immediately complied with, and the necessary preparations were made for their embarkation. But as it would be some time before the Dutch could land in England, Pitt's regiment of horse, and three regiments of foot, had been sent for from Ireland, and landed at Chester, the beginning of October. Associations were also entered into throughout the kingdom for the defence of his majesty's person and government; and the lords-lieutenants of the counties were empowered to form into troops or companies such as should be willing to associate, and to grant them commissions in the king's name.

On the twenty-fifth of October, lieutenant general Carpenter, who was ordered to advance against the rebels, left Newcastle and marched at the head of one regiment of foot and three of dragoons, towards Kelfo, where the rebels still continued. A council of war was immediately called in their camp, and it was resolved to march directly to Jedburgh. They did not long continue in that place; but by marches and countermarches gave general Carpenter the slip, and passed into England, reaching Lancaster on the seventeenth of November. On their approach

colonel Chartres, who commanded a few troops in that place, proposed to blow up a fine bridge over which they were to pass, in order to obstruct their entry; but the inhabitants opposed this proposition. The colonel therefore thought it advisable to leave the town, after having ordered some barrels of powder to be thrown into a well in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels. The insurgents having entered Lancaster performed the usual ceremony of proclaiming the pretender, and levying the public revenues. Though the town could easily have been made tenable against a much greater number of forces than the government could at that time send against them, and though they expected succours from different quarters, yet they continued no longer in Lancaster than the ninth, when they left the place, carrying with them six pieces of cannon which they found in the town. They directed their march to Preston, where the horse arrived the same night, but the foot halted about mid-way. They entered the town without opposition; Stanhope's regiment of horse, and a regiment of militia, having thought proper to retire on their approach. Here they were joined by a considerable number of gentlemen and their followers, most of them Roman catholics. This greatly disgusted the Scotch party, who flattered themselves with being joined by the Tories.

General Carpenter, being informed that the rebels were in full march towards Lancaster, resolved to pursue them with the dragoons only; persuaded he should be joined by the king's troops in the west. He was not mistaken, and his troops being joined by a considerable body under general Willes, they marched to Ribble bridge, fully resolved to attack the insurgents in Preston. The very morning of their arrival general Forster gave orders for the rebel army to march, not in the least suspecting the king's troops were so near. He had depended for intelligence from the gentlemen of Lancaster, who had promised that no party of the king's troops should advance within forty miles of Preston without his knowledge. He was accordingly surprized when he received advice that general Willes was within sight of the town. He advanced, however, at the head of a party of horse to view the posture of the royal forces; and perceiving they were in full march towards him, he returned immediately to the town to give them a warm reception.

The rebels were not in the least discouraged; but cheerfully made the necessary preparations for their defence. They barricaded the avenues and posted detachments in the streets, bye-lanes and such houses as were most proper for galling their enemies. The gentlemen volunteers were posted in the church-yard, under the command of the earls of Derwentwater, Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Kenmure. General Forster formed four grand barriers; the first a little below the church, commanded by brigadier Mackintosh, and supported by the gentlemen volunteers in the church-yard. The second was situated at the head of a lane leading to the fields, and commanded by Charles Murray. The third was near a windmill, and commanded by the lord of Mackintosh. And the fourth in the street leading to Liverpool, commanded by major Millar and Mr. Douglas. They threw up several intrenchments in an instant, and did every thing in their power to make a stout resistance; but were guilty of one capital error, which sufficiently discovered their ignorance or rather infatuation. For in the morning, upon the first intelligence of general Willes's approach, they had detached Macpherson, at the head of an hundred men to take possession of Ribble bridge, which was the only pass by which the royalists could march to Preston, the river being fordable only in two places, one below, and the other above the bridge, both which could have easily been rendered impassable. The bridge terminates a long narrow lane, where Oliver Cromwell met with a stout resistance from the king's forces. But Mr. Forster, instead of taking advantage of this pass, which he



might easily have done to the destruction of the royal forces, ordered his detachment to return to the town, and by that means gave general Willes a free passage.

The general expected to have met with great opposition in forcing the pass, and made all the necessary preparations for that purpose; but was greatly surprized to find it abandoned. He even suspected there was some ambuscade laid for him, and therefore resolved to proceed with great caution. After viewing the hedges and laid the way open for the cavalry to enter, he perceived not the least appearance of an enemy. He therefore concluded they had abandoned the town, and were endeavouring, by long marches, to return to Scotland; but in this he was also mistaken; for on his advancing near the town, he perceived them in a proper posture to give him a warm reception, though in a place where he could attack them with more ease than at Ribble-bridge. He immediately prepared for an attack, and disposed his troops in such a manner, as he might best annoy them in the town, and prevent their escape.

After viewing the disposition of the insurgents, and finding all the avenues leading to the town strongly barricaded with two pieces of cannon planted on each, he resolved to make two attacks at the same time. Accordingly a captain and fifty dragoons were drawn out of each of the five regiments, and ordered to attack the avenue leading to Wigan. Another large detachment were ordered to attack the avenue leading to Lancaster.

The first attack was upon that barricade below the church, where old brigadier Mackintosh commanded. He received the king's troops very gallantly, and with a terrible fire both from the barricade and the tops of the houses, obliged them to retire to the end of the town. At the same time lord Forrester, who commanded the other detachment, entered the avenue of Wigan, and took possession of two large houses within fifty yards of the barricade, where he posted his men, finding it impracticable to force the barricade; but from these houses, which overlooked the whole town, he greatly annoyed the enemy; and from those houses they received the greater part of the damage they sustained during the action. These houses had been possessed by the highlanders, when the barricade was commanded by Mackintosh; but they were called off to support the barricade. This gave the king's troops an opportunity of seizing them, and perhaps saved the remains of that detachment, which suffered very greatly in this bold attack.

The other barricades were attacked with great resolution, but without success; the king's troops being obliged to retire to the extremities of the town, and remain satisfied till the next day, night now hindering their farther approaches. Hitherto the rebels appeared to have acted with courage and intrepidity, and to have the advantage since they had repulsed the enemy in every attack, with very little loss to themselves, and considerable slaughter on the side of the royalists. But they did not long continue in their resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity; for being informed next morning that general Carpenter was arrived with a reinforcement of troops to surround them, their courage failed them; and from that moment they acted with great irresolution, and despaired of success.

About ten in the morning general Carpenter, accompanied by the earl of Carlisle, lord Lumley, and colonel Darcy, arrived at Preston, and marched himself to the Manchester side. He found that the rebels had been attacked the day before without success, and that most part of the king's horse and dragoons were crowded together in a deep narrow lane near the end of the town, in so inconvenient a manner, that it was impossible to draw up above three or four in front; and on viewing the ground towards the river, he saw that there were no troops posted at the end of Fisher-gate-street, to block up that part of the town,

where several of the rebels were said to have escaped the night before. This street leads to a marsh or meadow, which joins to that part of the river Ribble, where there were two good fords, being the high road towards Liverpool; and towards the end of the same street, there was another barricade mounted with two pieces of cannon. General Carpenter therefore ordered colonel Pitt to post his two squadrons on that marsh; and going back to the end of the town, he ordered a communication to be made for the troops to assist each other, in case of a fall from the rebels. Invented on all sides, and sensible, when too late, of their condition, the insurgents began to consider what was to be done. The highlanders were for falling out upon the king's forces, and dying like men of honour, sword in hand; but they were over-ruled, and not allowed to make any fall. The motion was not indeed communicated to the whole body; a capitulation having been proposed by general Forster, as it was expected good terms might be obtained from the king's officers. Colonel Oxburgh offered to go to the head quarters of the royalists and treat for a surrender. He accordingly repaired to general Willes, and offered to lay down their arms and submit, on his promising to recommend them to his majesty's mercy. The general told the colonel he could not treat with rebels; for as they had killed several of the king's subjects, they must expect to suffer the same fate. The colonel replied, that he hoped as he was a man of honour and an officer, he would not put persons to death who were willing to submit. Willes answered, all he could do for them was, that if they laid down their arms and submitted themselves prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them in pieces, till he had received farther orders; adding, that he would give them no more than an hour to come to a final resolution. Oxburgh returned into the town to acquaint Mr. Forster of the general's answer. The Scots were very unwilling to accept of such conditions, and Willes consented to allow them a longer time to give their answer: At last they agreed to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion.

The same day the rebels surrendered at Preston, the battle of Dumblain was fought, between the earl of Mar, who commanded the insurgents, and the duke of Argyle, commander in chief of the royal army. The duke's forces, amounting to three thousand five hundred men, were drawn up upon the heights above Dumblain, having that town at about a mile and a half on his left, and a wet boggy morass, called Sheriff-moor, on his right.

The earl of Mar's army, amounting to about nine thousand men, were drawn up opposite the royal army. Mar, who knew his number was much greater than Argyle's, extended his lines as far as possible, in order to take him in flank, and in this disposition advanced to the attack.

Argyle, who till now supposed that Sheriff-moor was unpassable, saw that two or three nights' frost had rendered it capable of bearing. At the same time he perceived the rebels coming down the moor with an intent to flank him, having their right extended a considerable distance beyond the point of his left. He found himself therefore obliged to alter the disposition of his front, to prevent his being surrounded; which, on account of the scarcity of general officers, was not so easily done. The battle was very obstinate and very bloody; different accounts were given of it, and both sides claimed the victory. But from the consequences, it appeared that it was really on the side of the royalists. The earl of Mar retreated to Perth, and abandoned the design he had formed of crossing the Forth and joining his southern neighbours; nor was it ever after attempted. About eight hundred of the rebels were slain on the field of battle, and eighty-two taken prisoners, among whom were several persons of distinction.

The loss of this battle, and the castle of Inverness, which was taken from them soon after, greatly intimidated



midated the rebels. The earl of Seaforth, and the marquis of Huntley, left the rebels to defend their own territories; but were soon after obliged to make their submission. The marquis of Tullibardine also left the army; and many of the clans, seeing no likelihood of coming to an action, returned to their respective habitations.

On the twelfth of November general Captain Williamson arrived at Whitehall with the news that the barrier-treaty was signed. And three days after general Cadogan, with the Dutch troops, arrived in England, and marched immediately to Edinburgh. General Cadogan set out immediately for Scotland, a resolution having been taken to dislodge the rebels from Perth. A considerable train of artillery was also shipped at the Tower and sent to Scotland for the use of the army.

On the twenty-third of December the pretender landed at Peterhead in the north of Scotland, with only six gentlemen in his retinue; among whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, son to the duke of Berwick. He repaired directly to Perth, where he appeared in public, and was proclaimed with great solemnity. He published several proclamations, and the soldiers were employed in fortifying the town; but on the approach of the English and Dutch forces under the command of general Cadogan, he abandoned Perth and retired to Dundee, and afterwards to Montrose; where, finding the royal army were in full march after him, he embarked on the sixteenth of January on board a small vessel which landed him and his attendants in France. The principal officers in the rebel army followed his example, and passed over to the continent.

Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families; and which, instead of promoting the interest of the Stuart family, served only to strengthen the protestant succession in the house of Hanover.

A. D. 1716. On the ninth of January the parliament met at Westminster, when his majesty made the following speech to both houses:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The zeal and affection to my government, and the vigilant care for the safety of the nation, which you have shewn in your respective counties, have not only answered my expectations, but give me assurances that you are met together, resolved to act with a spirit becoming a time of common danger, and with such a vigour as will end in the confusion of all those who have openly engaged in this rebellion, and in the shame and reproach of such as, by secret and malicious insinuations, have fomented, or by an avowed difference, encouraged these traitorous enterprises.

"It is, I doubt not, a great satisfaction to you to have observed, that the powers you entrusted me with for the preservation of the public safety, have been employed in the most proper and effectual manner, and made strictly subservient to those purposes only for which you intended them. And you must have had the pleasure to reflect with me, that as the measures taken for our defence have been just and necessary, so it has pleased the divine providence to bless them with a series of suitable success. And I cannot but take this opportunity of doing justice to the officers and soldiers of the army, whose brave and faithful discharge of their duty, has disappointed our enemies, and contributed so much to the safety of the nation.

"I did hope that the detecting and preventing the designed insurrections in some parts of the kingdom, and the defeating in others, those who had taken up arms against me, would have put an end to this rebellion. But it is plain that our enemies, animated by some secret hopes of assistance, are still endeavouring to support this desperate undertaking, and the pretender, as I have reason to believe, is now landed in Scotland.

"It is, however, with pleasure I can acquaint you,

that notwithstanding these intestine commotions, Great Britain has, in some measure, recovered its influence and reputation abroad. The treaty for settling the barriers for the Netherlands, is now fully concluded; between the emperor and the states-general under my guaranty. The king of Spain has agreed to a treaty, by which that valuable branch of our commerce will be delivered from the new impositions and hardships to which it was subjected by the late treaties; and will stand settled for the future on a foot more advantageous and certain than it ever did in the most flourishing time of any of my predecessors; and the treaty for renewing all former alliances between the crown of Great Britain and the states-general, is brought very near to its conclusion.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I must rely on your affection to me, and your care and concern for the safety of the nation, to grant me such supplies, as may enable me to restore and secure the peace of the kingdom, and I will order estimates of the expences to be laid before you.

"Among the many unavoidable ill consequences of this rebellion, none affects me more sensibly than that extraordinary burden, which it has, and must create to my faithful subjects. To ease them as far as lies in my power, I take this opportunity of declaring, that I will freely give up all the estates that shall become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expences incurred on this occasion.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is a matter of the greatest uneasiness to me, that the first year of my reign, the whole course of which I wish to have transmitted to posterity, distinguished by the fair and endearing marks of peace and clemency, should be clouded and overcast with so unnatural a rebellion, which, however impotent and unsuccessful, a due care may render it, in all other respects, does most sensibly afflict me, by the calamities it has brought on many of my faithful subjects, and by those indispensable returns of severity, which their sufferings, and the public safety, so justly call for. Under this concern my greatest comfort is, that I cannot reproach myself with having given the least provocation to that spirit of discontent and calumny that has been let loose against me, or the least pretence for kindling the flame of this rebellion.

"Let those whose fatal counsels laid the foundation of all these mischiefs, and those whose private discontents and disappointments, disguised under false pretences, have betrayed great numbers of deluded people into their own destruction, answer for the miseries in which they have involved their fellow subjects. I question not, but that, with the continuance of God's blessing, who alone is able to form good out of evil, and with the cheerful assistance of my parliament, we shall in a short time see the rebellion end, not only in restoring the tranquillity of my government, but in procuring a firm and lasting establishment of that excellent constitution both in church and state, which it was manifestly designed to subvert; and that this open and flagrant attempt, in favour of popery, will abolish all other distinctions among us, but of such as are zealous assertors of the liberties of this country, the present establishment, and the protestant religion, and of such as are endeavouring to subject the nation to the revenge and tyranny of a popish pretender."

To this speech both lords and commons returned a dutiful address, and the commons declared, that they thought themselves obliged, in justice to their injured country, to prosecute, in the most rigorous manner, the authors of those destructive counsels, which had drawn down those miseries upon the nation. Accordingly they expelled Mr. Forster, general of the Northumbrian rebels, and impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Wintoun and Carnwarth, and the lords Widdrington, Kenmure, and Nairn, of high-treason. They likewise brought in a bill of attainder against the earl of Mar, William Murray,



filed the marquis of Tullibardine, the earl of Linlithgow, and John lord Drummond. All these noblemen, the earl of Wintoun only excepted, pleaded guilty to their indictments; and Wintoun was afterwards found guilty.

Great interest was made to save the lives of these noblemen but without effect. Their unhappy wives begged with tears the intercession of parliament. The house of lords presented an address, praying his majesty to reprieve such of the condemned lords as should deserve his clemency. The king was, however, inflexible; he answered very coldly that he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the security of his subjects. The earl of Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill on the twenty-fourth of February. The earl of Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn were reprieved. The earl of Nithsdale was to have suffered with Derwentwater and Kenmure; but his mother saved him by a generous artifice: she obtained permission to take her last leave of him, ran to embrace him in prison; and they instantly changed dresses. By this means he escaped, and she continued in prison. On being interrogated at the bar of the house of lords concerning the place of the earl's retreat, she observed a profound silence. At last, in justice to her generous affection and virtues, she was discharged. Wintoun also afterwards made his escape, as did Forster and Mackintosh out of Newgate. Twenty-two of the rebels were hanged in the country, and several at Tyburn; particularly colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Paula clergyman; and Mr. Hall a justice of peace.

This rigour exercised against the delinquents rendered the ministry odious to all who had any sense of humanity. The court was alarmed, and it was determined to take the most proper measures for preventing the effect. The present parliament was at the devotion of a ministry; but it was greatly feared a new one might not be so; they might possibly return upon the ministry the rigour they had exercised upon the people. The act of triennial parliaments, that bulwark of the national liberty, was justly alarming to a ministry, evidently inclined to despotism. It was indeed dangerous to attack a law of this importance, but the juncture was extremely favourable. It was therefore determined to repeal this act, though justly considered as the principal defence of the people against the attempts of arbitrary power. A motion was accordingly made in the house of peers for effecting this purpose. It was said, that too frequent elections kept up the spirit and activity of parties, fomented family discords, brought on ruinous expences, and gave occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign powers; that in the present state of affairs it was necessary to remedy the evil; and that there was no better method of extinguishing the flames of rebellion, which were always ready to break out anew, than by bringing in a bill for extending the duration of parliaments. These arguments were strenuously opposed by several of the peers. "The fundamental laws of the kingdom," they said "required frequent parliaments. They were established by the custom of many ages; they were particularly interesting to the liberty and glory of the subject. What confidence could foreigners repose in a nation that would idly sacrifice its most precious rights? The expence of elections, the cabals they might occasion would be so far from weakening the new and dangerous system, that they would promote it by the interest individuals would have in procuring seats in a long parliament. The ministry would find stronger means and motives to corrupt the members. And might not the same parliament, that had effected its prolongation, effect also its perpetuity, which alone was wanting to destroy the privileges of the people, and the constitution itself." These arguments however national, however forcible, were too weak to operate against the influence of the court. Disputes and animosities took place, but the two houses passed the bill, which extended the duration of parliaments to seven years.

Thus the king triumphed over a people, whose affection it was doubtless his interest to sollicit.

The obedience of parliament, however, supplied, in some measure that affection; and his affairs calling him into Germany, the parliament annulled the clause in the act of limitation which prevented his going out of the kingdom. A period was accordingly put to the session of parliament; and the king passed over to the continent on the seventh of July.

The king had acquired the duchies of Bremen and Verden, of which Charles XII. of Sweden had been stripped by his enemies. That young hero, with all the personal valour, and virtues much superior to those of Alexander, but like him borne away with a passion for war, that sin against humanity, having escaped from his captivity at Bender, breathed nothing but vengeance, and was impatient to repair his misfortunes. Incensed against the king of Great-Britain, he was resolved if possible to ruin him; and accordingly undertook to head an invasion in favour of the pretender. He who had placed Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, might hope to restore the Stuarts to their hereditary right in England. His ambassadors at London and the Hague secretly conspired in this design. The measures were artfully taken; and the dangers that attended the execution seemed to lessen. A multitude of the malecontents were desirous of joining the standards of so great a general, and the mobs in London, rose to the highest pitch of outrage.

Informed of the design formed by the Swedish monarch, the king suddenly quitted Hanover, and returned to London. He had strengthened himself by an alliance with the states-general, but this would not have been sufficient to remove the danger had the secret remained impenetrable. On the king's arrival the Swedish ambassador, count Gyllenbourg, was put under arrest; and baron Gortz, the Swedish resident at the Hague, was also confined. The plan of this intended invasion was this: a number of vessels had been purchased, and were to repair under various pretences to Gottenburgh in Sweden, about the latter end of March, the season when the easterly winds, which are fair for bringing ships from the Baltic to England, generally prevail. Eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse, all picked men, together with a formidable train of artillery, a large quantity of amunition and provisions, and arms sufficient for twenty thousand men, were to have been embarked on board these ships. The confederates were so sure of being joined by the discontented party in England, that the design had been intrusted to a very few persons only; nor was there any formal treaty drawn up between the parties engaged in this affair; the mutual interest each had in the success was thought more binding than the most solemn engagements.

In the mean time the arresting the Swedish ambassador, and seizing his papers by which the whole plot was discovered, alarmed the other foreign ministers residing at the court of London. They complained to the ministry of this outrage committed against the law of nations. The two secretaries of state wrote circular letters to these residents, assuring them that in a few days they should be made acquainted with the reasons for this extraordinary proceeding. All, except the marquis de Montelone ambassador from Spain, were satisfied with this intimation. He replied, that he was extremely sorry no other way could be found to preserve the peace of the kingdom, than that of arresting the person of a public minister; and seizing his papers, the sacred repositories of his master's secrets; and that in whatever light those two facts might seem to be understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. This, however, was far from being one: the English monarch acted consistently with the strictest principles of justice in imprisoning his enemy. Gyllenbourg had violated the law of nations by conspiring against the prince to whom he was sent in a public character; and therefore the English had an undoubted



undoubted right to dispense with the observance of the same law, by arresting his person.

A.D. 1717. The parliament met on the twenty-fourth of February, and the session opened with the following speech from the throne:

“My lords and gentlemen, I was in hopes that the success which it has pleased God to give us, in defeating the late rebellion, might have secured to this nation, peace, plenty and tranquillity.

“My endeavours have not been wanting, during your recess, to improve the happy prospect which was in view, by entering into such negotiations, as I judged most conducive to those good ends: and it is with pleasure I can acquaint you, that many defects in the treaty of Utrecht, which very nearly affected the trade, and even the security of these kingdoms, have been remedied by subsequent conventions, the happy consequences of which have already very sensibly appeared; by the flourishing condition of our trade and credit.

“By the alliance lately concluded with France and the states-general, we are soon to be eased of all future apprehensions from Dunkirk and Mardyke. The pretender is actually removed beyond the Alps: His adherents are deprived of all hopes of support and countenance from France; and even the assistance of that crown is stipulated to us in case of exigence.

“It seemed reasonable to expect, that such a situation of affairs at home and abroad, would have recovered from their delusion all such of our subjects, as had unhappily been seduced by the craft and wickedness of desperate and ill-designing men, and thereby have afforded me the opportunity, which I desired, of following the natural bent of my own inclinations to lenity, by opening this session with an act of grace. But such is the obstinate and inveterate rancour of a faction amongst us, that it hath again prompted them to animate and stir up foreign powers to disturb the peace of their own native country: they will chuse rather to make Britain a scene of blood and confusion; and to venture even the putting this kingdom under a foreign yoke, than give over their darling design of imposing a popish pretender.

“I have ordered to be laid before you copies of letters, which have passed between the Swedish ministers on this occasion, which contain a certain account of the projected invasion: And I promise myself from your experienced zeal and affection to my person and government, that you will come to such resolutions, as will enable me, by the blessing of God, to defeat all the designs of our enemies against us.

“Gentlemen of the house of commons, I did hope, the putting an end to the late rebellion, would have so far secured the peace and tranquillity of the nation, that I might, consistently with the safety of my people, have made a considerable reduction of the forces. But the preparations that are making abroad to invade us, oblige me to ask such supplies, as you shall find absolutely necessary for the defence of the kingdom.

“You are all sensible of the insupportable weight of the national debts, which the public became engaged for from the necessity of the times, the pressures of a long and expensive war, and the languishing state of public credit. But the scene being now so happily changed, if no new disturbances shall plunge us again into straits and difficulties, the general expectation seems to require of you, that you should turn your thoughts towards some method of extricating yourselves, by reducing, by degrees, the debts of the nation.

“My lords and gentlemen, I have an entire confidence in you, and have therefore nothing to ask; but, that you would take such measures, as will best secure your religion and liberties. While you preserve those inestimable blessings, I shall sit easy and safe on my throne, having

no other view but the happiness and prosperity of my people.”

The letters of the Swedish ministers being read in both houses, very loyal addresses were voted to his majesty. But when the supply came under consideration, several members declared against it, insisting that it was contrary to the custom of parliament; that new alliances ought not to be purchased with money. After long and violent debates, the supply was granted, though only by a small majority. And thus Great Britain found herself engaged in continental connections, because the reigning family possessed estates in Germany; an inconvenience which has more than once been felt, and which always must be felt whilst a standing army shall be thought necessary to the prince as it is uneasy to the people.

The carrying this vote by so small a majority alarmed the king, and a change in the ministry was thought necessary. Accordingly Sir Robert Walpole, first commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war; Mr. Methuen, secretary of state; the duke of Devonshire, president of the council; and several others, resigned their employments; so that the ministry underwent an almost total revolution. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addison were appointed secretaries of state; Mr. Stanhope, first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Craggs secretary at war; the earl of Berkeley, first commissioner of the admiralty; the duke of Bolton lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and the duke of Newcastle lord-chamberlain.

The earl of Oxford, who had languished about two years in the Tower, availed himself of this quarrel in the ministry, to demand his trial. The most violent disputes happened between the two houses concerning the manner of the process. The lords insisted that the commons should first proceed to make good the articles of high treason against the earl, before they attempted to prove those relating only to high crimes and misdemeanors. The commons refused to proceed only as they stood in the impeachment. The breach became wider between the two houses, and the lords refused a conference which had been demanded by the commons. The accusers were now ordered to appear and make good their charge against the earl of Oxford; they refused, and the noble prisoner was set at liberty. The lower house were so exasperated at this proceeding, that they excepted the earl, together with Mr. Prior and some others, from the act of grace which the king had, at length, granted. This act did not, however, efface the impressions the severity preceding it had occasioned. A prudent clemency knows how to forgive with propriety, and how to induce repentance. George was accused of not imitating his predecessors in this particular.

Great preparations were made for opposing the descent meditated by the Swedish monarch, but an unforeseen event rendered them unnecessary. Charles XII. who was on the point of concluding an alliance with the czar of Muscovy, was slain at the siege of Frederickshal in Norway; and all that he had taken remained in the hands of the possessors. George had not yet received the investiture of the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, for which reason he thought proper to support the emperor Charles VI. against Spain. Whilst Charles, as an ally of the Venetians, was carrying on a war against the Turks, a war famous for the victories of prince Eugene; Philip V. under some specious pretence, made himself master of part of Sardinia. Cardinal Alberoni his minister, a man of unbounded ambition, exposed the throne of Spain to dangers which a more prudent minister might have avoided. The emperor, France, England, and Holland, concluded the famous treaty, called the Quadruple Alliance, for the tranquillity of Europe. This treaty regulated the division of certain demesnes. Philip was dissatisfied, and preparations were made for a war. The parliament fixed



the number of troops to sixteen thousand men, and passed a bill to punish mutiny and desertion. An act so contrary to the genius of the English, sufficiently displays what extraordinary alteration of principles had taken place; though the œconomy of military discipline might possibly be best consulted by this measure.

A. D. 1718. The purpose of the quadruple alliance was to oblige the king of Spain to make peace with the emperor, to whom the duke of Savoy was to give up Sicily in exchange for Sardinia. This treaty, too advantageous to the house of Austria, whose power it augmented in Italy, was rejected by the court of Spain; and the king of England prepared to support his mediation by force of arms. Sir George Byng was sent into the Mediterranean with twenty-one sail of the line: The Spanish Squadron, consisting of twenty-seven sail, was discovered on the ninth of August, in the Faro of Messina. On sight of the English Squadron they stood away, but still in order of battle. On the eleventh six of the Spanish men of war, with all the galleys, fire-ships, bomb-vessels and store-ships, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore, upon which Sir George Byng detached captain Walton, with six ships of the line, in pursuit of them. The admiral himself continued to chase the main fleet, and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards made but a poor defence; and were soon totally defeated, and all taken, except three ships of the line and three frigates, which escaped to Malta.

The Spaniards exclaimed against this conduct of the admiral, as a breach of the law of nature. Several members of both houses of parliament, and Mr. Walpole in particular, blamed it with great asperity. Complaint was also made of the injury done to commerce by this irregular and precipitate rupture; but these complaints had little effect. The parliament, where the interest of the court prevailed, approved of all that had been done, and war was declared against Spain.

About this time the duke of Orleans, regent of France, discovered a plot formed by cardinal Alberoni against his person. That intriguing and audacious minister proposed nothing less than overturning the whole French government. This discovery produced a declaration of war. France, who had lavished her blood and her treasures in supporting Philip V. now turned his enemy. So easily are the ties of nature broken by political motives. Alberoni, always rendered impatient by opposition, projected an invasion of England in favour of the pretender. He caused him to pass into Italy, and projected methods for landing him in Scotland, where he flattered himself the discontented party would join him.

A. D. 1719. The designs of Alberoni were not long a secret in England, and the most proper measures were taken to render it abortive. The king came to the house of peers, and informed both houses of parliament of the designs of the Spaniards, and received the strongest assurances of support. The commons desired him to augment his forces by sea and land, in such a manner as he should think proper, promising to make good any increase of expence that might be incurred on that account.

In the mean time the fleet that had been for some time sitting out at Cadiz, consisting of ten men of war, and a considerable number of transports, on board of which were six thousand regular troops, and arms for ten or twelve thousand, put to sea. The duke of Ormond, who was impatient to revenge his disgrace, was appointed the chief conductor of this undertaking, with the title of captain-general of the king of Spain: he was ordered to publish, in proper places, a declaration in that king's name, wherein he said, that for many very good reasons, he was resolved to send part of his land and sea forces into England and Scotland, to serve as auxiliaries to king James. What had confirmed him in this resolution, was the

certain advices he had received, that great numbers of persons in the two nations, notwithstanding their strong inclination to acknowledge that prince for their sovereign, durst not openly declare for him, because they did not see him supported by any of the states of Europe, who were either powerful or willing to assist them: that to remove this and other difficulties that might arise, he declared he was determined to use all his power for the restoration of a prince, in a country belonging to him by undeniable right: that he hoped providence would favour for just a cause; but that the fear of ill success might not hinder any person from declaring readily for him, he promised a secure retreat in his dominions to all that should join him, and, in case they were forced to leave their country, he declared that every sea or land officer should have the same rank as he enjoyed in Great Britain, and the soldiers be received and treated as his own.

But the duke never had an opportunity of publishing this declaration. The Squadron was overtaken by a dreadful storm off Cape Finisterre, and lasted two days and two nights, whereby the fleet was entirely dispersed, and disabled from pursuing their voyage. The admiral's ship of sixty-four guns, having lost all her masts, made for the coast of Spain; and the rest did the same, and with great difficulty reached their own harbours. Two frigates, however, which sailed from Port-Parage, reached Kintail in Scotland, and landed their forces, consisting of three hundred men, together with the earls of Seaforth and Marischal, and the marquis of Tullibardine. They joined the rebel army, consisting of about two thousand one hundred highlanders. But they were soon after defeated by general Wightman; and the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners. The chief of the rebels, Seaforth, Tullibardine, Marischal, and some others, escaped to Lewis or the Orkney islands. Soon after the emperor's general, supported by admiral Byng, subdued part of Sicily. Lord Cobham, assisted with a small Squadron of ships commanded by captain Meghels, took Vigo, and Ponta Vedra, and destroyed the ships in the harbour. The king of Spain, unable to resist so many enemies, acceded to the quadruple alliance, and dismissed Alberoni, whose ambitious projects had involved him in this war.

But before these events happened, the king, came, on the eighteenth of April, to the house of peers, and put an end to the session with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am now come to put an end to this session, in which you have shewn many great and reasonable proofs of your duty and affection to my person and government, and of your care for the safety and welfare of your fellow subjects.

"By the blessing of God and our own endeavours we have hitherto disappointed the designs of our enemies, who flattered themselves with success from our unhappy divisions.

"We perceive, by the rash and desperate counsels which have lately prevailed in the court of Spain, and the desperate and extravagant projects of one ambitious man, though not capable of giving fears to their neighbours, may occasion to them some expence and trouble.

"That court, being influenced by counsels odious and destructive to the Spaniards, who find themselves neglected and oppressed, after having endeavoured to foment conspiracies and seditions, both here and in France, and stooped to practices unusual, accompanied by manifestoes of a stile unheard of among great princes, at last proceeded to a knowledge the pretender.

"As this news has given great surprize to all Europe, I question not but it will be received by every good Briton with indignation and contempt.

"It is our happiness, at this juncture, to find ourselves assisted by the greatest powers in Europe, against



against an enemy, that has no allies, but those who would betray the government under which they live and are protected.

\* Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I thank you very heartily for the supplies you have granted me this year. The manner in which you have raised them, without any new burden to my people; the great addition you have made to the fund for sinking the debts of the nation, the discharge of the exchequer bills, and the provisions you have made to pay whatsoever remains justly due to foreign states and princes, are the strongest proofs of your wisdom, as well as your zeal for my service, and the good of your country. You may observe I have hitherto been very cautious of making use of the power you have given me to increase our forces by sea and land. If your enemies should oblige me to a greater expence, it shall be employed for your service. This is what the trust you reposed in me requires at my hands, and what I owe to so dutiful and affectionate a house of commons.

\* My lords and gentlemen,

"There being nothing more desirable at all times than a firm union among protestants, I reflect with satisfaction on a law you have passed this session, which will, I hope, prove effectual to that purpose. As it is a signal instance of moderation and indulgence in our established church, so I hope it will beget such a return of gratitude from all dissenting protestants, and will greatly tend to our honour and security, both which I shall ever have near at heart.

"I have also looked upon the glory of a sovereign and the liberty of a subject as inseparable, and think it is the peculiar happiness of a British king to reign over a free people. As the civil rights, therefore, and privileges of all my subjects, and especially of my two houses of parliament, do justly claim my most tender concern, if any provision designed to perpetuate these blessings to your posterity remains imperfect, for want of time, during this session, maturely to discuss and settle matters of so great importance, I promise myself you will take the first opportunity to render my wishes for your happiness complete and effectual, and to strengthen the union which is of so much consequence to the welfare of this kingdom.

"If the circumstances of my affairs shall allow of my going abroad this summer, I shall take the same care of your interests as if I remained here. The many negotiations which will be on foot, to restore the peace of the North, in which the trade and tranquillity of this kingdom may be very much concerned, will make my presence there of great use to these my dominions. And as, in that case, I design, by the blessing of God, to meet you early next winter, I will only recommend to you most earnestly, that, laying aside all animosities, you would, in your several counties and stations, use your utmost endeavours to preserve the public peace, and see a due execution of the laws."

A. D. 1726. We are now come to a period which will always be remarkable in English history for the destructive South-sea scheme, when the insatiable hand of avarice threw the whole kingdom into confusion. At the opening the session of parliament, his majesty had earnestly recommended the consideration of proper means for reducing the national debt, which amounted to more than fourteen millions. A scheme was accordingly formed for reducing all the public funds into one, in order to discharge the whole. This plan was laid by Sir John Blount, one of the directors of the South-sea company, a person possessed of all the art, plausibility and boldness requisite in such an undertaking. This scheme he communicated to Mr. Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer, and also to one of the secretaries of state. It was considered by the ministry, and appearing to be very advantageous to the public, it was adopted.

It now remained to carry the plan into execution, and the South-sea company laid a proposal before the

house of commons, offering to give three millions five hundred thousand pounds for the privilege of taking in all the irredeemable debts, amounting to near eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, and also the redeemable debts then at the bank and exchequer, mostly bearing five per cent. interest, either by purchase from the proprietors, or by subscriptions into their capital stock. This method of increasing their capital was looked upon as a very valuable acquisition, and excited the jealousy of the bank of England, and accordingly the directors of that opulent body laid their proposal before the commons. They offered to give above five millions for the same privilege. This rivalry proved the destruction of the whole. The South-sea company made a second proposal: they offered no less than seven millions and a half, in case these debts should be subscribed, and in proportion for any part of them. They also proposed to pay to the use of the public one year's purchase of all the irredeemable long annuities that should be brought into their capital. The bank now made a second proposal, more advantageous, in several respects, to the public, than that of the South-sea company. They obliged themselves to give seventeen hundred pounds bank-stock for every hundred pounds irredeemable long annuities. But this offer was far from intimidating the South-sea company. Determined, at any rate, to obtain the liberty of taking in the public debts, they offered to incorporate all the funds of the bank, East-India company and exchequer, into their own capital. It was not, indeed, thought proper to adopt this proposal, but the very rumour of such a scheme raised their stock to one hundred and twenty per cent. They now offered five hundred thousand pounds more than the bank, and also four years, and a half purchase upon all annuities they should take into their capital, which, if all the annuities were taken in, the whole would amount to three millions, five hundred and sixty-seven thousand, five hundred and three pounds; so that their whole offer was seven millions, five hundred sixty-seven thousand five hundred pounds. Besides this, they not only offered to circulate one million of exchequer-bills gratis, but to pay three per cent. for that million, and one year's purchase of such annuities as should be subscribed into the company's capital in fourteen months.

This proposal was adopted, and a bill was ordered to be brought into the house of commons for that purpose. While the bill was under consideration, the company's stock rose to near four hundred per cent. The bill passed both houses, but not without great opposition in the house of lords, and received the royal assent. The king passed over to his German dominions, and every thing seemed to promise domestic tranquillity. But the restless passion of avarice soon obliterated these pleasing appearances, and threw the nation into the utmost distress.

The South-sea company finding their stock began to sink in its value, caused a notion to be propagated, that Gibraltar and Portmahon would be given up to the Spaniards, in exchange for a large district in Peru, where the English trade to the South-sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffused with great industry, inspired the people with such extravagant hopes, that two millions of original stock were subscribed in less than five days after the close of the session of parliament. The stock of the company rose to above a thousand per cent. The Mississippi scheme in France, which had just turned that kingdom upside down, was better founded. But the passion for riches, like other passions, is sometimes too blind to be directed by experience, and too deaf to listen to the voice of reason. The desire of acquiring large fortunes drew into the snare a multitude of unhappy people, who became the dupes of interested artifice. The rage of stock-jobbing filled every head, and swallowed up every other idea. Whigs, tories, jacobites, the nobility, the clergy, physicians, lawyers, merchants, and the



very women themselves, were all animated with the same spirit: all converted their money into paper; all believed they should grow rich by parting with their riches. But this charm was of no long duration. It was soon found, that the South-sea commerce, the ruinous foundation of these enormous proceedings, was far from being sufficient to answer the views of avarice. Stocks therefore fell prodigiously; and several projects, set on foot by the fraudulent industry of covetousness, were totally rejected. No money appeared; payment of the dividends was stopped; and public credit vanished. Families, without number, were reduced to beggary; and the intoxication of frivolous and senseless hope was succeeded by the cries of despair.

Recourse was now had to the bank for supporting the South-sea company. That corporation entered into an agreement to take a quantity of the South-sea stock at four hundred per cent. in payment for three millions seven hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds, redeemable debt, which the company was to repay at Lady-day and Michaelmas of the ensuing year. This was afterwards called the Bank-contract, the very rumour of which caused the South-sea stock to rise prodigiously. But this rise did not continue long. It soon appeared that this supposed contract had no real foundation, being nothing more than a temporary expedient, to quiet the clamours of the people. The directors of the bank, finding their property to be in danger of being swept away by that portentous tide of ruin, which bore down every thing before it, renounced their agreement; and the South-sea company, deprived of this support, sunk under its own weight.

The king, who had been in Hanover since the beginning of the summer, hastened to England, to remedy a disorder that threatened the destruction of the whole nation. In this alarming crisis, the king opened the session of parliament on the eighth of December, with the following speech from the throne.

“My lords and gentlemen,

“Since we last parted, the face of our affairs abroad is become more favourable. The peace in the south wants only the form of a congress; and that of the north is brought much nearer to a conclusion. I shall, at a proper time, order the several treaties I have made to be laid before you; by which you will perceive the success of our endeavours to establish peace throughout Europe, and to secure and support the protestant religion. At the same time, I can never sufficiently express my concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which has so much affected the public credit at home.

“Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“I do most earnestly recommend it to you, that you consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting foundation. You will, I doubt not, be assisted in so commendable and necessary a work, by every man that loves his country, and especially by the several great societies of this kingdom. I hope you will, on this occasion, remember, that all your prudence, your temper and resolution, are necessary to find out and apply the proper remedies to our misfortunes; which will, if you succeed, serve to increase that reputation you have so justly acquired; particularly, if you shall be able, notwithstanding these difficulties, to discharge a part of the national debt. I have ordered the several estimates to be laid before you of the expence of the ensuing year, and desire you to dispatch the supplies necessary for them.

“My lords and gentlemen,

“I am glad to observe to you, that our trade appears to have been more extended this year than in the preceding. We have the most flourishing navy of any nation whatsoever to protect us; and I hope you will turn your thoughts to the best methods for the securing and enlarging of our commerce. You may depend upon my hearty concurrence to all such

provisions as shall appear to you necessary for the good of my people.”

The two houses shewed the greatest zeal to effect that necessary particular, the re-establishment of the public credit. All the members of the commons, who had been concerned in these iniquitous proceedings, were expelled the house. Knight, cashier to the South-sea company, perceived the storm, and passed over to the continent, to prevent its effects. All the rest were determined to stand the shock of national resentment, which was now raised to an enormous height. The commons seemed to have laid aside all party distinctions, and to vie with each other in promoting an enquiry of so much importance to their country. Favour was disregarded by all; the guilty were examined; the estates of the directors were confiscated, except a bare subsistence; the creditors were indemnified as far as circumstances would permit; and public credit, the destruction of which must have ruined the nation, was restored. The parliament could not possibly have done a greater favour to the nation. Sir Robert Walpole contributed largely, by his genius and application, to the success of this perplexed affair. Upon this he was restored to favour, and made first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.

A. D. 1721. Among the many disputes that had been agitated in the parliament, some ecclesiastical matters had a considerable share. In 1718, a bill had passed for annulling the severe acts against the non-conformists. Dr. Hoadly, bishop of Bangor, asserted, that such bills were laws for persecution; and that if bills of intolerance were admitted in ecclesiastical matters, all persecutions of infidels, of heathens, and even the popish inquisition, might be justified. In the mean time, the increase of impiety and licentiousness awakened the zeal of those who were of more rigid sentiments. Unbounded luxury, unbridled debauchery, and an affected contempt of religion and morality, were the effects of a system which had made gold and silver the objects of human worship. Atheism walked abroad, without a mask, in open day. The Deity himself was despised, or not acknowledged; and no restraint, no principle, no rule, remained. One of the peers delivered a very pathetic speech on this subject; in consequence of which, a bill was brought in against blasphemy and profaneness, in which were several clauses not perfectly consistent with the liberty of conscience previously granted to the non-conformists. These clauses occasioned a strong opposition to the bill. Disputes grew warm, and gave occasion to some very singular propositions. One of the bishops having represented the evil consequences of the reigning vices, lord Onslow answered with derision, that the prelate must have been himself a great sinner, since he had lost large sums in the South-sea. The duke of Wharton, famous for his licentiousness, declared that he was neither a friend to blasphemy, nor an enemy to religion; but, at the same time, could not approve the bill, because he thought it contrary to scripture; and taking a bible out of his pocket, he read several passages, and thence concluded that the bill ought to be rejected. The opinion of the earl of Peterborough was still more singular: he declared, that he was very willing to have a parliament king, but neither a parliament God nor a parliament religion; and that if the bill laid any restraint on him, on this account, he would go to Rome, and canvass for a cardinal's hat; for he thought it much better to treat of such matters in the conclave than in the house of peers. The supporters of the bill finding an opposition they did not expect, moved that it should be postponed. This was agreed to, and the whole was dropped.

It was very late before the supplies were granted, and even then not with the usual cheerfulness and alacrity. All difficulties were, however, at last surmounted, and the king obtained sufficient supplies to satisfy his engagements with Sweden; engagements that



that had very little relation to the English. His majesty put an end to the session on the tenth of August, when he declared in his speech, that he entertained a most sincere concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, relative to the South-sea scheme: that he had readily given his assent to such bills as had been presented to him for punishing the authors of the late misfortunes, and for obtaining restitution and satisfaction to those who had been injured by them in so notorious a manner; that they could not fail to have observed the discontents occasioned by this unhappy event, which had been industriously fomented by wicked and seditious libels; but he doubted not but by their prudent conduct in their several counties, all the enemies of his government, who flattered themselves with being able to blow up the present complaints into popular disaffection, would be finally disappointed in their designs and expectations.

A dreadful plague having for some time raged at Marseilles, a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into England from any part of France, between the Bay of Biscay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. Lazarettos were ordered to be built, and lines to be drawn round where the contagion had penetrated. On this occasion it was represented, that to shut up the people in hospitals, by order of government, and to draw lines round the places infected, were practices inconsistent with the constitution of England, incompatible with the mildness of a free government, and more particularly odious, as they imitated, in this respect, the government of France. These arguments, though strongly refuted, procured a repeal of the act of parliament that had given offence. The idea of constitutional liberty prevailed over public security.

A.D. 1722. The parliament having finished all the business before them by the month of March, they were dissolved, and another ordered to be chosen. Soon after the dissolution of parliament, the great duke of Marlborough paid the debt of nature. His faculties had been for some time greatly impaired; he was no longer capable of shining either in the senate or the field. He was succeeded as master of the ordnance and colonel of the first regiment of foot guards, by the earl of Cadogan.

The election was so well managed, that most of the members of the former were returned for the new one, which met on the nineteenth of October, and the session was opened with the following speech from the throne:

“My lords and gentlemen,

I acquainted you when we parted last, of our having renewed all our treaties of commerce with Spain; since which peace is happily restored in the north, by the conclusion of a treaty between the czar and the king of Sweden, and by that which I have made with the Moors, a great number of my subjects are delivered from slavery; and all of them who trade to those parts of the world, are, for the future, secured from falling under that dreadful calamity.

In this situation of affairs we should be extremely wanting to ourselves, if we neglected to improve the favourable opportunity, which this general tranquillity gives us, of extending our commerce, upon which the riches and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend. It is very obvious that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining so public a good, than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in the manufacturing of them, as practical and easy as possible. By this means the balance of trade may be preserved in our favour, our navigation increased, and greater numbers of our poor employed.

I must therefore recommend it to you, gentlemen of the house of commons, to consider how far the duties upon these branches may be taken off and replaced, without any violence of public faith, or laying any new burden upon my people. And I

promise myself, that by a due consideration of this matter, the produce of those duties, compared with the infinite advantage that will accrue to the kingdom by their being taken off, will be found so inconsiderable, as to leave little room for any difficulties or objections.

“The supplying ourselves with naval stores, upon terms the most easy and least precarious, seems highly to deserve the ear and attention of parliament. Our plantations in America naturally abound with most of the proper materials for this necessary and essential part of our trade and maritime strength: and if, by a due encouragement, we could be furnished from them with those naval stores, which we are now obliged to purchase and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence, and power of this nation, but by employing our own colonies in this useful and advantageous service, divert them from setting up and carrying on manufactures, which directly interfere with those of Great Britain.

“Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“It will be a great pleasure to me, if, in raising the supplies of this year, it may be so ordered, that my people may reap some immediate benefit from the present circumstances of affairs abroad. I have ordered the estimates to be prepared for the service of the ensuing year, and also an account of the debts of the navy to be laid before you. You must be sensible of the ill consequences that arise from such a large debt remaining unprovided for; and that as long as the navy and victualling bills are at a very large discount, they do not only affect all other public credit, but greatly increase the charge and expence of the current service. It is therefore very much to be wished, that you could find a method of discharging this part of the national debt, being of all other the most heavy and burdensome; and by that means have it in your power to ease your country of some part of the taxes, which, from an absolute necessity, they have been obliged to pay.

“My lords and gentlemen,

“The unspeakable misery and desolation that has raged in some parts of Europe, cannot but be a sufficient warning to us to use all possible precautions to prevent the contagion from being brought in among us; or, if those kingdoms should be visited with such a fatal calamity, to be in a condition, with God's blessing, to stop its farther progress. And as all other provisions will be altogether vain and fruitless, if the abominable practice of running goods be not at once totally suppressed, I most earnestly recommend to you, to let no other consideration stand in competition with a due care of preserving so many thousand lives.

“The several affairs which I have mentioned to you, being of the highest and most immediate concern to the whole kingdom, I doubt not but you will enter into a consideration of them with that temper, unanimity, and dispatch, that the necessity and importance of them require.”

Soon after the king communicated to both houses, a newly discovered conspiracy. Though there was no certain proof, the alarm spread with amazing rapidity, and excited, for a time, the same alarms as if the danger had been obvious, and on the point of being carried into execution. The habeas corpus act was suspended for above a whole year; and consequently the nation left, in some measure, at the discretion of the ministry. Some peers, and several private gentlemen were imprisoned; a manifesto, said to have been published by the pretender, inflamed the minds of the people. Some severe bills were passed against the catholics: and the preparations for war put the whole kingdom in agitation. To believe this conspiracy real, there is a necessity for supposing that the conspirators wanted common sense, as they were accused of applying to the regent of France, whose intimate connections with the king of England were well known. The commons, however, avowed the



certainly of a plot to change the government, and place a papist on the throne. Several persons were accused; and among the rest Christopher Layer, a young counsellor of the Temple, was executed at Tyburn.

A. D. 1723. But the principal person that felt the hand of power on this occasion, was the famous Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate of obscure birth, but distinguished merit, a friend to letters, and equally remarkable for his understanding and virtues. He was odious to the court, because he had not followed its principles; and odious to the whigs, because he had not followed their sentiments. Being imprisoned, he denied the jurisdiction of the house of commons, and declared he would produce his defence before the peers. The proofs against him were reduced to two letters, intercepted at the post-office, written in a very peculiar cypher, and, to all appearance, fabricated by his enemies. The commons passed a bill, whereby he was to be deprived of his office and benefice, banished the kingdom, and be guilty of felony if he returned; and that it should not be in the king's power to pardon him without the consent of parliament; but nevertheless, he should not forfeit his goods and chattels.

When this bill came before the lords, it met with a very strong opposition. The duke of Wharton, earl Cowper, and the lords Bathurst and Gower, spoke against it with great energy: they displayed the danger and injustice in departing, in so extraordinary a manner, from the fixed rules of evidence: that such a practice must for ever fully the lustre and glory of that illustrious house: that the admitting the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the post-office, was a very dangerous precedent, especially as, in this case, it was taken for granted, that those clerks might carry the similitude of hands four months in their minds. They desired to know from whom these clerks had received authority to intercept and open letters, especially those of a lord of parliament; and whether the clerks who copied these letters had themselves intercepted the originals? or whether they had received them from any other person? "If such proceedings as these (said lord Bathurst) are encouraged, we have no other part to take, but to retire into the country, and seek tranquillity and security, if we may find them by our fire-sides. The least correspondence, the least letter intercepted, may render us criminal." He insisted on the example of cardinal Mazarine, who said, "That with two lines of a man's hand-writing, added to a small number of circumstances, proved by evidence, he should be master of his life." Then turning himself towards the bishops, who shewed very little favour to their brother, he expressed his indignation against the inveterate hatred of some persons towards the bishop of Rochester; "a hatred (added he) absolutely inconceivable, unless they hold the ridiculous opinion of some savages, who believe they inherit not only the spoils, but the talents of an illustrious enemy, when they have slain him in battle." But notwithstanding these, and other powerful reasons urged against the bill, it passed by a small majority, and afterwards received the royal assent. Atterbury retired into France, where he met with repose, esteem, and all the indulgences that polished society can shew to men of superior parts.

A. D. 1724. While his majesty continued abroad, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, paid the debt of nature. This event greatly affected the king, and he hastened over to England, it being uncertain whether the new regent would entertain the same views as his predecessor; and on the ninth of January he opened the session of parliament with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot open this session without congratulating you upon the success of your endeavours last year, for the safety, interest, and honour of the kingdom. The rise of the public credit, the flourishing condi-

tion of our trade and manufactures, and the general tranquillity of my people, are the happy consequences of your prudent resolutions. It is to be hoped that the few examples which were made of some notorious offenders, will be sufficient to deter the most disaffected from engaging in the like desperate and wicked practices. The augmentation you thought fit to make to our national forces by sea and land, has not only secured the general quiet of the kingdom against any sudden attempts or insurrections, but has also given me such weight and credit in all foreign negotiations, as greatly contribute towards the preservation of the peace of Europe.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I will order the proper officers to lay before you the estimates for the service of the current year. I desire such supplies only as you shall find absolutely necessary for preserving the peace of the kingdom, and for the security of my people; and those I hope may be raised without laying any additional charge or burden on my subjects.

"I must, in a particular manner, recommend to your care the public debts of the kingdom, as the most national concern you can possibly take into your consideration. I am persuaded it must be a very great satisfaction to all my faithful subjects, to see the sinking fund improved and augmented, and the debt of the nation thereby put into a method of being so much the sooner gradually reduced and paid off. It would be a work truly worthy of a British parliament to begin this commendable undertaking, and to make such a progress therein, as, with a strict regard to public faith and private property, may pave the way to this great and desirable end.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"In the present happy situation of affairs, I have nothing more to recommend to you, than that you would make use of the opportunity, which your own good conduct has put into your hands, in considering of such farther laws as may be wanting for the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for exciting and encouraging a spirit of industry in the nation.

"I am fully satisfied, that the trade and wealth of my people are the happy effects of the liberties they enjoy; and that the grandeur of the crown consists in their prosperity: and I am as fully persuaded, that all who wish well to their country, must agree with me, that it is the vainest of all delusions to imagine, that the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom, can ever be secured, but by supporting the present establishment, and maintaining the succession in the protestant line. Let us therefore heartily join in every thing that may tend to promote our mutual happiness, and to extinguish the hopes of those who long have been, and still are restless in their endeavours to subject this nation to the whole train of miseries that are inseparable from popery and arbitrary power."

The principal, and, indeed, almost the only debate, during this session of parliament, was in the house of lords, on the affairs of the army. During the last year, an addition of four thousand men had been made to the land forces, on account of the conspiracy; and it was now proposed to continue the same number. The commons had agreed to it, and passed the bill; but the continuance of these additional troops met with great opposition in the house of lords. The earl of Orrery, and the lords Trevor, North, Grey, and Bathurst, spoke with great force against it. They were answered by lord Townshend and the duke of Argyle. The latter observed, "That if he saw the nation unanimous in opinion, that our religion, laws, liberties and properties, entirely depend upon the present happy establishment, and on the protestant succession in his majesty's royal family, he would readily give his vote for reducing the army; but he was very much afraid that some people so strenuously insisted on disbanding the additional troops, with no other design than that of weakening



weakening the government, and thereby have an opportunity of involving their native country in new troubles. And therefore those noble lords who spoke for the reduction of the army, would do well, when they went down into their several counties, to assure the people, with whom, no doubt, their reasons would not fail of having great weight, that their liberties and properties were entirely safe under his majesty's government." After a long debate, the motion for disbanding the additional troops was rejected, and the bill passed as sent up from the commons.

On the sixteenth of May, the king sent the following circular letter to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge: "We being greatly desirous to favour and encourage these ancient and laudable nurseries of piety and learning, and to enable them more effectually to answer the end of their institution, by sending forth constant supplies of learned and able men to serve the public, both in church and state; and having observed, that no encouragement or provision has hitherto been made in either of the universities for the study of modern history, or modern languages, the knowledge of which is highly necessary towards gratifying the youth committed to their care; for several stations, both in church and state; to which they may be called: and having seriously weighed the prejudice that has occurred to the universities from this defect, persons of foreign nations being often employed in the education and tuition of youth, both at home and in their travels, and great numbers of the young nobility and gentry being either sent directly abroad from schools, or taken away from the universities before the course of their studies can be there completed, and opportunities frequently lost to the crown of employing and encouraging members of the two universities, by conferring on them such employments, both at home and abroad, as necessarily require a competent skill in writing and speaking the modern languages; in order, therefore, to remedy these and the like inconveniencies, we have determined to appoint two persons of sober conversation and prudent conduct, of the degree of master of arts, or bachelor of laws, or of some higher degree, in one of the universities, skilled in modern history, and in the knowledge of modern languages, to be nominated by us to be our professors of modern history, one for the university of Cambridge, and the other for that of Oxford, who shall be obliged to read lectures in the public schools, at such times as shall hereafter be appointed. And we have farther determined, that each of the professors shall have a stipend of four hundred pounds per annum, and out of the stipend shall be obliged to maintain with sufficient salaries, in the university where he shall be established, two persons at least, well qualified to teach and instruct in writing and speaking the languages, which teachers shall be under the direction of the professors respectively, and shall be obliged to learn two at least of the languages, both the professors and teachers taking especial care, that the times and hours for teaching and instructing the scholars be so ordered as not to interfere with those appointed for their academical studies; which professors and teachers shall be obliged once every year to give in an attested account of the progress made by each scholar committed to their care, to our principal secretaries of state, to be laid before us, that we may encourage the diligence and application of such among them as shall have qualified themselves for our service, by giving them suitable employments, either at home or abroad, as occasion shall offer."

On the twelfth of November, his majesty opened the session of parliament with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am persuaded you share with me in the satisfaction I feel at the prosperous situation of affairs: peace with all powers abroad; and at home perfect tranquillity, plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoy-

ment of all civil and religious rights, are most distinguishing marks of the favour and protection of the divine providence: and these, with all their happy consequences, will, I doubt not, by the blessing of God upon our joint endeavours, be long continued to my people.

"The same provision by sea and land, for the defence and safety of the nation, will continue to make us respected abroad, and, consequently, secure at home. The same attention to the improvement of the public revenues, and to the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, will establish credit upon the strongest basis, and raise such a spirit of industry, as will not only enable us gradually to discharge the national debt, but will likewise greatly increase the wealth, power, and influence of this kingdom.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I have ordered the proper officers to prepare and lay before you estimates of the expences of the ensuing year; and as they do not exceed what has been found, by experience, to be absolutely necessary for the security of the kingdom, I make no question but I shall have your ready concurrence in raising the supplies in such a manner as shall be most easy to my people.

"There is one thing which I must mention to you as deserving your particular consideration. It is too manifest, that the funds established for finishing the works at Greenwich hospital, and providing for a competent number of seamen there, cannot, in time of peace, be sufficient to answer the expences of this great and necessary work. It is therefore very much to be wished, that some method could be found out to make a farther provision for a comfortable support to our seamen, worn out in the service of their country, and labouring under old age and infirmities.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"You must all be sensible how much our present happiness is owing to your union and steady conduct. It is therefore wholly unnecessary to recommend to you unanimity and dispatch in all your deliberations. The zeal and abilities you have on all occasions shewn in supporting the interest of your country, even under the greatest difficulties, leave me no room to doubt of my having your intire and effectual concurrence in every thing that may tend to the service of the public, and to the good of my people."

A.D. 1725. Great part of this session was taken up with the trial of Macclesfield, lord-chancellor. There had been, for some time, a murmuring against the insufficiency of the masters in chancery to answer the great sums lodged in their hands by the suitors in that court; and it was suspected that the large sums they paid for admission to their places, made it more easy than it ought to have been, and very much lessened the enquiry into their qualifications. These complaints were now risen to such a height, that Macclesfield thought proper to resign the great seal, hoping by that means to escape any enquiry into his conduct. But he was mistaken. The king, on the ninth of February, sent a message to the house of commons, requesting that some enquiry might be made into the abuses committed by the masters in chancery.

The rigour of the law cannot be better employed than in punishing those who have abused its authority; and the commons determined that those who had abused the power intrusted with them for the good of the public, should feel the whole weight of their resentment. They accordingly enquired into the complaints, and it was found that they owed their origin to the chancellor. He was therefore impeached for seizing the property of the widow and orphan; for having sold the offices in chancery at exorbitant prices; and for having given up to his favorites large sums belonging to litigating parties, that his officers might indulge his private rapacity. The trial lasted twenty days, when he was found guilty, and condemned to pay a fine of thirty thousand pounds,



pounds, and to continue in prison till payment was made. If corruption thus infects the magistracy, how great must be its ravages among the body of the people? Exemplary punishments are in such cases indispensable; but unfortunately the more general the vice prevails, the less frequently the punishments take.

During this session of parliament a bill was passed to reverse the attainder of lord Bolingbroke, with respect to his forfeitures, his majesty having before granted him a pardon with respect to his life. This bill met with a strong opposition in the house of commons; but after a long debate it was passed by a considerable majority.

On the thirty-first of May the king, after giving the royal assent to the bills that were ready, and expressed his gratitude to the commons for the large supplies they had granted, prorogued the parliament. The behaviour of the lower house merited these acknowledgements: they were now as much too prodigal as they were formerly too penurious. The nation was less loaded with taxes at a time when the public complained of despotism. The king, as elector of Hanover, having interests, foreign to those of Great Britain, his policy consisted in supporting those interests at the expence of England.

The Scots, ever since the union, had unwillingly paid any of the taxes laid on the united kingdom; and had behaved, on all occasions, as if they thought themselves injured, when they were obliged to contribute any thing towards the public expence. The enemies of the government failed not to cherish this disposition in the people; and, under the mask of a pretended zeal for the old constitution, to inspire the populace with a hatred of that which was now established. The malt-tax occasioned the greatest clamour; and it was foreseen that it could not be collected without exposing the officers of the revenue to the utmost danger. At Edinburgh, indeed, the excisemen were suffered to take an account of the maltsters stock in hand; but those at Glasgow were obliged to apply to the commissioners of the excise at Edinburgh for protection and assistance, their lives being threatened if they dared to visit the malt-houses.

Alarmed at these proceedings, the commissioners applied to general Wade, commander of the forces in Scotland, who, on the twenty-third of June, sent captain Bushel, at the head of two companies of soldiers to Glasgow. On entering the town they perceived a great number of people, who saluted them with the most abusive language, and threw stones at them as they marched along the streets, crying out, No malt-tax. The officer desired them to forbear, for he meant them no harm. The provost gave him billets for quartering his men, but told him he could not put him in possession of the guard-room, the populace having locked the door and carried away the key. Unwilling to exasperate the rabble by breaking open the door, the officer ordered the guard to be kept at a public house, which he had hired for that purpose. Every thing continued quiet till about eleven at night, when several thousands of the lower class of people assembled about the house of Mr. Daniel Campbell, representative in parliament for Glasgow, and threatened it with destruction. Captain Bushel, desirous of putting an end to the tumult, before the rioters had committed any disorders, sent a message to the provost, informing him of the mischief they threatened to commit, and that he was ready to give him any assistance. The provost answered, that he thought the number of his soldiers too small to oppose the rabble, and therefore he thought it more prudent not to make use of them. Encouraged by the timidity of the magistrate they proceeded to carry their threats into execution; forced into the house, and stripped it of every thing that was portable. The magistrates took no notice of the riot; and though several of them were found next morning drunk in the house, not one of them was sent to prison. The officers of excise concealed themselves from

the fury of the populace, who threatened to punish them in the most dreadful manner. About four in the afternoon the cabal began to assemble again; and captain Bushel, not knowing what their designs might be, ordered the soldiers to be ready at the guard-room, which the provost had now caused to be opened. The mob did not, however, long keep their secret, they advanced towards the guards, crying, "Drive the dogs out of town! we will cut them to pieces." The officer desired them to desist, told them they intended to do them no hurt; but if they continued to provoke the soldiers it would not be in his power to prevent their firing. This had no effect upon the rabble, they continued throwing large stones in such quantities, that some of the locks and bayonets of the soldiers were broken, and some of them wounded. The soldiers were now ordered to fire over their heads to intimidate them; but this had no effect; they continued to advance, and threw stones in still greater quantities. Exasperated at this usage, the soldiers fired among them and killed three or four. This had the desired effect; they were terrified and retired to some distance. The provost now desired captain Bushel to save himself and his men by retreating out of town, as the rioters were collecting all the arms they could find; and that a desperate engagement must otherwise soon ensue. The captain followed his advice, and marched directly for Dumbarton; but was followed several miles by the mob, and obliged to face about and fire upon them several times in order to secure his retreat.

As soon as he reached Dumbarton he dispatched a messenger to general Wade, informing him of the riot, and desiring instructions how to act for the future. The general perceived the danger, and saw the necessity of enforcing the laws. He therefore set out from Edinborough, accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord-advocate, and the next day joined a body of forces, that had been ordered to rendezvous on a moor within two miles of Glasgow, consisting of two regiments of horse, a detachment of dragoons, and about two regiments of foot. The general now informed the magistrates that he was preparing to march into Glasgow, and the next day, about two o'clock he entered the town. The troops advanced with silence and good order, and were distributed into quarters without any disturbance. The next day the excisemen proceeded to take an account of the maltsters stock in hand, and had quiet admittance. The terms of the act were complied with and every thing continued in tranquillity.

The king set out for his German dominions on the third of June, and soon after engaged in new continental engagements. The emperor, who had always been distressed for want of money, determined to have recourse to trade, and accordingly established an East India company at Ostend. This soon excited the jealousy of the maritime powers, who seemed determined to crush it in its birth. The emperor, in order to support this establishment, and maintain it against the efforts of the English monarch, to whom he had not granted the investiture of Bremen and Verden, terminated his differences with Spain. The treaty was signed at Vienna, by the duke de Ripperda, a Dutchman, who to raise his fortune, had abandoned both his religion and his country, and was appointed prime minister to Philip V. The two sovereigns gave up all pretensions to their respective properties. Philip granted to the Austrian traders, the privileges which the merchants of other foreign nations enjoyed; and undertook to guarantee the Ostend-company. He also promised an annual subsidy of four millions of piasters to the emperor. The czar of Muscovy entered into this alliance, and George was alarmed for his Hanoverian dominions. He therefore concluded, at Hanover, a defensive alliance with France and Prussia. These negotiations being finished the king set out for England about the middle of December.

A.D. 1726. As this treaty had very little concern with



with England a strong opposition was expected, and every precaution taken to procure a majority in parliament, and to spread reports among the people that the emperor having concluded an alliance with Spain, was endeavouring to disturb the tranquillity of Great Britain; and that Gibraltar and Port Mahon, would be the first object of their designs. A general cry was raised against "the machinations of ill-designing people, the plots of a popish pretender, the protestant interest, the balance of power, the liberty and security of the kingdom." Political artifices calculated entirely to fascinate the nation, and induce it to sacrifice its interests to the affairs of the continent: These measures being taken, the king opened the session of parliament on the twentieth of January, with the following speech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,  
 "I have had such frequent experience of the wisdom and zeal of this parliament on many important occasions, that it is with pleasure I meet you again; and I make no doubt but that your endeavours for the good and service of your country, will be as successful as they have hitherto been.

"The distressed condition of some of our protestant brethren abroad; and the negotiations and engagements entered into by some foreign powers, seem to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten my subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, obliged me, without any loss of time, to concert with other powers such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those, who are endeavouring to render themselves formidable, and put a stop to the progress of such dangerous designs. For these ends I have entered into a defensive alliance with the most christian king and the king of Prussia, to which several other powers, and particularly the states-general, have been invited to accede: and I have not the least reason to doubt of their concurrence. This treaty shall, in a short time, be laid before you. By these means, and by your support and assistance, I trust in God I shall be able, not only to secure to my own subjects the enjoyment of many valuable rights and privileges, long since acquired for them by the most solemn treaties, but effectually to preserve the peace and balance of Europe, the only view and end of all my endeavours.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"I have ordered the estimate for the services of the ensuing year to be prepared and laid before you, which, from an unwillingness I always have to put my subjects to any extraordinary expence by any unnecessary precautions, are formed on the foot of employing no greater number of forces than was thought necessary the last year, for which, if the supplies you give shall be fully and effectually raised, I shall be enabled to have a strong fleet at sea early in the spring. If the posture of affairs should, at any time, make it necessary to augment our maritime force, I confide so entirely in the zeal and affection of my parliament, that I assure myself you will enable me to make such an addition to the number of seamen as shall be found requisite.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is not to be doubted, but the enemies of my government will conceive hopes, that some favourable opportunity for renewing their attempts may offer, from the prospect of new troubles and commotions. They are always very busy by their instruments and emissaries in those courts, whose measures seem most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the pretender. But I persuade myself, notwithstanding the countenance and encouragement they have received, or flatter themselves with, the provision you shall make for the safety and defence of the kingdom, will effectually secure us from any attempts from abroad, and render all such projects vain and abortive.

"When the world shall see, that you will not suf-

fer the British crown and nation to be menaced and insulted, those, who must envy the present happiness and tranquillity of this kingdom, and are endeavouring to make us subservient to their ambition, will consider their own interest and circumstances, before they make any attempt upon so brave a people, strengthened and supported by prudent and powerful alliances, and, though desirous to preserve the peace, able and ready to defend themselves against the efforts of all aggressors. Such resolutions and such measures, timely taken, I am satisfied are the most effectual means of preventing a war, and continuing to us the blessings of peace and prosperity."

These treaties occasioned a long and very warm debate in both houses. It was said that the offensive treaty concluded with France and Prussia was contrary to the act of settlement, which admitted of no war in defence of the king's possessions in Germany. But the court interest prevailed; the treaty was approved of, extraordinary supplies were granted, and both houses promised to support his majesty, in case any attack should be made upon his foreign dominions.

On the twenty-fourth of March, Sir Paul Methuen, knight of the bath, delivered the following message from the king to the house of commons:

"His majesty having nothing more at heart than an earnest desire to secure his own subjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, and in the best manner to prevent and frustrate such designs, as have been formed against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of Europe, has found it necessary not only to augment his maritime force, but to concert such other measures, as may most effectually conduce to these desirable ends: and as these services will require some extraordinary expence, his majesty hopes he shall be enabled, by the assistance of parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted and granted for the service of this year, and to enter into, and make good such engagements, as the circumstances and exigency of affairs may require."

This message occasioned a long debate in the house of commons; but it was at last agreed to comply with, and an address was voted to his majesty, informing him that his faithful commons would support him, and had agreed to the required augmentation.

By some mistake this message had not been communicated to the house of lords, though the king mentioned his hopes of being enabled, by the assistance of his parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted. This omission caused a very warm debate. The earl of Strafford asserted, "that the message was unprecedented, and struck at the ancient privileges of the house of peers, who are the grand standing-council of the sovereign, the hereditary and perpetual guardians of the liberties and properties of the people; and, next to the king, the principal part of the legislature; and who, therefore, have a right to be consulted in all matters of public concern." He moved, therefore, "that an address be presented to know, who advised his majesty not to send the same message to the house of peers, as was sent to the house of commons." The lord Trevor, in order to prevent disagreeable debates, moved, that the consideration of that matter might be put off for a month; but lord Lechmere represented, "that the subject was of great importance to his majesty's service, to the honour of that noble and illustrious assembly, to the ancient constitution of parliament, and to the prosperity and welfare of the kingdom; that it ought not to be postponed at all much less for such a length of time, as amounted to a laying it entirely aside. That it must be for the service and support of the crown, upon all occasions, to have the advice of both houses of parliament; and as the message was only sent to the house of commons, and there had not yet been any communication with their lordships upon it, though it contained matters of the highest importance, it tended to undermine the founda-



dation of the house of peers, and of the ancient constitution of the kingdom. That the rights of the people of England were in some measure invaded, whenever they were deprived of the assistance of that house of parliament, without whom no aid can be given to the crown, nor any taxes laid upon the subjects. And therefore, if this debate should be adjourned to so long a day, it might be inferred from such a dilatory proceeding, that their lordships were not as jealous of their own privileges, and of the rights and properties of the people, at this time, and as much determined to support and defend both, as any of their ancestors and predecessors had formerly been. That it was the unbounded inherent, and fundamental right of the house of peers, to alter and amend all money bills, which came from the commons; and though, in some late instances, the commons had disputed that right, yet the lords had never failed to maintain and assert it. That according to ancient usage, all demands of supply should come from the throne in the house of peers; and therefore all other methods are unparliamentary, new, and dangerous to the constitution." He was answered by the lords Onslow and Townshend; and these were replied to by lord Bathurst, who observed, "That the appellation of parliament being given to the commons, and separately from the lords, was indeed new and unprecedented. That this was so far from being the language of former times, that though of late the commons took upon them to begin all money bills, yet there was a time when they were so inconsiderable, as to apply to the lords to desire them to provide money for the public service. That if, at this time, the lords suffered themselves to be overlooked in this manner, they might come at last to be voted useless, as they had formerly been. And therefore, lest any mistake at this time should be attended with such ill consequences, as to encourage any evil ministers hereafter, to a total neglect of the house of peers, he was of opinion, that proper notice should be taken of it immediately, instead of deferring the farther consideration of it for a month." The earl of Scarborough said, "He did not deny, that the peers have a right to be advised with in all matters of importance, and to give their consent to money-bills. But in the case before them, it seemed needless to send the message in question to the house, because their lordships had implicitly given their consent to the augmenting the number of seamen, in their address of thanks, wherein the augmentation was hinted at. As to what had been suggested, that formerly the commons applied to the lords to provide money for the public service, the reason of it was, because at that time, none had any money to give but the lords, most of the lands being then in their hands; whereas, since the reign of Henry the seventh, the case is very much altered; and therefore they ought not consider how things were formerly but how they are at present, and act accordingly." Several other speeches were made on this occasion; but the adjournment took place, and the address was afterwards rejected.

Three fleets were now fitted out, one of seven men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Hosier, and destined for the West Indies; another of twelve ships of the line, for the Mediterranean, under Sir John Jennings; and a third intended for the Baltic, consisting of twenty-one men of war, and two fire-ships, commanded by Sir Charles Wager and Sir George Walton.

Incensed to the highest degree at these proceedings, Spain made great preparations for war. A camp of about twenty thousand men was formed at St. Roche near Gibraltar, and all the necessaries for a siege were provided. Preparations were also made at sea; four thousand sailors were landed; several men of war were already at Cadiz, and ships purchased wherever they were to be sold. The pretence for these preparations, was to rebuild the castle of Old Gibraltar;

but it was very visible that a blow of much greater consequence was intended.

A. D. 1727. In this situation of affairs the parliament assembled on the seventeenth of January, and the session was opened with the following speech from the throne;

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I acquainted you last year, with the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the emperor and the king of Spain. As that sudden and unaccountable conjunction, gave, at the first appearance, just grounds of jealousy and apprehension to the neighbouring powers of Europe, and the subsequent proceedings and transactions in these two courts, and the secret and offensive alliances, concluded between them about the same time, have laid the foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power, and are so directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of this nation, that we must determine either tamely to submit to the peremptory and unjust demands of the king of Spain in giving up Gibraltar, and patiently to acquiesce in the emperor's usurped and extended exercise of trade and commerce, or must resolve to be in a condition to do ourselves justice, and to defend our undoubted rights against these reciprocal engagements, entered into in defiance and violation of all national faith and the most solemn treaties.

"I have likewise received information from different parts, on which I can entirely depend, that the placing the pretender on the throne of this kingdom is one of the articles of the secret engagements: and if time shall evince, that the giving up the trade of this nation to one power, and Gibraltar and Port Mahon to another, is made the price and reward of imposing upon this kingdom a popish pretender: what an indignation must this raise in the breast of every Briton!

"Nor were these fatal combinations confined to those parts of the world alone, but they extended themselves unto Russia, and had not the designs of that court against some of their neighbours been prevented by the seasonable arrival of our fleet in those seas, a way had been opened for invading those kingdoms, and given a powerful assistance to any attempts to be made from other quarters.

"Such circumstances would not suffer me and my allies, among whom there has been, and is, the most perfect harmony, union and concert, to be idle spectators and regardless of their own safety and the common cause of Europe, for which his most Christian majesty has been at a great expence this last year, in augmenting his forces; and the states-general, sensible of the imminent danger, have not only acceded to the defensive alliance, concluded at Hanover, but have come to strong and seasonable resolutions for an extraordinary augmentation of their forces both by sea and land. The accession of the crown of Sweden is in such a forwardness, and the negotiations with the crown of Denmark are so far advanced; that we may reasonably depend upon the success and good effect of them.

"This short view of the present posture of affairs, will, I am confident not only secure to me the support and assistance of my parliament in carrying on this great and necessary work, in conjunction with my allies, but justify the measures hitherto taken, and the expences already made.

"The confidence you reposed in me last year, has been made use of for the benefit of the public; and as the chief article of exceeding, has, by my equipping and sending to sea three considerable squadrons, fallen upon the head of the navy, I am persuaded that the necessity of the services, and the security, advantage, and glory, that has accrued to this nation from these squadrons, will sufficiently speak for themselves, as long as both friends and foes, with joy and concern, confess they have seen and felt the effects of the naval power of Great-Britain.

"It



"It is not to be wondered at, that the princes engaged in these enterprises are very much disturbed to see their projects rendered abortive. The king of Spain, impatient of the disappointment he has met with, can no longer disguise that enmity to us, which, for some time, he has only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare. He has now ordered his minister residing here to depart immediately from this country, leaving a memorial that is little short of a declaration of war, wherein he again demands and insists upon the restitution of Gibraltar. He does not himself deny the offensive alliance, nor his engagements to support the Ostend company. He makes my recalling those squadrons, which his conduct has put me under the necessity of sending to the West-Indies, and the coast of Spain, the condition of any farther correspondence between the two crowns; and supposing the continuance of my fleet abroad to be actual hostilities, threatening to repel them with force to the utmost of his power.

"But not content with those menaces, insults, and infractions of treaties, his Catholic majesty is now making preparations to attack and besiege Gibraltar; and in order to carry on that service, or to cover another design, has assembled a great body of troops in that neighbourhood. But as the present state and condition of that garrison, with the reinforcements I have ordered thither, give me little cause to apprehend, or my enemies to hope for success in that undertaking, the certain and undoubted intelligence I have, that it is now resolved to attempt an invasion upon these kingdoms, in favour of the pretender, by an embarkation from the coast of Spain, gives me reason to believe, that though the siege of Gibraltar may probably be undertaken, the public avowed and immense preparations made for that purpose are chiefly calculated to amuse the world, and to disguise the intended invasion, which I am surely informed has been, for some time, agreed to be the first step, and beginning of the long-premeditated rupture.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"These considerations must awaken in you all such a sense of our common and immediate danger, as will, I doubt not, inspire you with a zeal and cheerfulness in raising the supplies necessary for the defence of our country, and for making good our engagements with our allies.

"I receive too much satisfaction from the happiness of my people, in their full enjoyment and future prospect of peace, ease and prosperity, not to be sensibly affected with these new convulsions, and the unavoidable necessity I am under of asking larger supplies of my people, and of desiring to be enabled to make such an augmentation of my forces by sea and land, as the present exigency of my affairs requires.

"I will order the proper estimates to be laid before you, and such treaties as I have made with foreign princes for the hire of foreign troops: and as the expence I was last year, in a particular manner, intrusted to make, has amounted to no inconsiderable sum, and the public utility may again require the like services to be performed, I hope you will again repose the same trust and confidence in me.

"It is with great pleasure that I see the time so near approaching, when such a considerable addition will be made to the sinking-fund. Let all that wish well to the peace and quiet of my government, have the satisfaction to see, that our present necessities shall make no interruption in the progress of that desirable work of gradually discharging the national debt. I hope, therefore, you will make a provision for the immediate application of the progress of the sinking-fund to the uses for which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it stands now appropriated.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I have had no thoughts of making any acquisitions to any parts of my dominions. My whole

care and concern has been to preserve and maintain the undoubted rights and privileges of my people; and therefore all my measures have been preventative and defensive. But such measures being now rendered impracticable, vigorous resolutions; and a speedy execution of them, can alone put an effectual end to the dangers that surround us. However hazardous and desperate the enterprises formed against us may appear to be, your being assured of their being resolved upon, will, I am persuaded, be sufficient to prevail upon you to put yourselves in a condition to resist and defeat them.

"If preserving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the possession of the crown of Great-Britain, of infinite advantage to our trade and commerce; if supporting that trade and commerce against dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and, if the present establishment, the religion, liberties and properties of a protestant people, are any longer objects worthy the care and attention of a British parliament, I need say no more to incite my loyal and faithful houses of parliament to exert themselves in the defence of all that is dear and valuable to them."

This speech raised the zeal and indignation of the commons to such a height, that, in their address, words seemed wanting to express the deep resentment at the insults offered the king, at the invasion of the most valuable branches of trade, at the designs formed against the nation, and to applaud the wise measures taken by the king, to prevent the destructive designs formed against the liberties of Europe. They voted forty-six thousand men, together with a land-tax of four shillings in the pound.

But the upper house was less complaisant. A violent debate at first seemed to promise a powerful opposition. Lord Bathurst, after representing the inconveniences of the war, observed, that considerable sums had been distributed in different places to give success to certain measures, and recommended it to the lords to make a strict enquiry into an object of such importance. "As to myself, (said he) I have never touched either English or Spanish gold; I am neither a Frenchman nor a Spaniard, but shall always glory in being a true Englishman, and in speaking and acting for the good of my country, while I shall have the honour of being a member of this house." The measures of the king were, however, voted to be honourable, just, and necessary.

Nor was the house of lords the only place where the king's speech was examined. The court of Vienna was highly offended, and passed severe censures upon it. The count de Palmis, ambassador from the emperor, had orders to present and publish a remonstrance, wherein the king of England was charged with giving an imperfect, mutilated, or very groundless account of facts. It was insisted, that the article respecting the pretender was false; that there was no offensive alliance between the emperor and Spain; that the treaty of Vienna was no infringement of the lawful rights of England; and lastly, reparation for the injury done to his imperial majesty by these calumnious imputations was required.

This memorial was highly resented by the parliament. Both houses joined in an address, expressing their indignation at the affront offered to his majesty by the memorial of the count de Palmis, and at his insolence in dispersing the same throughout the kingdom; assuring his majesty, that this audacious manner of appealing to the people, and turning a memorial into a seditious libel, was a proceeding that created in them the utmost abhorrence and detestation.

"The endeavouring," said they in their address, "to instill into the minds of any of your faithful subjects the least distrust or diffidence of your majesty's sacred royal word, or to make a distinction between your majesty and your people, is an attempt as vain as presumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory



memory of the glorious exploits; and important succours (confessed to have been received from Great-Britain) gratitude, affection, and esteem for this nation; will be best manifested, by doing honour to the king, whom the people honour; and justice to the people, whose rights and privileges the best of kings is now defending, against the encroachments made upon them."

The secretary of state wrote a letter to the count de Palm, ordering him to quit the kingdom immediately. The two powers attacked each other at the imperial diet, by writings replete with personal animosities. Nothing less than a violent and obstinate war was expected. The king entered into new negotiations with France, Sweden, Denmark, and the prince of Hesse-Cassel. Support was also procured in Germany, but not without being attended with a vast expence to England.

It was now determined by the ministry to obtain, if possible, a power to dispose of the supplies. Accordingly a motion was made in the house of commons, by Mr. Scroope, secretary to the treasury, for empowering the king to apply such monies as he might find necessary to defray expences, and fulfil such engagements as already were, or might be contracted before the end of the year. This motion occasioned a long and very warm debate. It was said by the ministerial party, "That his majesty was so unwilling to put his subjects to any extraordinary expences, that he had demanded no more supplies this session than what he thought absolutely necessary for the service of the year. But, in the present posture of affairs, some unforeseen accidents might require a farther expence, for which no estimate could now be made, because some treaties his majesty had thought proper to enter into, were not yet finished; and therefore, that the parliament ought to enable him to answer such contingencies: that the house had several times reposed the same confidence in him, which he had never abused, especially as it was now asked only for a short time." To this it was answered, "That the wisdom of parliament had always taken precautions against the improper employment of the public money; that a power so unlimited, and of such dangerous consequence, could not be admitted under a free government; that it was essential to the welfare of the state, to preserve the forms of parliament, to grant supplies upon estimates, and to apply the monies granted to the purposes publicly avowed and acknowledged as necessary: in short, that if parliament should dispense with established customs and principles, such examples would become frequent, the crown would acquire an absolute power of levying taxes, and the constitution of England would soon be annihilated." But notwithstanding these reasons, the court party

prevailed, and the bill passed both houses by a considerable majority.

In the mean time, the Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar with an army of twenty thousand men, well provided with artillery, ammunition, and warlike stores. Colonel Clayton, lieutenant-governor of the place, had troops and necessaries sufficient for making a brave defence, till supplies could arrive from England, for which preparations had been made. But there was little to be feared from the attempts of the Spaniards; their measures were ill planned, and worse executed: so that, after lying four months before the place, and losing half their army by slaughter, sickness, and desertion, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize.

The hostile powers, notwithstanding their resentment, had not that passion for war which prolongs the miseries of mankind. France effectually employed her mediation to restore the tranquillity of Europe. Preliminaries were signed, whereby it was agreed, that hostilities should immediately cease; that the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years; and that a congress should be held within that period, for finally determining all differences.

During the last two years, the king had not visited his German dominions. He therefore prepared for his journey to Hanover soon after the breaking up of the parliament. On the seventh of June, he landed at Vaert, in Holland, and the next day proceeded on his journey. But on the tenth, about nine in the morning, he was seized in his coach with a kind of apoplectic fit, and died at Osnaburg on the eleventh, in the sixty-eighth year of his, and the thirteenth of his reign.

George I. was endowed with great qualities, a considerable capacity, discernment, policy, and a talent for negotiation. He was an enemy to parade, grave in his conduct, but not wholly susceptible of pleasure. That reputation for wisdom which he enjoyed before he came to the throne, was tarnished by a government inconsistent with the principles and interests of the nation. Possibly the counsels of his ministers carried him farther in this respect than he would himself have gone; but, indeed, the desire of extending their authority is common and natural to princes. By making himself master of the parliament, he lost the affections of the people, the greatest treasure a prince can possess. He was of a very generous disposition; and the serenity and benignity of his disposition were sufficiently displayed in his countenance.

He married the princess Sophia-Dorothy, daughter and heiress to the duke of Zell, by whom he had one son, who succeeded him in the throne; and a daughter, married to the late king of Prussia.

## G E O R G E II.

A.D. 1727. **A**FFAIRS on the continent were in a critical, though not dangerous situation, when George II. ascended the throne. The nation was, however, in a very flourishing condition. Commerce, the great idol of the English, was every day improving, and riches flowed in from every quarter. The navy was on a very respectable footing; near two hundred ships of war were either cruising in different parts, or ready to sail, on the shortest warning, to protect our trade, or annoy the enemy. Several regiments of well-disciplined troops were quartered in different parts of the three kingdoms, so as to over-awe the disaffected; and secure the peace and tranquillity of the whole; while they strengthened the hands of government, and gave the new sovereign

an ascendancy, which had been unknown to his predecessors on the English throne for many years.

The parliament met on the twenty-seventh of June, and the session was opened with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty declared, that the happiness and welfare of his people, their rights, privileges and possessions, should be his greatest care. It, however, appeared, that his plan of government, with regard to foreign affairs, was the same with that of his father; and that he was resolved to adhere to the engagements the late king had entered into by the treaty of Hanover, which, he told his parliament, had been attended with such good effects, that he hoped soon to reduce the expence of the public.

After





*Engraved for Kydner's History of England.*







After presenting their address of condolence and congratulation, the commons proceeded to settle the civil list; and voted, "that the entire revenues of the civil list, which produced about one hundred and thirty thousand pounds a year; above the yearly sum of seven hundred thousand pounds enjoyed by the late king, should be settled on his majesty during his life." They also voted, "that one hundred thousand pounds a year should be settled on the queen during her life, in case she should survive his majesty; together with the palace of Somerset-house, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Old-park."

Bills on these resolutions being passed, the king came to the house of peers, and put an end to the session with a speech from the throne, in which he thanked the commons for the provisions they had made for the support of his family and the civil government, and for the ample provision they had made for the queen. Then addressing himself to both houses, he added, "It is a great happiness to me to see the nation in so prosperous and flourishing a condition, at the highest pitch of glory and reputation, of great weight in holding the balance of Europe, defending themselves in their just privileges and possessions; and vindicating the honour of the crown of Great-Britain."

At the close of this speech, the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-ninth of August; but before that time, it was dissolved by proclamation; and writs issued for chusing a new one. On the eleventh of October, the coronation was performed at Westminster with great magnificence, and peace and tranquillity reigned in every part of the kingdom.

A. D. 1728. The new parliament met at Westminster on the twenty-third of January, when Arthur Onslow, Esq; was chosen speaker, with an unanimity which could only be inspired by that opinion of his virtues and abilities, which his conduct afterwards so fully justified in a longer series of public and irreprehensible services in that station, than any other man ever discharged. The speech with which his majesty opened the first session of this parliament, breathed an air of frankness and sincerity. He informed them, that he had a probability of success in restoring the tranquillity of Europe. "I am very sensible," continued he, "of the disagreeable and uneasy situation in which our affairs have been for some time, and have been extremely concerned to see many of the inconveniencies of a war attending us, without any opportunity of resenting the injuries sustained, or gaining any of those advantages in return, which the vigorous prosecution of so just a cause, and the success of our arms, might probably have secured to us." He next proceeded to inform them of the difficulties that had arisen in the execution of the preliminaries; and, "that though there was great reason to believe that the congress would soon open, and all difficulties be removed; yet, that it was absolutely necessary to continue their warlike preparations, which had hitherto prevented a general war in Europe, and had given the English nation advantages which would be lost if their military measures were discontinued." After expressing his readiness to lend all the assistance in his power for reducing the national debt, as soon as the interest of his people would permit, he recommended to their consideration the increase and encouragement of our seamen in general, that they may be invited, rather than compelled, to enter into the service of their country; a consideration worthy of the representatives of a people great and flourishing in trade and commerce. He also recommended to them the care of increasing the fund for Greenwich hospital; and concluded with recommending unanimity, zeal, and dispatch. "This," said he, "will convince the world, that none of you are capable, out of any views or considerations whatsoever, to wish the distress of their country, or to give an occasion, from the prospect of difficulties that may arise, and be fomented here at

home, to interrupt or disappoint our present promising expectation."

This speech produced the desired effect: the commons voted fifteen thousand seamen for the service of the current year; and twenty-two thousand, nine hundred and fifty-five land forces, being about three thousand six hundred less than the preceding year. The last vote was not, however, carried without a warm debate, on the general topics of saving to the nation; the danger of the constitution from a numerous standing army; and the little effect which the augmentation of troops raised last year produced, or was likely to produce, in favour of Great-Britain; and which ought therefore now to be reduced.

The opposition were not, however, discouraged at the large majority that divided against them on the last question. The very circumstance, that of the duration of the minister's power, which, in any other country, would have irretrievably ruined their hopes, tended only to encourage them to believe, that it would at last effect his removal, if not his ruin. They were persuaded that his influence, which, in matters of government, now seemed to be so decisive; instead of being his security, must, in the end, prove his destruction. They were not mistaken; but the great abilities of Sir Robert Walpole long baffled all their attempts.

The next considerable debate during this session, was occasioned by the Hessian troops in British pay. The sum amounted to two hundred thirty thousand, nine hundred and thirty-three pounds, for twelve thousand men, horse, dragoons, and foot. These troops had been engaged by the earnest request of the late king, and to answer the ends of the treaty of Hanover. This was explained by Mr. Horatio Walpole, the minister's brother, who said, that the tranquillity of Europe being still precarious, the original reason which had been approved by the parliament for taking these troops into British pay, still subsisted. He was answered by Sir William Wyndham, who endeavoured to shew, "that the demand was preposterous, because, by the treaty of Hanover, the contracting parties were to furnish their contingencies either in troops, shipping, or money, within two months after demand made by the party attacked." To this it was replied, "that though the treaty did leave it in the option of the party called upon, not to furnish his contingencies sooner than two months after requisition; yet, the state of affairs in Europe rendered it prudent for his late majesty to have in readiness, at all events, the troops stipulated, which were cheaper to the nation, and more convenient for the common cause, than any British forces that could be employed: that the differences which, since the signing of the treaty of Hanover, had arisen between the courts of Great-Britain and Prussia, (one of the three principal contracting parties in the treaty of Hanover) having occasioned a material and unforeseen disappointment in the carrying the purposes of that treaty into execution, the reason for hiring and continuing the Hessian troops in British pay, became indispensable: that experience had evinced the method to be wise and proper, because it had preserved the tranquillity of Germany, an object highly meriting the attention of the British nation; and that, upon the whole, not only prudence, but necessity, required it should be continued till the event of the approaching congress at Cambray should be known."

It was easily seen, from the very beginning of the debate, that the question would be carried by the ministry; but the opposition, probably for no other reason than that of knowing the strength of their party, called for a division, when it appeared that two hundred and eighty were for the question, and eighty-four against it.

Extraordinary supplies being necessary for the service of the current year, a proposition, in consequence of a motion in the house of commons, was made by the lords of the treasury, to the directors of



the bank. This proposal was, that the bank might advance one million, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for the purchase of seventy thousand pounds per annum of the duty upon coals, to be converted into annuities; and that the bank be empowered to sell or dispose of those annuities, at such times and in such proportions as they should judge proper; and that the sinking fund should be applied to pay off one million at the bank.

The directors of the bank very readily agreed to the proposal; but the city of London thought proper to present a petition to the house of commons, with regard to the coal-tax. They represented, that the duties already laid on coals and culm, brought into the port of London only, considerably affected their trade; and that the inequality of that burden was a great discouragement to the manufactures, as well as a great hardship upon the whole trading people in and about the city of London. They therefore prayed the house to take these reasons into consideration, and grant them such relief as they should think meet. This petition was supported by the anti-ministerial party, but was rejected by a great majority.

The increase of the national expences, however, gave the opposition great advantages. They published a state of the national debt, and attempted to prove that they were absolutely increased since the establishment of the sinking fund, which was intended solely to reduce them. When the loan by the bank came to be debated, Mr. William Pultney spoke very warmly on that subject: he called the shifting of funds a perpetuating of taxes, and putting off the evil day; insisting upon it, that the sinking fund was nothing more than a pompous project, which, since its establishment, had swelled the national debt. Sir Nathaniel Gould, a very eminent merchant, said, if he understood any thing, it was numbers; and he durst pawn his reputation to prove, that the calculations made use of by the authors of the state of the national debt were erroneous, and therefore not to be depended upon. Mr. Pultney was equally positive that the calculations in that book were just. But this being only a matter of opinion, Sir Robert Walpole attempted to justify what the merchant had advanced, and the dispute was in danger of becoming personal, when Mr. Hungerford, a member remarkable for jocularly, interposed, and prevented it from having any farther consequences.

On the twenty-sixth of February, the whole supply, amounting to near four millions, was voted; and the particulars of the distribution of the money granted last year had been laid before them. But in this account two hundred and fifty thousand pounds not being particularly specified, they addressed his majesty for a particular and distinct account of that sum. In answer to this address, Sir Paul Methuen, by his majesty's command, acquainted the house, "That the late king, his majesty's royal father, having, on the like occasion, received from the last parliament the most dutiful acknowledgments of his great care and wisdom, in taking such steps, and entering into such engagements as he thought would best conduce to the security of this kingdom and the preservation of the peace of Europe; and, at the same time, the strongest assurance of their future support in all such farther measures as he should find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture, and for the honour and advantage of these kingdoms: and a power being accordingly given by parliament to his late majesty, for issuing and applying such sums of money as he should find necessary, for answering and defraying such expences and engagements as had been, or should be made for these great and necessary purposes; some part of the money mentioned in this address had been issued and disbursed by his late majesty; and the remaining part had been applied by his majesty for carrying on the same necessary services, for strengthening his alliances, and in fulfilling engagements of the utmost importance to these kingdoms, and to the general

tranquillity of Europe; and which require the greatest secrecy. His majesty therefore hopes, that this house will repose the same confidence in him, and be assured that the money has been necessarily expended, pursuant to the power given by act of parliament, and for the uses and purposes therein directed; and that a particular account thereof cannot be given, without manifest prejudice to the public."

This answer, it must be acknowledged, was far from being conformable to the constitution of parliament, though it was not without a precedent. The opposition would not slip so fair an advantage; they attacked the ministry with all the power of reason and eloquence. They represented, that the answer was unparliamentary; that if such were accepted, the parliament must give up their most valuable privileges, those of enquiring into the disposal of public money, and the conduct of corrupted and corrupting ministers, to those very ministers who ought to be the objects of their censure." It was added, "That the answer was vague and frivolous, and might be made with equal propriety upon all occasions of enquiry into the disposal of public money." On the other hand, it was urged, "That this answer was conformable to an answer returned in the late reign, upon a similar address; that there was no more reason for distrusting his present majesty, than there was for distrusting his father; and the house of commons was so well satisfied on that occasion, that instead of expressing any symptoms of dissatisfaction, they had returned the crown an address of thanks for that answer." Sir Robert Walpole added, "That it was impossible the public service, alluded to, considering the various complication of interests on the continent, could be carried on if every shilling expended for the interest of the common cause, and for maintaining the balance of Europe, was known to all the world." These reasons appeared satisfactory; for, on the question's being put, it was carried by a majority of two hundred and two against sixty-six.

The Spanish depredations in the West-Indies had long raised an universal clamour in the nation; and negotiations had, for some time, been carrying on with that court, for putting an end to these disputes. After many difficulties, a treaty was concluded at Seville on the ninth of November; by the fourth article of which, the commerce of the English and French nations, both in Europe and the Indies, are to be restored to their former footing, and orders are to be immediately dispatched by all parties for that purpose. By the fifth, his Catholic majesty engages to make reparation for all damages that had been done by his subjects to the other contracting powers. By the sixth, commissaries are to be nominated, with sufficient powers, on the part of their Britannic and Catholic majesties, who shall assemble at the court of Spain, within the space of four months, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, to examine and decide what concerns the ships and effects taken at sea on either side, to the time specified in the preceding article. The said commissaries are also to examine and decide the respective pretensions relating to the abuses that are supposed to have been committed in commerce, both in the Indies and Europe, and all the other pretensions in America, founded on treaties, whether relating to the limits, or otherwise. And the said commissaries, after having examined, discussed and decided, shall make a report of their proceedings to their Britannic and Catholic majesties, who promise, that within the space of six months after making the said report, they will cause to be executed, punctually and exactly, what shall have been so decided by the said commissaries.

A. D. 1729. The parliament met on the thirteenth of January, and the session was opened with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty congratulated his people on having concluded an absolute peace with Spain, and thereby preventing the miseries and confusions of war. He assured them, "that the peace



was agreeable to the purport and intention of former treaties, and calculated to make the stipulations of the quadruple alliance more effectual; and that sufficient provision had been made for the indemnification and future security of the trading interest; and that he had given orders for making an immediate reduction, both of the army and the fleet. He recommended to their serious attention the state of public credit, and the hardships of poor artificers and manufacturers.

The commons were no sooner returned to their house, than Sir Robert Walpole laid before them the treaty of Seville; and one of his friends moved for a particular and loyal address to the throne, almost in the very words of the speech. This motion was opposed by the country party, who were for saying no more than "to assure his majesty of the steady and zealous attachment of the house to his royal person, government, and family; and that the house would effectually support his majesty in all measures necessary for the honour and dignity of his crown, and the interests and welfare of his people."

In support of this alteration and omission, many severe things were said of the treaty, which had been published some time. Sir John Hind Cotton said, that the ministry had imposed upon his majesty in calling the peace an absolute one, because the most important interests of Great-Britain were left to a future discussion. On the contrary, the minister maintained, that the peace was absolute, and that no difference could happen in the execution of it, unless the Spaniards and other powers were encouraged to raise them by the dissension that might happen at home. Several other speeches were made on both sides, but the motion for the omission was rejected by a great majority.

The debates in the house of lords, when the treaty of Seville came before them, were of great importance, and carried to a considerable length. It was urged, that his Imperial majesty would certainly detach himself from a people whose ministers had concluded a treaty so essentially different from the quadruple alliance. To this it was replied, that there never was, nor could be, any essential difference, if the emperor was sincerely resolved to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance with regard to the eventual succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and that introducing Spanish, instead of neutral troops, into the garrisons of these dominions, could make no material difference, especially as the treaty had, in the strongest manner, stipulated, that the troops should be withdrawn as soon as the succession to these duchies, which was a principal object of the quadruple alliance, should be secured. It was farther urged, that though there was an immaterial difference, which might give umbrage to the court of Vienna, between the treaty in question, and the quadruple alliance; yet the preservation of the tranquillity of Europe, and the obtaining satisfaction and security to our commerce, were considerations that ought infinitely to outweigh any apprehension from a resentment that could be founded only upon pride and ambition.

Great exceptions were also taken by the lords in the opposition at the sixth article, whereby the merchants, and others, who had suffered greatly by the Spanish depredations, were obliged to repair to the court of Spain, in order to make proof of their losses. This was represented as not only a discouragement to the sufferers, but derogatory to the honour of the nation. This was, however, considered as an unreasonable objection, since it was necessary for the merchants to apply where only they could have redress. The commissaries were to meet at the court of Spain; they could not properly meet elsewhere, because the validity or invalidity of the captures complained of must be discussed in those courts where the proofs remained; and the law of nations establishes the sentence of the court of admiralty of that nation where the capture is made, and to be final

in all cases, and in all parts. Had the Spaniards been the complainants, the causes must have been tried in Great-Britain.

After a very tedious debate, objections being made to almost every article, the treaty was approved by a very considerable majority. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that the ministry, in concluding it, were chiefly desirous of preserving the public tranquillity, by which England was every day making immense acquisitions of wealth, and improvements in commerce. But this was totally destructive of the views of the opposition, who well knew that the power of the ministry could only be shaken in a time of war and commotion. On the other hand, the ministry treated the opposition they met with too superciliously within doors, and too incautiously without. Secure of their own numbers in the house of commons, and persuaded that the opposition proceeded only from views of interest and ambition, they did not enter into that length and solemnity of debate that was necessary either for the conviction or conversion of the few who opposed their measures from principle only. They carried their measures rather by dividing than debating. Many noblemen and gentlemen of independent fortunes were provoked at this method of proceeding, and resented it by voting against the ministry. This gave the public such unfavourable impressions of his majesty's measures, that nothing either spoken or wrote on the side of the ministry had a fair hearing.

A most excellent act was passed this session for the better regulation of juries. Before this time, it was a reproach to the English law, that no provision was made to oblige men of substance to serve on juries; for which reason it was very common for persons of property to throw the burden from themselves on men of indigent circumstances; and this opened a way for corruption in the most capital cases.

Another act was passed this session for granting liberty to carry off from his majesty's province of Carolina, in America, directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre, in ships built in, and belonging to Great-Britain, and navigated according to law.

By this act, a general principle that had been established by all the nations in Europe who had dominions in America, was broken through. It had hitherto been a maxim with every country, to preserve all intercourse with their plantations entire to their mother country; by which incredible advantages accrued to them in commerce and navigation. For this reason no commodities were to be exported from the English plantations, but in ships that first touched at England. But rice being a perishable commodity, this act exempted it from the general rule; provided the ship that carried it belonged to Great-Britain, and was navigated by British sailors. This act has proved very advantageous to that colony.

A great remissness of government prevailed at this time in England. Peace, both at home and abroad, continued to be the great object of the minister. Prosperity in commerce introduced luxury; hence necessities were created, and these drove the lower class of people into the most abandoned wickedness. Averse to all penal and sanguinary measures, the minister gave not that encouragement to the ordinary magistrates that could enable them to give an effectual check to vice among the multitude. This produced a very pernicious effect among the higher class; so that an almost universal degeneracy of manners prevailed. It was not safe to travel the roads, or walk the streets; and often the civil officers themselves dared neither to repel the violences, nor punish the crimes that were committed. A species of villain's now started up, unknown to former times, who made it their business to write letters to men of substance, threatening to set fire to their houses, in case they refused their demands; and sometimes their threats were carried into execution.



A. D. 1730. In the midst of these domestic disorders, the parliament met on the twenty-first of January. It was generally supposed that the obstinacy of the emperor would occasion a war, he having given orders for a large body of troops to march into Italy, to oppose the introduction of Spanish garrisons, stipulated by that treaty. The king hinted at this in his speech, at the opening of the session; and almost the whole of his speech consisted of earnest exhortations to his parliament, to enable him to be ready to carry the treaty into execution by arms, if force should be found necessary.

On the return of the commons to their house, a very loyal address, in answer to the speech, was moved for by Mr. Campbell; but the opposite party made a motion, that all the complimentary part of it should be left out, and only promise to concur with such means as should be absolutely necessary to procure the satisfaction due to the allies, and provide for the interests of the people; and then to insert the following words: "assuring ourselves, that his majesty will take effectual care to prevent the breaking out of war upon the Rhine, or in the Austrian Netherlands; the preservation of which, in the hands they now are, is of the greatest importance to these kingdoms, and the maintenance whereof has cost the nation so much blood and treasure."

The chief speakers, in support of this motion, were Sir William Wyndham, and Messrs. Daniel and William Pultney, who enjoyed the infinite advantage of having on their side all the popular topics, which experience has since evinced, in many cases, to have been mere sounds; and yet, at that time, were of such force, that the court party durst not dispute them. The power of France, was represented as threatening the liberties, both of England and of Europe. Evidence was again offered to be produced of their having cleared and repaired the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the treaty of Utrecht. Great complaints were made of their encroachments upon us in the West-Indies; and all was ascribed to the pernicious connections we had lately run into with them. It was farther represented, that, for England to join with France in any attempts against the emperor, either in Flanders, or upon the Rhine, would be acting against the most established maxims of the late glorious confederacy, that had humbled the power of France under the duke of Marlborough; and that it would undo the balance of power, which had been so happily established, and was the chief acquisition which England or Europe had obtained by that confederacy. Some observations were likewise made on the danger and inexpediency of the house promising indiscriminately the first day of the session, to support all his majesty's measures and engagements, before they knew what they were; and that, in fact, such an assurance rendered all their future deliberations, for that session, useless and inconsistent.

These arguments pressed hard upon several in the house, particularly Sir Robert Walpole and his brother, lord Hervey, and Sir William Young. Being professed whigs, they could not, with consistency, deny, that it would be very dangerous for public liberty, should England co-operate with the French upon the Rhine, or in Flanders, against the emperor; and yet nothing could be more plain, than that the amendment proposed was impolitic in itself, and disrespectful to his majesty. In the course of the debate, they publicly declared their sentiments on this head; observing, "that if the amendment was agreed to, it would be attended by the worst of consequences, both at home and abroad, and appear as if his majesty had intended any thing that was not absolutely necessary for the interest of England, and strictly agreeable to the principles of public liberty: that such an insinuation could only tend to discourage the friends of the protestant succession at home, and animate their enemies abroad; and therefore they ought to trust to his majesty's wonted prudence;

and, that the putting such words in the address would look like an encroachment upon the prerogative of the crown, and directing the operations of the future war." Lord Hervey observed, "that the house of Austria, as well as the house of Bourbon, might, by its ambition, destroy that balance of power, so justly dear to England: that as the conduct of the French court upon the continent could give no just umbrage, the destroying the house of Bourbon, only to enable the house of Austria to rise on its ruins, was highly absurd: that he did not doubt but his majesty had sufficient interest with his allies, to concert measures which would prevent every bad consequence apprehended: and, that to agree to the proposed alteration, would be making proclamation to all Europe, that the emperor might act as he pleased, since he was invulnerable at present in Italy, by the situation of his dominions, and the great number of troops he had there: if, therefore, the allies should agree, that he was not to be attacked on the Rhine, or in the Netherlands, his majesty and his allies had nothing to do, but meekly submit to laws imposed by the court of Vienna."

These arguments being admitted by the house, and the proposed alteration on the point of being rejected, one of the members moved, that it should be inserted in the address, "that they would support his majesty's engagements, so far as they related to the interests of Great-Britain." But this amendment being subject to the very same, if not greater objections than the former, they were both rejected, and the address, as moved for, was voted without any division.

An amendment, in almost the same terms as in the lower house, was moved for, by lord Carteret, in the house of peers; but being opposed by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, it was over-ruled.

The rejection of the pension-bill, during the last session, having caused a great ferment in the nation, the opposition resolved to bring it again on the carpet. The motion was introduced with great solemnity; and after passing, with very little opposition, through the house of commons, was sent to the house of peers, where it was thrown out. A remarkable speech was made on this occasion by the bishop of Bangor; wherein he plainly proved, that, under the mask of popularity, this motion concealed the most dangerous tendency; and concludes in the following words: "Though this bill, at first sight, seems to be a self-denying bill, and to some particular members, may, perhaps, prove so; yet the commons, considered as an house of parliament, will find in it, no doubt, a great enlargement of power; and whatever tends to break the balance between the powers, essential to this constitution, must, sooner or later, prove the ruin of the whole. An independent house of commons, or an independent house of lords, is as inconsistent with our constitution, as an independent, that is, an absolute king; and whoever loves the liberties and laws of his country, will no more desire to see the one than the other. Let bribery be punished; let corruption be punished; but not by giving so much strength to one power of this constitution, as shall make it able to overbear the rest."

The opposition did not fail to represent this speech in the most heinous light. They caused it to be circulated throughout the kingdom, with their own notes and commentaries upon it; wherein they endeavoured to prove, that his lordship only expressed the sentiments of the minister, who had formed a design of subverting the constitution, by destroying the independency of the two houses of parliament.

The facility with which every question was carried by the ministerial party, was imputed, by the minority, to the remissness of their friends, in not attending the house; and having no compulsive power over them, they endeavoured to obtain one by the following method. A call of the house being ordered and held, two members, who were considered of the country party, were, by their friends, moved to be taken



taken into custody for non-attendance; but, on the interposition of the court party, they were held excused; which serving as a precedent, the same lenity was extended to such as could plead excuses of indisposition, being on the road, or any other trivial cause. The majority, however, having afterwards taken this affair into consideration, found that they had treated it with too little attention; and agreed, that certain days should be appointed for the defaulters to attend; and, in case of disobedience of these orders, they were to be taken into custody by the serjeant at arms.

The real motive for this preparation on the part of the minority, was to strengthen a second attack they meditated upon the establishment of the Hessians in British pay: for, after the house had been furnished with all necessary papers, a motion was made for referring the estimate of the twelve thousand Hessian troops in the pay of Great-Britain, to the committee of supply. This motion occasioned a very warm debate. Mr. Daniel Pulteney observed, "that wars had happened on the continent of Europe, of which, though foreign to the interests of England, she had borne the expence." In reply to this, it was urged, "that commerce had connected England with the continent, though nature had disjoined her from it: that the English, by their influence on the affairs of the continent, had acquired many advantages in trade; and in order to maintain these, they were sometimes obliged to interfere in foreign quarrels: that some of the countries of Europe, which consumed a great number of English commodities, had so little communication with the sea, that they were inaccessible to our fleets; and therefore, if they laid the trade of the English under any hardships or inconveniences, or offered them any insults or indignities, the English had no other means of asserting their rights, or recovering their wrongs, than by employing some of the powerful states upon the continent to support their resentment: that this had frequently been found a very useful expedient to England; but that she could not any longer avail herself of it, than while she, in her turn, was ready to perform as friendly offices for those states. They asserted, that it was upon this very principle that the treaty of Hanover was concluded, and the Hessian troops were taken into British pay; and that those two measures had prevented the fatal effects which might have attended the ambition and obstinacy of the emperor: that upon the same principle likewise was founded the treaty of Seville; which, by our engaging for the introduction of six thousand Spanish troops into Italy, had effectually detached Spain from the emperor: that the latter, however, had filled Italy with his armies, in order to prevent the introduction of those garrisons. It was also observed, that the Hessians, who were in British pay, were the only curbs the emperor had in Germany; consequently, that the dismissal of these forces would leave him at liberty to kindle a flame in Europe, which might cost Great-Britain many millions to extinguish.

These were the principal arguments made use of during the course of this debate, and by which the parliament was determined to continue the establishment of the Hessian troops. Arguments to the same purport were urged when the subsidy to the duke of Wolfenbuttle was brought upon the carpet. The minority affected to treat that prince with great contempt for his insignificance and indigence; and in order to protract the time, and expose the measure as much as possible, a motion was made, and agreed to, for reading the third section of an act passed in the reign of William III. for the further limitation of the crown; which says, "In case the crown shall come to any person, not being a native of England, this nation shall not be obliged to go to war for defence of dominions not belonging to this crown." They likewise addressed for all the papers and treaties relative to the subsidy; but the same being referred

to a committee of the whole house, by a majority of one hundred and ninety-four against one hundred and twelve, the question passed in the affirmative; and the prince's subsidy was continued.

The minority now supposing themselves more considerable than ever, and knowing; that since the resignation of lord Townshend, the management of foreign affairs had created public murmurs against the minister, resolved to distress him as much as possible on that subject, by making motions; which, if carried in the negative, would heighten the ill impressions already conceived of him. They accordingly addressed for all the papers relative to the treaty of Seville; for an account of the progress of the commissaries appointed by his majesty and the king of Spain in consequence of that treaty, for adjusting the demands and reparations due to the merchants of Great-Britain. The establishment of a civil government at Gibraltar had been long a favourite point with the people; but being attended with great difficulties, it had not yet been put in execution: they therefore carried an address for an account of all the proceedings that had been had on that account, and for declaring Gibraltar a free port, since the last application of the house to his majesty on that head. Another cause for an address, and which appeared too plausible to be refused, was the non-compliance of the Spaniards with the treaty of Seville in commercial points, and their continuing in a manner to block up Gibraltar. This address was for copies of such representations as his majesty had received from the governor of Gibraltar, and from his majesty's minister at the court of Spain, in relation to any works carried on at Gibraltar by the Spaniards since the conclusion of the treaty of Seville; together with such orders as had been given thereupon. All these papers were accordingly laid before the house, but very little use seems to have been made of them, except furnishing the heads of the party with materials for pamphlet-writing, which now raged in England to an excessive height.

The disputes which had happened in the execution of the treaty of Seville, by the haughtiness and obstinacy of the court of Spain, threw Europe, at this juncture, into a very extraordinary situation. The emperor alledged, that the treaty was an encroachment upon him, as head of the empire; and that Don Carlos ought to have been introduced into Italy, and the succession of the dominions there secured to him, by his receiving the investiture of them from the emperor; and by the consent of the empire; both which were ready to be granted when demanded. He also asserted, that the succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, was not the ultimate view of the court of Spain. In the beginning of this year, the duke of Parma died suddenly, and the imperial troops took immediate possession of his dominions; but the dutchess of Parma, in order to retard the succession of Don Carlos, was prevailed on to declare herself with child; upon which the imperialists publicly avowed, that they had taken possession of the dutchies under the auspices of the emperor, in the name of the infant Don Carlos, the heir, provided he did not come armed, but in a pacific manner; and a salvo was included for the issue of the pregnant dutchess, if it should prove a male.

The court of Spain was immediately informed, by her emissaries, of this transaction, and likewise that a negotiation was far advanced between the courts of Vienna and London; whereby it was agreed; that the contracting parties in the treaty of Seville should guaranty the pragmatic sanction, by which the emperor's female issue was to succeed to his hereditary dominions. This intelligence, added to the commercial disputes which still subsisted between the courts of Great-Britain and Spain; so greatly exasperated the latter, that the marquis de Castelar, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, signed a declaration to the ministers of the allies of the treaty of Seville,



in the name of the king, his master, importing, "that his Catholic majesty looked upon himself as entirely free from the obligations of the said treaty."

On the sixteenth day of March, a treaty was actually signed between his Britannic majesty and the emperor, consisting of nine articles. By the first, a mutual guaranty of all the territories belonging to the contracting powers is stipulated. The second stipulates a general guaranty of the pragmatic sanction in favour of the emperor's female heirs. By the third, his imperial majesty consents to the introduction of the Spanish troops into the dutchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and binds himself to use his utmost endeavours to obtain the consent of the empire for that purpose. By the fourth, it is stipulated, that all parts of the treaty shall be duly and truly executed. The fifth entirely abolishes all navigation to the Austrian Netherlands, excepting the sending, once only, two ships from Ostend; and, by the same article, commissioners are to meet, on the part of both powers, at Antwerp, for settling a tariff between Great-Britain and the Austrian Netherlands. By the sixth, it is agreed, that all points of difference among the contracting powers, or any of their allies, should be amicably adjusted; and that the present treaty is not to derogate from the force of any of the former treaties subsisting between either the contracting parties, or their allies, excepting so far as they are inconsistent with the present treaty. By the seventh, the English, touching their commerce in the kingdom of Sicily, are to be treated on the same footing as they were in the reign of Charles II. of Spain, and as it is usual to treat a nation with which one is in strict friendship. The eighth fixes eight months after the ratification for the accession of the other powers who shall be invited into the treaty: and the ninth allows six weeks for exchanging the letters of ratification. Besides these, there was a separate article, which declared, "that the guaranty entered into by the contracting powers should not extend to the emperor's dominions, which might be attacked by the Turks." At the same time, his Britannic majesty declared authentically, "that notwithstanding the introduction of Spanish garrisons into the strong places of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, yet that he had no intention to depart from what had been settled by the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, either with regard to the rights of his imperial majesty and the empire, or to the security of the kingdoms and states, which his imperial majesty actually possesses in Italy; or, lastly, to the preservation of the quiet and dignity of those who were then the lawful possessors of those dutchies, and therefore he renews to the emperor the guaranty of those countries." But to take away all suspicion of the emperor's trifling in this matter, he published a declaration, of the same force and date with the treaty, importing, "that if the pregnant dutchess-dowager of Parma should be delivered of a son, the introduction of the Spanish troops to that dutchy should still take place; and that if she should be brought to bed of a daughter, Don Carlos was immediately to be put into possession of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, by an eventual investiture from the emperor and the empire." And his imperial majesty farther declares, "that in case the dutchess-dowager should be delivered of a daughter, he will immediately withdraw his troops from the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, to give way to the peaceable possession."

Notwithstanding the states-general appeared as one of the principal contracting parties in this treaty, yet it was pretended that the nature of their government required some time before they could formally accede to it: but the real fact was, that the states, at the instigation of the French, who were greatly chagrined by this second treaty of Vienna, refused, at first, their being excluded from all the negotiations previous to a treaty in which they were inserted as principal contracting parties.

France had; at that time, superior influence in their government, either to the emperor or Great-Britain, as separate powers, but was not equal to them jointly; and the Dutch; after making several restrictions, acceded to the treaty.

France was highly offended at the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction by Great-Britain and the states-general; and so far prevailed upon the Spanish ministry, that a joint resolution was taken with the council of Madrid to render the execution of the treaty of Seville as difficult and as expensive to England as possible.

The dissensions that continued to rage in the British parliament, greatly contributed to encourage these attempts abroad. For while the government was making preparations for executing the favourite project of Spain, that of introducing Don Carlos into Italy, the parliament was daily receiving petitions, complaining of the Spanish depredations in the West-Indies. Nor had the commissaries appointed by his majesty, pursuant to the treaty of Seville, been able as yet to prevail upon the court of Madrid to name commissaries on her part, and consequently, had not made the smallest progress in obtaining satisfaction for the British sufferers. Every petition afforded fresh matter for railing against the minister, for not declaring war, or at least issuing orders for reprisals.

A.D. 1731. It is very difficult, perhaps impossible, to account, upon the principles of sound policy, for the backwardness of the ministry to enter into vigorous measures against Spain, who seemed to pay no regard to the many remonstrances sent thither; nor even to the articles of the treaty of Seville. The ministry, however, proceeded according to the plan they had formed; and on the fourteenth of July, Sir Charles Wager sailed from Portsmouth with a strong fleet, and arrived at Cadiz on the first of August. But finding the Spaniards were not ready, he proceeded to Barcelona; where being at last joined by the Spanish fleet, he pursued his course to Leghorn. In the mean time, proper dispositions were making for introducing, in a peaceable manner, the Spanish troops into the garrisoned towns of Italy. This was greatly facilitated by the duchess of Parma, who at last declared she was not with child: upon which the imperial general resigned to the duke of Tuscany, and the dutchess-dowager of Parma, as joint guardians to the infant Don Carlos, the administration of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, and marched with his troops into the Milanese. Don Carlos being thus quietly settled, Wager returned with his fleet to England.

A.D. 1732. The ministry now challenged the boldest of their opponents to mention a single circumstance necessary for the tranquillity of Europe, that had been unprovided for. His majesty expressed the same sentiments in his speech, at the meeting of the parliament on the thirteenth of January. He assured them, that the general tranquillity of Europe was now established, and that all his desires on that head were fulfilled. "The share of credit and influence," added he, "which the crown of Great-Britain has had in bringing about this difficult and desirable work, and which redounds so much to the honour and interest of the nation, as it is universally confessed abroad, will, I am confident, be agreeable to my people, and acknowledged with gratitude by you. It is well known, that from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the several courts of Europe have been employed in finding means to execute, what the principal powers had agreed to, for the succession of Tuscany and Parma in favour of an infant of Spain; but the various jarring and contending interests were hard to be reconciled and united in effectuating a point of so much importance; the extended views and hopes of extending, on every side, further advantages, and the natural jealousies and distrusts arising among the several powers concerned, were not easily destroyed. Such opposite principles



principles and purposes had kept in suspense; and unexecuted, what the court of Spain had very much at heart; and occasioned such troubles and disturbances as embarrassed the affairs of Europe for many years, and particularly affected the interests of this nation.

"This happy situation of affairs," continued he, "will, I promise myself, inspire you all with such temper and unanimity, and such reasonable zeal for the public good; as becomes a parliament sensible of the great blessings they enjoy. The duty and affection of my subjects are all the return I desire for my paternal love and concern for them. My government has no security but what is equally conducive to your happiness, and to the protection of my people; and your prosperity has no foundation but in the defence and support of my government: our safety is mutual, our interests are inseparable."

It is sufficiently evident from this speech; that his majesty and his ministers imagined the success and wisdom of their conduct had stopped the mouth of opposition; and given universal satisfaction to the people. They were mistaken; the opposition continued as strong and violent as ever. The very motion for an address was opposed; the ministry ridiculed for the inconsistency of their negotiations, and some of them personally attacked with the severest reflections.

Sensible that the acrimony with which all their measures, both at home and abroad, were represented, the ministry resolved to make an essay towards recovering their popularity with the landed interest of England. This was no other than that of lessening the land-tax by reviving the duty upon salt. Accordingly, when the house was resolved into a committee, Sir Robert Walpole said, "That in raising the supply voted, his majesty was desirous that the burden should fall as equally as possible upon all his subjects: that it had long rested upon the gentlemen of the landed interest; and that as no tax could be more general than that upon salt, though, at the same time, severely felt by individuals, however poor; he moved, that, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the several duties on home-made salt, granted, by several acts of parliament, to king William, be revived, and granted to his majesty for the term of three years."

In order to support this motion, he said, he hoped the land-tax might be reduced one shilling in the pound; and observed how hard it bore upon ancient English families, who had many children, and but small estates to support them; but the reducing the land-tax might restore them to their ancient hospitality and figure, in their several counties; both which, by the pressure of that imposition, were now greatly reduced."

But this speech was not received with that pleasure he seemed to expect. Mr. Plummer, in very strong terms, endeavoured to prove, that the reasons for taking off the salt-duty was such as must always subsist against ever reviving it; because it was very justly considered as a tax that, of all others, was most burdensome to the poor, and the most pernicious to the trade of this kingdom: that the very character of a right tax was wanting in this; for it was so far from taxing the luxuries of life, that it taxed the most ordinary necessities: that the motion, if complied with, tended to distress the landed gentlemen more than the land-tax itself; because, by disabling manufacturers from carrying on their trade; it disabled tenants from paying their rents; and that it was, besides, highly impolitical; since the revival of it might tend to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty.

"I only desire," continued he, "that every landed gentleman who hears me, would consider what he would make of his estate, if we had no trade, no manufactures, nor any number of populous towns in England. Who would be such a fool as to desire to be relieved of one shilling in the pound upon the

land-tax, when he must pay as much for the salt made use of in his family; and when at the same time he diminishes the yearly income of his estate much more than one shilling in the pound, nay much more than any land-tax ever amounted to in England. The land-tax is but an annual diminution of a gentleman's estate, he may perhaps be free from a part of it the ensuing year; but if, by the decay of our trade, and the charge laid upon the poor farmer, he is obliged to lower the rents of his estate, that will be diminution; which, I fear, will endure for ever."

This opposition was not expected, and therefore the arguments were the more difficult to be answered; especially as the opposition considered the tax in the most minute particulars. The bill, however, passed the house by a considerable majority. It was opposed with the same vigour in the house of peers; and when it passed near twenty lords entered their protests.

The private domestic occurrences of this year are not worth mentioning in a general history; but an opposition very dangerous to the minister, was now fomenting in the nation. The debates about the revival of the salt duty; and some other surmises, which had taken rise from the complaints of the officers of the revenue in general made of the collection of the duties upon wine and tobacco, two capital branches of the revenue; impressed the public with a notion, that either a general excise, or an excise on these two articles was intended by the minister. The whole nation was alarmed even before the minister had openly declared his intention.

A. D. 1733. Such was the disposition of the nation when the parliament met on the sixteenth of January. His majesty's speech was short and general; recommending, "the annual supplies in the least burdensome manner; and exhorting the members to avoid heats and animosities; and not to suffer themselves to be diverted, by any specious pretences, from steadfastly pursuing the true interest of their country."

But however inoffensive this speech might appear, yet an address, which was nothing more than its echo, was strongly opposed. Sir John Barnard opened the debate, and sufficiently shewed by his speech that he was no stranger to the scheme intended to be brought into the house by the minister, and that both himself and all his friends in the opposition were determined to exert all their power to render it abortive. He concluded with proposing an amendment to the address, implying, "that the manner of raising the supplies should be consistent with the trade, interest and liberty of the nation." Mr. Sandys seconded his motion; and Mr. Shippen moved for adding, "and such as shall be consistent with the honour and justice of parliament."

Sir Robert himself seconded these amendments; but could not help observing that he had reason to think some very unfair methods had been made use of, to make the people complain without any real foundation. The address, with these amendments, was agreed to; and his majesty returned a very gracious answer.

Among the number of debates which engaged the attention of the commons, that relating to the depredations of the Spaniards was the most interesting.

It was opened by Sir Wilford Lawson, who made a motion to address his majesty, "that there be laid before the house copies of the reports made by his majesty's commissaries in Spain; together with all letters and papers relating thereto, and what satisfaction had been made to the subjects of Great Britain for the losses they had sustained by the depredations of the Spaniards in Europe or the Indies, pursuant to the second separate article of the peace concluded at Seville."

Sir Robert Walpole well knew that this motion was made merely to distress him; but he could not, without the utmost danger to himself, prevent its passing. The British resident had presented several memorials



memorials to the court of Spain, complaining that nothing had been done to prevent the depredations so long complained of in the American seas. At last the following cedula was obtained from the king of Spain.

"Whereas the British minister residing at this court, has represented to me, that notwithstanding the orders I have issued to hinder the Spanish privateers in America, from committing hostilities against the English, and their ships frequenting those seas; nevertheless not only such persons as have patents from some of the governors, of some of the ports in my dominions, but also some who have no patents at all, continue their hostilities under a pretence of preventing an illicit commerce; while the governors refuse to admit of the complaints given in by the English, who have experienced such unjust molestations, or to indemnify them of the losses they may have suffered hereby. My resolution is, that the orders already issued for that purpose should be repeated: whereby I command by these presents, all governors in any port or place of my dominions in America, not to suffer any of my subjects to molest or abuse the English, or any of their ships that shall sail in those seas, as long as they keep in their proper distances, and are not concerned in any illicit trade; and that my governors take special care, that my said subjects do conform exactly, and indispensibly to the royal laws and ordinances which treat of those matters; and if any of my subjects should commit any excess, contrary to those laws, I command my governors to punish them, with all the severity that the offence they shall have committed requires; as also such as, without patents, shall go to sea in order to commit hostilities, and make unlawful prizes: that the said governors do hearken to, and admit all complaints that shall be made to them, from the ministers or chief commanders of Great Britain, either by word of mouth, or by writing; taking care to do them justice at all times; and to give them testimonies of all that shall be transacted, and that satisfaction be given them, for the losses they may have sustained unjustly by the subjects, who may have occasioned them, and who ought to make them good; for such is my will: and the aforesaid governors are to understand that they shall be made accountable for the excesses committed by the privateers; because, before they grant them patents to go to sea, they ought to examine them who the persons are, and insist upon proper securities."

These concessions on the part of Spain might have been satisfactory between two ministers, who were not accountable for their conduct to any but their masters; but were far from being so to a British parliament. It was insisted upon by the opposition, that the expression in the catholic king's cedula, of proper distances to be kept by British ships on the coasts of America, was a fallacious condition, and tended to defeat the whole purpose which England ought to expect from the cedula. Because it was impossible for ships, sailing from one British colony to another, to be able to perform their voyages without being sometimes forced by accidents of winds and tides to come within distances of the Spanish coasts, which the Spaniards might judge to be improper distances, and therefore a sufficient cause for capture, according to the severest orders they might have from the court of Madrid.

These reasons formed the foundation of Sir Wilfred Lawson's motion; and had prevented the Spanish and-English commissioners from entering on a decisive plan for putting a final period to the differences that had so long subsisted between the two nations.

This Sir Robert Walpole plainly perceived, and was very sensible the opposition had gained a very material advantage over him; but he acted with great address. He frankly owned, "That his majesty had nothing to lay before the house, relative to the motion which had been made, because many unfore-

seen accidents had prevented the commissioners from entering upon business sooner than the month of February last: adding, that the delays they at first met with, rendered it necessary to prolong the time for settling and adjusting those matters; and accordingly it had been agreed between the two nations, that the three years shall be computed from that day in February last, on which the commissioners first met; and by that time, it is hoped, all those affairs will be settled in such a manner, as will give full satisfaction to every member of this house, and sufficient reparation to every one of the subjects of Great-Britain, who have met with a real injury from the Spaniards."

This apology was treated with great contempt by the opposition. It was said, "that the house ought not to take, from any member of it, an answer which they could regularly have from his majesty only: that as the commissioners had large stated salaries, it was not to be supposed they would be in a great hurry to lose them, by bringing the affair of their commission to a speedy issue: that in consequence of the vigorous remonstrances made in the last sessions of parliament, some English ships had been sent to the Spanish coast, to demand satisfaction; but having been treated with insults by the Spaniards, the commander, with the spirit of a true Englishman, seized the first Spanish ship he could meet with. This Spanish ship was, however, ordered to be restored, though the Spaniards have never thought proper to return their capture, nor have the owners received any satisfaction for the loss they have sustained."

To this fact it was answered, that though the English vessel in question had not been released, yet it was not owing to the orders of his Catholic majesty, which were pacific, but to the chicanery, excuses, and delays of the Spanish governors in America, who, notwithstanding the express orders from their court for delivering up the ship and cargo, had found some pretences for delay." This explanation was, however, far from being satisfactory: it was said, "that if the orders of his Catholic majesty were not obeyed, it would be in vain to carry on negotiations at the court of Madrid; but imitate the conduct of the English commander, and demand satisfaction from the American governors." Though the minister could easily have put a negative upon this amendment, yet he well knew it would render him extremely unpopular, which he was very desirous of avoiding: he therefore suffered the motion to be carried; and the address, with the proposed amendments, was presented to his majesty, who returned a most gracious answer.

The ferment in the nation every day increased, in expectation of a plan formed by Sir Robert Walpole, and generally known by the appellation of the Excise-scheme, which the minister had openly declared he intended to bring into the house. The nature of this scheme was still a secret; yet it was confidently given out by the opposition to be nothing less than a general excise, though the minister had never entertained any thought of that kind. He added, that all he intended was to prevent the frauds committed in collecting the duties upon wine and tobacco. The fourteenth of March was appointed for laying the whole scheme before the house. In the mean time, several pamphlets and papers were published on the subject of excise, and the whole painted in the most horrid colours by the anti-ministerial writers. These writings produced the desired effect; they raised an universal clamour against the minister, even before it had been offered to the parliament.

On the fourteenth of March, Sir Robert, in a long studied speech, explained his scheme. He began with taking notice of the arts which had been used to prejudice the people against his proposal, before it was known. He affirmed, that the clamours occasioned by these prejudices had originally arisen from smugglers and unfair traders, who had enriched themselves by cheating the public; and that these had been strenuously assisted by another set of men, fond



fond of every opportunity to stir up the people to mutiny and sedition. He expatiated on the frauds daily committed in that branch of the revenue arising from tobacco; upon the hardships to which the American planters were subjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill usage they had met with from their factors and correspondents in England, who, from being their servants, were now become their masters; upon the injury done to the fair trader; and upon the loss sustained by the public in respect to the revenue. He asserted, that the scheme he was going to propose, would remove all these inconveniences, prevent numberless frauds, perjuries, and false entries, and add two or three hundred thousand pounds a year to the revenue. He entered into a long detail of the frauds practised by the unfair dealers in those commodities; he recited the several acts of parliament relating to the duties on wine and tobacco; he declared he had no intention to promote a general excise; and he endeavoured to obviate some objections that might be made to his plan, which he now proceeded to explain. He proposed to join the laws of excise to those of the customs: that the former subsidy of three farthings per pound, chargeable on imported tobacco, should be still levied at the custom-house, and payable, as before, to his majesty's civil list: that the tobacco should then be lodged in warehouses appointed for that purpose by the commissioners of excise: that the keeper of each warehouse, appointed also by the commissioners, should have one lock and key, and the merchant importer another; and that the tobacco should be thus secured till the merchant should find vent for it either for foreign or home consumption: that the part designed for exportation should be weighed at the custom-house, discharged of the three farthings per pound, paid at its first importation, and then exported without any farther trouble: that the portion designed for home consumption should, in the presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, upon his paying the inland duty of four-pence per pound to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty on importation, or of giving bond, and finding securities for the payment before he found a market for the commodity: that all the penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, should, for the future, be applied to the use of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other cases relating to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majesty, and in the country by the judge of assize upon the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary manner, without the formality of proceeding in courts of law and equity.

Such was the substance of the famous excise-scheme, the proposing of which occasioned the most interesting debate that could happen in a British house of commons. It held till two o'clock the next morning, and was managed by the most able speakers on both sides of the question. Those who argued against the scheme, accused the minister of having misrepresented the frauds, and made false calculations with regard to the hardships under which the planters were laid to labour. They affirmed that the planters had never thought of complaining till they were put upon it, by letters and applications from London: that the scheme was so far from being calculated to relieve the planters, that the factors would be exposed to such grievous oppressions, as would render it impossible for them to continue the trade, whence the planters must be ruined; and that, after all, it would not prevent the frauds against which it was said to be provided: that from the examination of the commissioners of the customs, it appeared that those frauds did not exceed forty thousand pounds a year, and might, in a great measure, be abolished by a due execution of the laws in

being; consequently, the scheme was unnecessary; would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, destructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the subject, as it tended to promote a general excise, which was in all countries considered as a very grievous oppression. They suggested, that it would produce an additional swarm of officers and warehouse-keepers appointed and paid by the treasury, which could not fail of multiplying the dependents on the crown, and enable it still farther to check the freedom of elections: that the traders would become slaves to excisemen and warehouse-keepers, as they would be debarred all access to their own commodities, except at certain hours, when they were attended by these officers: that the merchant, for every pound of tobacco he should sell, would be obliged to make a journey, or send a messenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expence, and delay; and that if a law should be enacted in favour of this scheme, it would, in all probability, be, some time or other, used as a precedent for introducing excise laws into every branch of the revenue; and whenever this happened, the boasted liberties of England would be no more.

But notwithstanding these, and other powerful reasons, which were urged by the opposition, the question being put, upon a motion made by the minister, that the present duties on wine and tobacco should, from and after the twenty-fourth of June next, cease and determine, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of sixty-one. The other resolutions subsequent to this, for altering the customs to an inland duty upon these commodities, and for appropriating this inland duty to the same uses as the customs, were passed without a division.

On the sixteenth, the committee made their report, and a very long and warm debate ensued; but the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative; and a bill was ordered to be brought in, pursuant to these resolutions. It was accordingly presented to the house on the fourth of April, and read the first time; and, after a very powerful opposition, ordered to be read a second time. The whole trading part of the nation was now alarmed; and the lord-mayor having procured a copy of the bill, laid it before the common-council, where it was unanimously resolved to petition the house against it. The petition was immediately drawn up, and presented to the house by the sheriffs. As soon as it was read, Sir John Barnard rose, and, in a very expressive manner, represented how much the city and citizens of London, as well as all the other trading cities and towns in the kingdom, would be affected by the bill for altering the method of raising the duties payable upon tobacco; and how just reason they had to insist upon being heard by their council against it. He said, that he would not entertain a suspicion that the ministry wished not to hear every thing that could, with reason, be advanced against the bill; and therefore moved, that the petitioners might be heard by their council against it.

This motion, however reasonable it might appear, was strongly opposed. It was insisted upon, that it had always been the practice of that house never to receive any petition, much less to admit council to be heard against any bill for imposing taxes on the subject; because it would then be impossible ever to pass any such bill, as the number of petitions presented against it would, doubtless, be too great to examine during one session of parliament; that no inconvenience could arise in refusing to admit council to be heard against it; because every man, and every body of men, had their representatives in that house, who would certainly espouse their cause, should they think themselves aggrieved by any particular hardship.

To this it was answered, that the house had never pretended to any particular custom of refusing petitions, except against those bills which were called money-bills; that is, such as were brought in for



raising money for the service of the current year; and that even with regard to them, there were many precedents where the house had admitted the parties, whom they thought to be particularly interested, to be heard by their council against the passing such bills; that the admitting council, even in such cases, could never prevent their passing, because the house could order all persons petitioning to be heard at one time; and give such directions, that it could never take up many days to hear every thing that could be objected by every one of the petitioners: that tho' every part of the nation had their representatives in that house, yet it was very well known, that speaking in public was not the talent of every man; whence it might happen, that the particular persons, or part of the nation that would be most aggrieved, might not have any such members who could lay their case properly, clearly, and fully, before the house; and therefore it was proper, even with regard to money-bills, to admit parties to be heard by counsel against them, when it appeared that they were particularly interested in the transaction. But with regard to the case before them, there was not the least pretence for refusing the request of the petition, because the bill against which it was presented was no money-bill; on the contrary, it was insisted on by the advocates for it, as one of the greatest arguments in its favour, that there were no new duties to be imposed; it was a bill intended only to alter the method of collecting the taxes already imposed; and therefore it could never be pretended, that there was any practice or custom of the house to refuse parties interested to be heard against such a bill: that if there had been such a custom introduced, it ought not to be observed, especially when so considerable a body as the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, came with an humble petition to be heard against the bill, which they thought would not only be highly injurious to them in particular, but destructive to the trade and commerce of the whole nation. The motion was, however, rejected by a majority of seventeen only. The petition was therefore ordered to lie upon the table till the bill should be read a second time.

While the bill was depending before the commons, the minds of the people were wrought up to such a pitch of fury and resentment, as seemed to threaten nothing less than a rebellion. The house was surrounded with crowds of people; most of the principal merchants of London attended in the court of requests and lobby of the house of commons. This exasperated the minister, who, after declaring that he did not consider the clamours without doors to be the voice of the people, concluded his speech with the following incautious and inflammatory expressions: "Gentlemen may say what they please of the multitudes now at the door, and in the avenues leading to this house: they may call them a modest multitude, if they will; but whatever temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much altered now, after having waited so long at our door: it may be a very easy matter for some designing, seditious person, to raise a tumult and disorder among them; and when tumults are once begun, no man knows where they may end: he is a greater man than any I know in the nation; that could, with the same facility, appease them. For this reason, I must think, that it was neither prudent nor regular to use any methods for bringing such multitudes to this place, under any pretence whatever. Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit: it may be said they came hither as humble supplicants; but I know whom the law calls sturdy beggars; and those who brought them hither could not be certain but that they might have behaved in the same manner."

The house was immediately in a flame; and it was some time before the temper of the members was settled sufficiently to renew the debate. At last Sir John Barnard arose; and after making several observations on the beginning of the minister's speech,

said, "that any set of gentlemen or merchants might take what method they pleased to solicit their friends and persons of figure and character, to come down to the court of requests, and to our lobby, in order to petition their acquaintance against any scheme or project they think may be prejudicial to their interests. This is the undoubted right of the subject, and what has been always practised. The honourable gentleman talks of sturdy beggars: I do not know what sort of people may now be at our door, because I have not lately been out of the house; but I believe they are the same sort of people that were there when I came in; and then, I can assure you, that I saw none but such as deserved the name of sturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. It is well known, that the city of London was sufficiently apprized of what was this day to come under our deliberation. Where they procured their information, I know not; but I am very certain they had a right notion of this scheme; and were so generally and zealously bent against it, that whatever methods may have been used to call them hither, I am sure it would have been impossible to have found any legal method to have prevented their coming."

But though the minister carried his point with regard both to the London petition, and to the bill's being read a second time, yet he thought it highly prudent not to push his scheme any farther. He could not hope that the majority ever would be greater, and a question of such importance to the public tranquillity, carried by a majority of only seventeen, was worse than lost. He therefore wisely determined to let it drop; and accordingly, when the day came for its being read a second time, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that it might be put off till the twelfth of June next.

Thus ended the famous excise scheme, a project which the populace were persuaded threatened the entire destruction of their liberties; but which, now the rage of party has subsided, and the whole has been considered by the calm methods of unbiassed reason, has lost great part of its horror, and even considered in a very favourable light.

On the eleventh of June, his majesty came to the house of peers, and put an end to the session with a speech from the throne, in which he severely reflected on the authors of the heats and animosities that had been lately spread through the nation. "I cannot," said he, "pass by, unobserved, the wicked endeavours that have been lately made use of to inflame the minds of the people, and, by the most unjust misrepresentations, to raise tumults and disorders that almost threatened the peace of the kingdom; but I depend upon the force of truth to remove the groundless jealousies that have been raised of designs carrying on against the liberties of my people; and, upon your own fidelity, to defeat and frustrate the expectations of such as delight in confusion. It is my inclination, and has always been my study, to preserve the religious and civil rights of all my subjects. Let it be your care to undeceive the deluded, and to make them sensible of their present happiness, and the hazard they run of being unwarily drawn, by specious pretences, into their own destruction."

The affairs on the continent, relative to the tranquillity of England, may be comprized in a very little compass. The death of Augustus II. king of Poland, which happened on the fifth of February, occasioned a dreadful scene of war in Europe. Stanislaus, father-in-law to the French king, and the elector of Saxony, son to the deceased king, were candidates for the Polish sceptre. The former was supported by France, and the latter by the emperor, the czarina, and the king of Prussia. England could not declare herself without the concurrence of the united provinces; and that cautious republic shewed a visible reluctance to launch into an expensive and ruinous war, merely for the sake of supporting the emperor's quarrel. In vain did the emperor's ministers



nisters solicit, with the greatest earnestness, both at the court of London and at the Hague, to take the most speedy and vigorous measures to prevent their ally from being crushed by the power of his enemies; and the balance of power in Europe thereby utterly destroyed.

A. D. 1734. Such was the state of affairs when the parliament met on the seventeenth of January; and the session was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty, among other particulars, told the two houses, "That though he was no way concerned in the war which had broke out in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not remain an idle spectator of the present events, or be indifferent about the consequences of a war undertaken and supported by such a powerful confederacy: that he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both sides, and to wait the result of the councils of those powers which were more immediately interested in the consequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, especially with the states-general of the united provinces, such measures as should be thought most advisable for the common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe: that he would order the estimates to be laid before them, of such services as demanded their present and immediate care: that the augmentation that would be proposed for the sea-service, would be very considerable; but he was confident they would think it reasonable and necessary; that he most particularly recommended to their care the debt of the navy, which had been every year laid before them; but, from the present circumstances of the times, he believed they would be persuaded that he now required some provision to be made for it; a thing that could not well be longer postponed, without manifest detriment to the public service: that, as these extraordinary charges and expences were unavoidable, he made no doubt but they would effectually raise the supplies necessary for defraying them, with that readiness and dispatch, and with that just regard to the true interest of his people, which this parliament had hitherto shewn upon all occasions: that he hoped they would proceed in all their deliberations with such temper and unanimity, and such expedition in the public business, as might give him the sooner opportunity of consulting a new parliament: that he flattered himself his present resolutions would meet with their hearty concurrence and approbation; and whatever insinuations might be thrown out against the conduct of the government, he was confident a little time would effectually remove all groundless jealousies, and make it appear, that Great-Britain ought always to act that part which the honour and interest of the nation called upon it to undertake."

This speech caused a violent debate in the house of commons, though it must be owned, without any necessity, there was nothing in the speech exceptionable. The ministerial party, however, prevailed, and an address of thanks was voted to his majesty. Several other topics that came before the house, occasioned very warm debates, in which the speeches generally abounded with personal satire, and often with very indecent reflections. But the subject that gave occasion to the most violent debates between the two parties, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley for repealing the act for septennial parliaments.

In support of this motion, he alledged, that the reasons for prolonging the sitting of parliament from three to seven years, were now at an end: that the people in general looked upon septennial parliaments as a grievance and innovation in the constitution: that he begged leave to remind the house of the act made in the sixteenth of Charles II. which wisely provided against the too long continuance of one and the same parliament, by ordaining that a new parliament should be called once in three years, and oftener, if need required: that this act was expressly

confirmed by the bill of rights: that from the time of the revolution to the first year of the late king, no parliament had sat above three years; and some only one session: that he thought triennial parliaments were more grievous than annual ones; and consequently septennial parliaments must be doubly more grievous than those which lasted only three years: that supposing he should be mistaken in this point, which, nevertheless, he could never admit without due conviction; the argument in the preamble to the septennial bill was altogether inapplicable to the present times: that the act against bribery and corruption would necessarily remedy that evil, as it would prevent corruption in the elections; but nothing but the frequent returns of new parliaments could prevent it in the elected. In order, therefore, to effect this desirable purpose, he moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill for repealing the septennial; and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments.

Sir John Aubin, knight of the shire for Cornwall, seconded Mr. Bromley. In his speech upon this occasion, he gave a kind of detail of the duration of parliaments from the time of Henry VIII. shewed how triennial parliaments came to be secured at the revolution, and how they came to be lost again to the nation when the septennial act took place. He was next at some pains to prove, that septennial parliaments are most proper for the purposes of a wicked ministry; but that the more frequent parliaments are, they are the more salutary both for the king and people; and, at the same time, throughout his whole speech, he complained greatly of the increasing influence of the crown. He was answered by Mr. Conduit, a relation of the great Sir Isaac Newton. He endeavoured to shew, from Prynne's writings, that the prerogatives of the kings of England, and the liberties of the people, are very different from what they were in former days. He took notice, that the heavy complaints against Charles I. and his son James II. did not arise from continuing the same parliament too long, but for not calling, or not holding any parliament at all. He thought that ministers could more easily manage a triennial than a septennial parliament; and confirmed his observations by saying, that in septennial parliaments it has been seen, that a small minority against the minister at the beginning of the parliament, has often increased greatly, and even nearly to an equality before the end. He thought that the disposal of posts and places rather weakened than strengthened the crown; because every place having three or four candidates for it, when one only can succeed, the disappointed candidates immediately become enemies to the court. He maintained, that the reasons for passing the septennial act still existed; that one of the reasons was a spirit of jacobitism prevailing when the septennial act passed; and he thought that the great discontent that had lately appeared in the nation, had a considerable mixture of jacobitism in their composition.

The next who spoke was Sir Thomas Robinson, who maintained, that the expence of chusing triennial parliaments must fall far heavier upon the public than that of chusing septennial ones. He observed, that during the twenty-two years, while triennial parliaments continued, they were found to be attended with great inconveniencies; whereas, during the eighteen years in which septennial parliaments had continued, many excellent laws had passed, and many wise institutions had been formed for the good of the people. He took notice, that when gentlemen speak of the whole constitution of England, they speak in very vague terms; because the constitution of England was never fixed till the time of the revolution. He next examined the state of parliaments under the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. and maintained, that in the longest parliament that ever sat in England, which happened under the latter, the longer they sat, they were more



and more averse to the measures of the crown, notwithstanding all the power of corruption employed to seduce them; and therefore, by parity of reasoning, septennial parliaments are more favourable to public liberty than triennial ones. In short, he thought, that a desire to revert back to the practice of remote antiquity in that respect, might be compared to a man in his full growth and strength, desiring to return back to his childhood. He observed, that, if antiquity was to be the only rule, a session of parliament ought seldom or never to continue above twenty days; for parliaments, in former times, had not business sufficient to keep them any longer sitting: but, in fact, the whole form of the constitution has been since altered, by the alterations that have, from time to time, happened in the modes of property and the multiplication of business, through the increase of agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce. He affirmed, that should the motion be agreed to, it must have a very bad effect upon all foreign negotiations, because foreign ministers, in their negotiations with Great-Britain, and also with other courts, are chiefly determined by the sentiments of a British parliament: but should they have those to consult anew every three years, they would not be able to know how to determine with regard to many great and important points.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, who had acquired great experience in elections for members of parliament, spoke strongly for the question. He insisted upon it, that a man who could get a hundred guineas for his vote for a septennial parliament, would not get fifteen for a triennial one; and that bribery and corruption are the natural consequences of long parliaments. He was answered by Sir John Willes, attorney-general. He observed, that if any time was to be fixed upon for imitating the old constitution with regard to parliaments, "we are not surely," said he, "to take the time when our constitution was weak, and in its infancy; we certainly should chuse that time, when it had reached its full strength and vigour, which, in my opinion, is the present. But as gentlemen have mentioned the bill of rights, let us examine how it stood at that time; for I am persuaded it will be agreed to by every gentleman in this house, that after that claim was settled and confirmed, our constitution has been more vigorous than it ever was before that time; and yet, even in this claim of rights, there is no mention made of frequent new parliaments: it is, indeed, said, that, for the redress of grievances, and for amending, strengthening and preserving the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently; but it is not so much as insinuated, that every one of these ought to be a new parliament; and as to the frequency of parliaments, I am sure there never was less reason for complaints than since the septennial bill passed; for, ever since that time, the sessions have been regularly held, and all of them been allowed to sit as long as it was necessary or proper they should. He then observed, that the triennial act itself was not obtained upon principles of liberty, but in order to distress king William, and the friends to the revolution. He was of opinion, that the transition of the constitution from triennial to septennial parliaments, was, in itself, a right measure, and agreeable to the true principles of English government, independent of any temporary consideration. He maintained, that it was owing to the inconveniencies of triennial parliaments, that king William was obliged to make so bad a peace with France, when he might have carried on the war in so advantageous a manner for the liberties of Europe.

In answer to the objection, that the elected, during a long parliament, are apt to forget their dependence upon their constituents, which could not be the case if parliaments were annual, he made the following observations: "That we have all a dependence upon the people for our election, is what I readily grant; but after we are chosen, and have taken our seats in

this house, we have no longer any dependence on our electors; at least so far as regards our behaviour here. Their whole power is then devolved upon us; and we are, in every question that comes before this house, to regard only the public good in general, and to determine according to our own judgments; if we do not, if we depend upon our constituents, and follow blindly the instructions they send us, we cannot be said to act freely, nor can such parliaments be called free parliaments; such a dependence would be a most dangerous dependence; it would, in my opinion, be more dangerous, and of worse consequence, than a dependence upon the crown; for in a dependence upon the crown I can see no danger, as long as the interest of the crown is made the same with that of the people, which every man must allow to be the case at present: whereas the people of any county, city, or borough, are very liable to be misled, and may often be induced to give instructions directly contrary to the true interest of their country."

Sir John Barnard attacked this doctrine with all his power. "A learned and honourable gentleman" said he, "has advanced a doctrine which I think altogether new; that we are to have no farther dependence on our electors, after we have taken our seats in this house; nay, that a dependence on them would be more dangerous than a dependence on the crown. This, Sir, is really, in my opinion, something very new. Though that gentleman may, perhaps, like the one better than the other, yet I shall always look upon a dependence on the people of England, or even on those I represent, to be less dangerous; and more honourable, than a dependence on the crown; and I value myself more on the honour I have received in sitting here for two parliaments, as one of the representatives of the people of England, and by the free and uncorrupted choice of those I represent, than I should on the greatest honours the crown can bestow. If, indeed, I had obtained my seat here by bribery, or the illegal and corrupt influence of any corrupt minister, I should look upon it in a very different light; I should look upon it as one of the most disgraceful situations I could be in."

Sir William Yonge replied to these remarks of Sir John Barnard. "My learned friend" said he, "happened to make an observation, which I still think a very just one. He said, that after we were returned, and had taken our seats in this house, we ought not any longer to have a dependence on those we represent. This the honourable gentleman laid hold of. He not only called it a new and very extraordinary doctrine, but dropt an expression, such as I think ought not to be made use of in this house. As to the observation made by my learned friend, he certainly meant, and I believe almost every gentleman understood him, that after we had taken our seats in this house, we ought every one of us to look upon ourselves as one of the representatives of the whole body of the commons of England, and ought not to have any particular bias for the county, city, or borough, we represent. This, Sir, is so far from being a doctrine very extraordinary, or altogether new, that I wish every gentleman in this house would make it a standing rule for his conduct; for I cannot help observing, that there are some in this assembly, who, on many occasions, confine their thoughts too much to the particular county, city, or borough they represent; but surely they must be sensible, that many things may happen in parliament which may be for the interest of the nation in general, though they may not, perhaps, quadrate so exactly with the particular interest of London, Bristol, Liverpool, or other particular places; and, in such a case, the gentleman himself must surely grant, that, as members of this house, they ought to drop not only their dependence upon, but even their concern for the particular city they represent, in order to concur with the rest of the members of this house, in what they judge to be for the general interest of the nation."



Several other speeches were made on this interesting motion; but when the question was put, it was carried in the negative by a majority of two hundred and forty-seven against one hundred and eighty-four.

On the fourteenth of March, the nuptial ceremony between the prince of Orange and the princess-royal of England was performed with great pomp; and some days were spent in the warmest congratulations from both houses of parliament, the city of London, and other public bodies, upon the marriage.

The business before the parliament being completed, the king came to the house of peers on the sixteenth of April, and put an end to the session with a speech from the throne, in which he "congratulated the two houses on their unanimity, and upon the measures that had been taken for reducing the navy debt, which, he said, had been unavoidably incurred, and bore a higher interest than the national debt." He then proceeded, in a most pathetic manner, to recommend unanimity to his people, and requested the members to use their best endeavours to heal the unhappy divisions of the kingdom. "It would" added he, "be the greatest satisfaction to me, to see a perfect harmony restored among them that have one and the same principle at heart; that there might be no distinction but of such as mean the support of our present constitution in church and state, and such as wish to subvert both." This is the only distinction that ought to prevail in this country, where the interest of king and people is one and the same, and where they cannot subsist but by being so. If religion, liberty, and property, were never at any time more fully enjoyed, without not only an attempt, but even the shadow of a design, to alter or invade them, let not these sacred names be made use of as artful and plausible pretences to undermine the present establishment, under which alone they can be safe.

"I have nothing to wish, but that my people may not be misguided: I appeal to their own consciences for my conduct, and hope the providence of God will direct them in the choice of such representatives as are most fit to be trusted with the care and preservation of the protestant religion, the present establishment, and all the religious and civil rights of Great-Britain."

Soon after the rising of the parliament, it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for calling a new one. The whole nation was immediately thrown into a ferment, and every means made use of to influence the electors in their choice of representatives. The power of the ministry, however, prevailed; and the elections, in most parts of the kingdom, were carried in favour of the court.

During these transactions in England, Stanislaus had been elected to fill the throne of Poland; but the opposition against him was too powerful for him to withstand. He retired to Dantzick, where the inhabitants promised to defend him at all events. He had no sooner left the capital, than the other party proceeded to a new election, and Augustus was now placed on the Polish throne. The Russian army then advanced against Dantzick, and laid great part of the city in ashes. Stanislaus, who felt more for the misery of his friends than for his own, determined not to persevere in a defence which must be attended with the destruction of the whole city. He accordingly made his escape from Dantzick in a very wonderful manner, and the city immediately opened her gates to the Russian army, and peace was restored, on the inhabitants acknowledging the right of king Augustus to the crown of Poland.

The war in Italy was carried on with great success against the emperor. Two very bloody battles were fought at Parma and Guastalla with doubtful success. Don Carlos took possession of Naples and Sicily, and was placed upon the Neapolitan throne. Nor was any thing omitted by the English ministry for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, as the conduct of some of the allies was very doubtful.

The court of Spain suffered the eldest son of the pretender to serve in the army of Don Carlos, by whom he was treated with distinguished marks of respect. That prince even made no scruple of declaring publicly, that whenever the situation of his affairs would permit, he would support the interest of the abdicated family with all his power.

A. D. 1735. The new parliament met at Westminster on the twenty-third of January, and was opened with a speech from the throne, in which his majesty informed the two houses, That having undertaken, in concert with the states-general, to mediate between the belligerent powers, he had met with so much success, that a plan would speedily be offered to the consideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a basis for a negotiation for a general peace. He also acquainted them, that he had concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark; a matter, he conceived, of great importance in the present conjuncture; and which, being attended with some expence, he would order it to be submitted to the consideration of the commons. At the same time, he put them in mind, that while a war was raging in Europe, it would be proper, at all events, though it might be attended with some expence, for Great-Britain to keep her forces on a respectable footing.

In the course of this session, the mutiny-bill received a very material alteration. In all the preceding acts, the justice of peace had it in his power to commit a poor fellow to prison, if, after receiving the inlisting money, he refused to take the oaths, even though he offered to return the money: but a clause was now inserted, importing, that every officer who should hereafter inlist any man to serve in any regiment, should, within a certain number of days, carry the person inlisted before one of the next justices of the peace, where the man should be at liberty to declare his dissent to such an act, and his having repented of what he had done; and upon his doing this, and returning the officer the inlisting money, and paying the expences incurred in the progress of the affair, such justice should forthwith discharge him; and that an officer guilty of any failure or neglect in this particular, should be liable to the same penalties as are inflicted on those who should be guilty of false musters.

But an affair of a much more serious nature was now before the commons. The magistrates of the royal burgh of Haddington had been seized and confined in a distant prison, without the benefit of being admitted to bail, by a warrant from one of the Scottish judges. Another judge, however, had ventured to take bail, and set them at liberty. The injured party presented a petition to the house of commons; and the case appeared so flagrant, that a motion was made to refer it to the consideration of a committee of the whole house. This was, however, opposed by the minister and his friends, from what motive is hard to say; and the motion was rejected.

Another incident that had happened in Scotland, greatly engaged the attention of parliament. This was a petition to the house of lords, subscribed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queensbury, and Montrose, by the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair; representing, that undue influence had been used in carrying on the election of the sixteen peers of Scotland.

A day was appointed for taking this petition into consideration; but the house seemed divided with regard to the manner in which they ought to proceed in this delicate and interesting affair. The duke of Newcastle observed, that it was doubtful whether the house had even the power of receiving such a petition, there being nothing in the articles of union that gave a British house of lords a right to interfere in the election of the Scottish peers; nor indeed had they otherwise any such right, unless some particular charge was stated, and offered to be proved. On the other hand, the party that supported the petition urged, that it was general; that the facts contained



in it were of a very dangerous complexion, and such as ought to be punished if they were proved. But as the real design of the petition seemed to be uncertain, it was agreed that the consideration should be adjourned for a little time, during which the petitioners should be ordered to declare, "Whether they intended to controvert the election of the sixteen peers, or the election of any, and which of them?"

This order being communicated by the lord chancellor to the petitioners, they, in a few days, delivered in a declaration, importing, "that they did not intend to oppose either the election, or return of the sixteen Scottish peers; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordships the evidence of such facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the constitution, and might, in future elections, equally affect the right of the present sixteen peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not timely prevented by a proper remedy."

When this declaration was read in the house, it was objected to by the court party, as unsatisfactory. The duke of Devonshire therefore made a motion, "That the petitioners should be ordered to lay before the house, in writing, instances of those undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and also the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty." This motion was warmly opposed by the earls of Chesterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, and the lords Bathurst and Carteret. Lord Chesterfield concluded his speech on this occasion with the following remarkable expressions, "Supposing, my lords, we should get information that several barrels of gunpowder had been placed under this house, in order to blow us up; would it not be very foolish to delay going to search for and remove the gunpowder, till we should be informed by what means, at what time, and by whom the powder was placed there? The case before us is the very same: there is a sort of metaphorical gunpowder placed under this house, which will, in time, blow us up, if it be not removed; and, in such a case, are we to trifle away our time in inquiries after the names of the persons who placed it there, and the methods by which it was conveyed?" However beautiful and expressive this comparison might be, it produced not the desired effect; like the reasonings of the other lords, it was overcome by the majority, who voted the declaration unsatisfactory; and the petitioners were ordered, in eight days, to lay their complaints before the house in writing.

Accordingly the petitioning noblemen presented a remonstrance to the lords on the day appointed, in which they observed, "That as they had no intention to become accusers, they could not take upon them to name particular persons, who might have been concerned in those illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordships, upon their taking the proper examination: that, nevertheless, they begged leave to acquaint their lordships, that the petition was laid before them upon information that the list of the sixteen peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the election, by persons in high trust under the crown: that this list was shewn to the peers, as a list approved by the crown, and was called the king's list, from which there was to be no variation, unless to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition of their conforming to certain measures: that peers were solicited to vote for this list, without the liberty of making any alteration: that endeavours were used to engage their suffrages for this list by the promise of pensions and offices, civil and military, to themselves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that sums of money were actually given for this purpose: that pensions, offices, and releases of debts owing to the crown, were granted to peers who concurred in voting for this list, and to their relations: that on the day of election, a battalion of his majesty's troops was drawn up in the Abbey-court, contrary to custom, and without any other apparent

cause than that of over-awing the electors: that these instances of undue practices would, they hoped, be abundantly sufficient to satisfy their lordships, that they had just cause to pray the house to take this matter into their serious consideration; and to provide such remedy as might be effectual for preserving the right and freedom of elections; such right of electing being the only right that now remained with the peers of Scotland, in lieu of a constant and hereditary seat in parliament."

The reading of this remonstrance gave rise to another warm debate. The holding under arms a battalion of soldiers was represented as a most scandalous, arbitrary, and flagrant infringement of the rights and liberties of the subject, and of that independency that should ever be preserved in all elections. The fact was acknowledged by the opposite party; but it was alledged that such a step was at once both legal and prudent: that the soldiers were drawn out by the authority of the civil magistrate, in order to prevent riots and tumults among the populace, who had been inflamed by the opposite party to a pitch of resentment that threatened the most fatal consequences, if not timely suppressed. These reasons prevailed with the majority, the petition was voted unsatisfactory, and the whole affair laid aside.

The supplies being granted, and the other business of the session completed, the session was closed on the fifteenth of May by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty was pleased to acknowledge, that the plan of pacification he had formed with the states-general had not yet proved effectual; but added, that he was still determined to persist in the same pacific measures, and to use his utmost endeavours to compose the troubles of Europe. He thanked the parliament for the power they had given him to augment his forces by sea and land; acquainted them with his intention to visit his German dominions, and that he should constitute the queen regent during his absence.

The affairs of Europe were, at this juncture, in a delicate and critical situation. The emperor complained loudly of the pacific and pusillanimous measures of the English court, which, from the treaties still subsisting between Great-Britain and the empire, he expected would have espoused his cause. In the mean time, the belligerent powers grew heartily tired of the war, though neither cared to acknowledge their real sentiments. At last an armistice took place between the emperor and France; which gave occasion to some preliminary articles, by which the latter offered to restore to the empire all the places she had taken during the war. It was also stipulated, that the emperor should possess the Mantuan, Parma, Placentia, and the Milanese. Don Carlos was to be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily; the duchy of Tuscany was assigned to the duke of Lorraine; who afterwards married Maria-Theresa, eldest daughter to the emperor: the duchy of Lorraine was annexed to the crown of France, and the duchy of Bar given to Stanislaus, king of Poland, who renounced that crown, but was to enjoy the title. By this plan of pacification, Leghorn was to be declared a free port; France was to guaranty the pragmatic sanction; and England, Holland, Portugal and Vienna, were to be solicited to guaranty the present treaty, to which the kings of Spain and Sardinia were to be invited to accede.

A.D. 1736. The parliament met on the fifteenth of January, when it appeared, by his majesty's speech, that the plan of pacification between the French and imperial courts was nearly the same with that which had been concerted between him and the states-general, though communicated as a new plan formed by the principal contracting powers. He told both houses of parliament, "That he had agreed to the plan which had been communicated to the kings of Spain and Sardinia; and there were hopes of their agreeing to it, upon their obtaining reasonable security



security for their possessing the countries stipulated to them." His majesty added, "That he had already given orders for a reduction of his forces both by sea and land; but hoped they would agree to some extraordinary expence, till the peace of Europe was more fully settled;" and concluded with pathetically exhorting them, in imitation of the great powers of Europe, to peace and unanimity.

The supplies were voted without any remarkable debate; but a subject of the greatest importance to the safety of the nation soon after engaged the attention of parliament. The drinking of geneva, and other distilled spirituous liquors, had, for some years past, encreased to a surprizing degree, especially among the lower class of people, of whom thousands had already perished by this abominable practice, and a much greater number were rendered wholly unfit for labour or service. At the same time their morals had been so greatly debauched, that a general dissoluteness had taken place among them. These pernicious liquors, of which gin was principally drank, were not only sold by distillers, but retailed in the smallest quantities in every petty chandler's shop and coal-shed, in the metropolis; by which means, journeymen, apprentices, and servants, were drawn in to intoxicate themselves with this bewitching fluid. In short, there was the greatest reason to apprehend, that the public welfare and safety, as well as the trade of the nation, would be greatly affected by this practice, which was so dangerous to the health, strength, peace and morals; and even threatened the total extinction of the lower class of people. Induced by these melancholy considerations, the magistrates of Middlesex presented a petition to the house of commons, in which they enumerated these evils, and prayed the house to take the matter into their serious consideration, and apply such remedy as they should think proper.

After a thorough examination of this affair, a motion was made for levying a duty of two shillings per gallon upon all spiritous liquors, and that fifty shillings should be paid to his majesty for a licence, to be taken out yearly by every person who should sell any of whatever kind.

This occasioned a very warm debate. It was said, that these duties amounted to a prohibition; and as this extended to rum, there was great reason to fear that it would prove of fatal consequence to the British sugar islands, which were already in a declining condition: that many thousands depended for their livelihood on the British distillery; and that it was highly absurd to argue against the use of a thing from the abuse of it.

To this it was answered, that nothing but the extreme danger of the nation, from the excessive use of spirituous liquors, could have induced them to make such a motion: that they were fully sensible of the difficulties to which great numbers of his majesty's subjects would be reduced by the duties proposed to be laid on such liquors; but that the interest of individuals ought to give way to the general interest; and where the preservation of the community was visibly and so essentially concerned, the hardships of some few individuals must be overlooked: that with respect to rum and brandy, it was very certain those liquors had often been drank to very great excess, notwithstanding the high duties laid upon them, and were as pernicious both to the health and morals of the people as any home made spirit: that if any sorts of spirits were exempted from the duties now proposed, the retailer would sell the most pernicious stuff under that denomination; and the distiller would compound them in such a manner, that it would be impossible to detect the imposition. These reasons were thought sufficient by the majority, and a bill was ordered in for imposing the above duties.

While this bill was depending several petitions were presented to the house by the planters in the sugar colonies, and the merchants of Bristol and

Liverpool, representing the hardships to which they should be exposed, by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and spirits distilled from molasses. These applications occasioned a mitigating clause in favour of a composition known by the name of punch; and the distillers were permitted to exercise any other employment.

On the twenty-seventh of April his royal highness Frederic, prince of Wales, was married to the princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha. This event filled the nation with joy. The two houses of parliament, the city of London, and almost every county-town and borough in England, expressed their satisfaction in addresses to their majesties; and the prince and princess of Wales.

Among the acts passed this session was one for restraining lands from being disposed of in Mortmain; whereby they became unalienable. This bill took its rise from several incidents that had lately happened, by which heirs at law had suffered considerably by injudicious disposals of their lands to charitable and other uses: it was therefore thought proper to put a stop to so growing an evil. This bill alarmed the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and they, as well as the colleges of Eaton, Winchester and Westminster, presented petitions against it. The petition from the university of Cambridge was very particular, setting forth, "That the university and the colleges in it, were founded and endowed for the maintaining fit persons, in the study of useful knowledge, and to bring up youth in learning, virtue and religion; that in general the intention of the founders had been answered. But the petitioners apprehended, that if the bill now depending passed without amendment, it would be attended both in the present and in futurity, with very prejudicial consequences, because it would cut them off from donations to supply present and future deficiencies, or for any other wise or great purposes, how useful or necessary soever they might be thought; and that a considerable part of their revenue arose from annuities and other certain payments, issuing out of lands and other estates, and that many of those payments having been fixed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and still continuing invariably the same, were then by the great fall of money since that time, sunk so far below their original value, as to be insufficient to answer the purposes to which they were designed; and that several headships were under one hundred and twenty pounds, some under a hundred a year, and that the salary of some professors were under fifty pounds a year; and others, as those of botany, anatomy, and chemistry had no endowment at all; and that the income of much the greater part of their fellowships was under sixty pounds, of many under forty pounds, of some so low as thirty, twenty, and fifteen pounds a year; and that many of their scholarships and exhibitions were even under those small sums, and that many poor students had neither scholarship, nor exhibition to help towards their maintenance; and that the number of advowsons in most colleges was very small in proportion to the number of fellows; and therefore praying the house to except that university and the several colleges therein out of the said bill."

The request of all these seats of learning was complied with; but the petitions of the hospitals, and other charitable societies were rejected. Several other amendments were also made to the bill both in the lower and upper house; after which it passed, and received the royal assent.

In this session of parliament the bill for building a bridge cross the river Thames from New Palace-yard to the opposite shore in the county of Surry, was passed into a law. And the structure is now one of the noblest pieces of architecture in any part of the world.

On the twentieth of May his majesty put an end to the session of parliament by a speech, in which he acquainted both houses, "That since the preliminary articles



articles had been concluded between his most christian majesty and the emperor, a farther convention concerning the execution of them had been made and communicated to him by both those courts, and that negotiations were carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle the general pacification." His majesty then expressed his concern with relation to the seeds of dissention that had been sown among his people; exhorted his parliament to cultivate unanimity, and promised impartial protection to all his subjects. He then acquainted them; "that being obliged that summer to visit his German dominions, he hoped they would make the administration of the queen, whom he had resolved to appoint regent in his absence, as easy to her, as her wife conduct would render her government agreeable to them."

A tumult was expected to be the consequence of the gin act's taking place, especially as the common people had lately sufficiently shewn their disposition for riot and disorder. The guards were, therefore, doubled at Kensington, St. James's and Whitehall; a detachment of the life-guards and horse grenadiers patrolled Covent-garden, and places adjacent; but contrary to expectation, every thing remained very quiet, and the act took place without the least disorder.

About the middle of April an incident happened in Scotland, which was attended with very serious consequences. One Wilson, a bold, resolute fellow, had been tried and condemned to be hanged at Edinburgh, for robbing one of the officers of the revenue; and for having afterwards been guilty of one of the most daring actions ever attempted, that of rescuing out of the hands of justice his brother-convict in the time of divine service, when surrounded by his guards. So desperate an offender filled the city of Edinburgh with terror, and the magistrates redoubled their usual precautions for causing the sentence pronounced against this desperate criminal to be executed. This had the desired effect, and Wilson suffered without any disturbance being raised by his friends; but while the executioner was cutting him down from the gallows, he was pelted with dirt and stones by the rabble. Some of the stones, happening to strike Porteous, who commanded the city guards, he gave way to his brutal passion, and ordered his soldiers to fire among the populace. They readily obeyed, and several persons were killed, and others wounded. As this was done without any order from the magistrates, Porteous was tried for murder, convicted on full evidence, and sentenced to be hanged on the eighth of September. The jury, however, by whom he was tried, found in their verdict, "that he and his guards had been attacked and pelted with stones of a considerable size, thrown by the multitude, whereby several of the soldiers were bruised and wounded."

This paliating circumstance, together with the daring insolence of the smugglers, of whom Wilson was the chief, and who were then very numerous at Edinburgh, induced the queen, who was then regent, to indulge Porteous with a respite for six weeks, that a more particular enquiry might be made into the whole transaction. This respite occasioned a very tragical catastrophe. The common people repented in the most outrageous manner, this lenity shewn to a person who was the object of their detestation: they considered it as an attempt to sanctify oppression. The relations and friends of those who had been killed, took every method in their power to increase this hatred in the populace, and a resolution was formed to execute the criminal, and on the very day fixed by the judges for that purpose. Accordingly, about ten o'clock at night, on the seventh of September, a party of men from the adjacent country, entered Edinburgh, surprized the city guard, seized all their fire arms, locked up the gates, and gave the alarm that they were come to revenge innocent blood. They were immediately joined by several thousands

the populace, and repaired directly to the prison where Porteous was confined. After several fruitless attempts to force open the door, they set it on fire, dragged the criminal from his apartment, and hanged him upon a dyer's pole near the grafs-market. From the boldness, secrecy and success of this daring enterprise, it was universally believed, that some persons, much above the rank of the vulgar, were concerned in it; especially as they left the arms and drums of the city guard on the spot where they found them, as soon as the execution was over, and departed quietly without offering the least violence to any other person.

The queen highly repented this insult offered to the government; and on enquiring it appeared, that the magistrates of Edinburgh had received intimation the day before of what was to happen, but had neglected to take the necessary precautions to render the attempt abortive. Her majesty complained of this want of respect to her government, and a resolution was taken to make a strict enquiry into the whole proceeding, and to punish the guilty with the utmost severity.

A.D. 1737. The parliament met at Westminster on the first of February, and the session was opened by commission from his majesty. The lord-chancellor acquainted both houses, that a farther convention with regard to the execution of the preliminary articles had been communicated to his majesty by the French and Imperial courts, and that negotiations were then carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle a general pacification. He added, "That the respective acts of cession being exchanged, and orders issued for the evacuation and possession of the several countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-establishing the general tranquillity was greatly advanced. But that his majesty was of opinion, that great attention ought to be paid to the final conclusion of the new settlement which was to dispose of such considerable parts of Europe. That though there was the most promising appearance of a general and lasting tranquillity, yet common prudence called upon the British nation to avoid an indolent security and too great a disregard to future events. In short, that the might be provided against all attempts that might be made against her peace by her enemies." He next acquainted the commons, "That his majesty had, as soon as circumstances would admit, made such a reduction of the expences, as was consistent with the peace and safety of his kingdoms, the security of commerce, and the honour and interest of the nation." In the remainder of the speech, the late disturbance at Edinburgh was mentioned in the following manner, "His majesty cannot but observe, that it must be matter of the utmost surprize and concern to every true lover of his country, to see the many contrivances and attempts carried on in various shapes, and in various parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. The disturbers of the public repose, conscious that the interest of his majesty and his people are the same, and of the good harmony which subsists between him and his parliament, have levelled their sedition against both, and, in their late outrages, have either directly opposed, or, at least, attempted to render ineffectual, some acts of the whole legislature. His majesty, in his great wisdom, thinks it affords a melancholy prospect to consider to what height those audacious proceedings may rise."

This speech was answered by very loyal addresses from both houses of parliament. The lords, as forming the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom, took particular notice of that part of his majesty's speech, relating to tumults and riots. Lord Carteret observed, that notwithstanding the power with which the civil magistrate was invested, the military force had been employed in supporting the late disturbances,



disturbances, none of which, he said, had proceeded from any disaffection to the government, but from very different causes. He represented the murder which had been committed by the populace of Edinburgh, as a crime of the most atrocious nature; adding, that the conspiracy by which it had been effected was the more alarming, as it had not been attended with any of those disorders so common to the tumults of a headstrong and riotous populace; which afforded the greatest reason to believe, that it had been framed and conducted by persons of rank and consequence. His lordship was therefore of opinion, that the house ought to make the most diligent inquiry into this affair, in order to discover the delinquents, and bring them to condign punishment; and even to punish the city of Edinburgh, if it should appear that the inhabitants and magistrates had not exerted their utmost endeavours to suppress the insurrection. He then moved, "That the provost and bailies of Edinburgh, in the year 1736; the person commanding the city guard at the time of the riot, in which captain Porteous was murdered; and the commander in chief of his majesty's forces in Scotland at the time of the said riot, should all of them be ordered to attend the house on a day appointed; and that an humble address should be presented to his majesty, desiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of captain Porteous might be submitted to their inspection."

This motion was agreed to; and the gentlemen being arrived from Scotland, the house entered, with great alacrity, into the enquiry. The persons were all separately examined, but their evidence was confused and unsatisfactory. The house was, however, satisfied from the whole, that the magistrates of Edinburgh had not done their duty in suppressing the riot, though they had no legal evidence to convict them. A bill was therefore brought in for disabling Alexander Wilson, the provost of Edinburgh, from taking, holding, and enjoying any office or place of magistracy in that city, or elsewhere in Great-Britain; and for imposing a fine of two thousand pounds upon the corporation of Edinburgh, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. This bill occasioned very violent debates in both houses, and was at last passed by a majority of twenty-seven only.

On the twenty-second of February, Mr. Pulteney moved the house of commons, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to express the just sense of this house of his majesty's great goodness and tender regard for the lasting welfare and happiness of his royal highness the prince of Wales; and as this house cannot omit any opportunity of shewing their zeal and regard for his majesty's honour, and the prosperity of his family, humbly to beseech his majesty, that, in consideration of the high rank and dignity of their royal highnesses, the prince and princess of Wales, and their many eminent virtues and merits, he would be graciously pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds a year on the prince of Wales, out of the revenues cheerfully granted to his majesty, for the expences of his civil government, and better supporting the dignity of the crown, and for enabling his majesty to make an honourable provision for his royal family, in the same manner his majesty enjoyed it before his happy accession to the throne: and also humbly to beseech his majesty to settle the like jointure upon her royal highness the princess of Wales, as her majesty had when she was princess of Wales; and to assure his majesty, that this house will enable him effectually to perform the same, as nothing will more conduce to the strengthening of his majesty's government, than honourably supporting the dignity of his majesty's government, than honourably supporting the dignity of their royal highnesses, from whom we hope to see a numerous issue, to deliver down the blessings of their reign to the latest posterity."

Sir John Barnard seconded this motion, which was supported by a great variety of instances from the

English history, in order to prove that the heirs apparent of the crown always had been provided for in a very independent manner.

Sir Robert Walpole well knew that this motion must occasion a breach in the royal family; and, at the same time, how greatly his own interest was concerned to keep up a good correspondence with the heir apparent, did every thing in his power to prevent the motion being made in the house of commons; but his royal highness rejected all terms of accommodation, but such as should be made by parliament. He therefore entered into the debate with great decency and firmness, by endeavouring to shew, that his majesty could not, out of his present revenue, spare a greater allowance, than he did to his royal highness: and then he told the house,

"That he was commanded by his majesty to acquaint them, that his majesty yesterday sent a message to his royal highness the prince of Wales, by the lord chancellor, lord president, lord steward, lord chamberlain, duke of Richmond, duke of Argyle, duke of Newcastle, earl of Pembroke, earl of Scarborough, and lord Harrington." Which message, so sent by those lords, being in writing, was as follows:

"His majesty has commanded us to acquaint your royal highness, in his name, that, upon your royal highness's marriage, he immediately took into his royal consideration the settling a proper jointure upon the princess of Wales; but his sudden going abroad, and his indisposition since his return, had hitherto retarded the execution of these his gracious intentions; from which short delay his majesty did not apprehend any inconvenience could arise, especially since no application had in any manner been made to him upon this subject by your royal highness; and that his majesty hath now given orders for settling a jointure upon the princess of Wales, as far as he is enabled by law, suitable to her high rank and dignity; which he will, in proper time, lay before his parliament, in order to be rendered certain, and effectually for the benefit of her royal highness."

"The king hath farther commanded us to acquaint your royal highness, that although your royal highness has not thought fit, by any application to his majesty, to desire that your allowance of fifty thousand pounds per annum, which is now paid you by monthly payments, at the choice of your royal highness, preferably to quarterly payments, by his majesty's farther grace and favour, be rendered less precarious; his majesty, to prevent the bad consequences, which he apprehends may follow from the undutiful measures, which his majesty is informed your royal highness has been advised to pursue, will grant to your royal highness, for his majesty's life, the said fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be issued out of his majesty's civil-list revenues, over and above your royal highness's revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall; which his majesty thinks a very competent allowance, considering his numerous issue, and the great expences which do, and must necessarily attend, an honourable provision for his royal family."

And that to this message his royal highness the prince returned a verbal answer; which, according to the best recollection and remembrance of the lords, was in substance as follows:

"That his royal highness desired the lords to lay him, with all humility, at his majesty's feet; and to assure his majesty, that he had, and ever should retain the utmost duty for his royal person; that his royal highness was very thankful for any instance of his majesty's goodness to him or the princess, and particularly for his majesty's gracious intentions of settling a jointure upon her royal highness; but that, as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no answer to it."

After which, his royal highness used many dutiful expressions towards his majesty; and then added, "Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands; I am sorry for it;" or to that effect.



His royal highness concluded with earnestly desiring the lords to represent his answer to his majesty in the most respectful and dutiful manner.

This message made various impressions upon the house; and the opposition affected to treat the whole of it as a wicked artifice of the minister to divide the royal family; the better to support his own power. The best speakers in the house interested themselves in this debate; but the question being called for, a negative was put upon it, by a majority of two hundred and thirty-four against two hundred and four.

On the twenty-fifth of February, the same motion was made in the house of peers by lord Carteret; and the duke of Newcastle presented from his majesty the same message that Sir Robert Walpole had delivered to the commons; and a like debate followed; but a negative was put upon the motion by a majority of seventy-nine peers present and twenty-four proxies, against twenty-eight peers present and twelve proxies; upon this a protest was entered by fourteen peers.

His royal highness the prince of Wales having now been prevailed upon to enter, in some measure, into the views of the opposition, it became the general opinion that the minister could not long hold his power. Some other great men, about the same time, began to be uneasy; amongst these was John duke of Argyle, elder brother to the earl of Hay.

The whole of the national debt, as delivered to the house of commons on the eighteenth of March, amounted to forty-seven millions, eight hundred and fifty-five thousand, nine hundred and forty-eight pounds, three shillings and three-pence half-penny; and some gentlemen thinking that the interest paid for it was too great, Sir John Barnard, on the twenty-first of March, moved in the committee of supply, "that his majesty be enabled to raise money, either by sale of annuities for years or lives, at such rates as should be prescribed, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming old and new South-sea annuities; and that such of the annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities, should be preferred to all others."

Though this motion, and arguments urged in favour of it, were founded upon undeniable principles of public utility, yet it is incredible what a popular storm was raised amongst the annuitants, who were very numerous, against the friends of the motion. Though the minister was convinced of the justice and expedience of the measure, yet he was very shy of encouraging or giving way to the motion till the public could be brought to a better disposition to bear it. But the arguments in favour of the measure were so forcible, that he was obliged to give way; and on the thirtieth of March, Sir Charles Turner reported from the committee of the whole house, to whom it was referred to consider of the national debt,

"That it is the opinion of the committee, that all the public funds redeemable by law, that carry an interest at four per cent. per annum, be reduced according to the respective provisos or clauses of redemption contained in the acts of parliament for that purpose, or, with consent of the proprietors, be converted into an interest of annuity not exceeding three per cent. per annum, not redeemable till after fourteen years.

"That his majesty be enabled to borrow from any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, any sum or sums of money, at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the national debt."

Upon reading the first resolution a second time, some friends of the minister moved, that the consideration of the report should be adjourned for a fortnight; but a negative was put upon this motion by a majority of two hundred and twenty against one hundred and fifty-seven. Upon this it was moved, that the resolution should be re-committed; and it

was agreed to, as was the second, by the house, without any division.

Though these resolutions had received a form different from what Sir John Barnard originally moved for, yet they were thought to contain a good introduction to the lessening of the national debt; and, upon their being agreed to, Sir John Barnard moved, "That that house would, as soon as the interest of all the national redeemable debt should be reduced to three per cent. per annum, take off some of the heavy taxes which oppress the poor and the manufacturers."

Though this motion was very plausibly introduced and supported, yet it was built upon principles which the generality of the house could not agree to: for it supposed a fact that was denied; that the public taxes fell more heavy upon the poor; and the manufacturers in England, than in any other country; neither did it appear to the satisfaction of gentlemen; that the redeemable part of the national debt, being reduced to pay an interest of only three per cent. could compensate for the losses the government must be at, if the taxes that fell heavy upon the poor and manufacturers, such as soap, candles, leather, and salt, were taken off. But, above all, the motion was deficient in point of form and regularity; because, as no body supposed that the reduction mentioned in the motion could take place that session, and it might happen not to take place even during that parliament, should the house have agreed to it, they must, in effect, have undertaken for a future session, if not for a future parliament. The motion, therefore, after long debates, was thrown out by a majority of two hundred against one hundred and forty-two; for the progress which the reduction of the interest had made, occasioned so great a noise as alarmed the minister, who now found himself obliged to oppose the bill itself.

On the twenty-second of April, Sir John Barnard presented the bill according to order; the second reading was put off till the twenty-ninth, at which time a motion was made for committing it; Sir Robert Walpole publicly declared, "that he had had no hand or concern in the formation of the scheme, either in its original shape, or in that in which it now appeared; and that he never had, either in public or private, any conference with Sir John about that; or any other scheme." Sir John replied pretty smartly to this; and a debate ensued, in which the minister and his friends carried the question against committing the bill, by a majority of two hundred and forty-nine against one hundred and thirty-four. A long debate, as usual, happened upon the number of land-forces to be kept up; but little new matter was offered on either side, excepting that the opposition in both houses charged the disorders and tumults that had lately happened, to the dislike the people had conceived against the numerous army that was kept up, and the great load of taxes they were obliged to pay for maintaining them. The ministerial party, on the other hand, endeavoured to throw all the blame upon the seditious practices of their opposers; and maintained, there was then no safety for any well-wisher to his majesty, but in the neighbourhood of the army, or part of it. The number proposed was continued, by a majority of two hundred and forty-six against one hundred and seventy-eight.

A bill likewise passed this session for restraining the number of playhouses; that had been so lately and so justly complained of; and for subjecting all dramatical performances exhibited on the stage, to a licence from the lord-chamberlain of his majesty's household, before they could be acted.

On the twenty-first of June, his majesty put an end to the session by a speech, in which he mentioned the licentiousness of the times, "which, (said he) under the colour and disguise of liberty, you cannot be insensible what scandal and offence it gives to all honest and sober men, and how absolutely necessary it is to restrain this excessive abuse by a due and vigorous



vigorous execution of the laws. Defiance of all authority, contempt of magistracy, and even resistance of the laws, are become too general, although equally prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown and the liberties of the people; the support of the one being inseparable from the protection of the other. I have," continued he, "made the laws of the land the constant rule of my actions; and I do, with reason, expect in return all that submission to my government and authority, which the same laws have made the duty, and shall always be the interest, of my subjects."

The lord chancellor then prorogued the parliament to the fourth of August, and by various subsequent prorogations, to the twenty-fourth of January ensuing.

The domestic events of this important year were various and affecting. A spirit of charity broke out among all ranks of people, and was led on by his royal highness the prince of Wales, who sent, in January, five hundred pounds for releasing poor freemen of London out of prison, where they were confined for debt; and a great number of others were discharged by the charitable donations of one Mr. Wright, a gentleman of great fortune, who died at Newington. A royal infirmary at Edinburgh for the maintenance of the sick, was incorporated by his majesty's charter, and met with great success. About the same time Mr. Oglethorpe returned from Georgia with an account of the promising state of that favourite colony, where the Indians had submitted to his majesty's authority. The Spanish government of Florida, and the council of War residing at St. Augustine, had signed a treaty with the colony; and besides the town of Savannah, which was now in a flourishing state, three other towns, Frederica, Augusta, and Darien, were founded; and a new town called Ebenezer had been built by Salzburghers, who had been obliged to leave their country, not by the persecution of its government, but with regard to civil and religious liberties.

On the other hand, never were the common people known to be so dissolute and turbulent. All the penalties of the law were insufficient for restraining them from the use of pernicious strong liquors, and the examples of justice which were made by the magistrates on that account, were reprieved by the enemies of the government, as so many acts of cruelty and oppression. The truth is, that the law, as it then stood, was a little too severe upon the retailers of spiritous liquors, because it admitted of no alleviation, through accident or inadvertence, of a hundred pounds fine for the smallest quantity sold by retail. This was productive of very bad consequences; for though some of the offenders were able to pay the penalty, yet many more being unable, they became desperate, and betook themselves to unlawful courses of life. Hence it was that executions for robberies and murders of the most shocking kinds, now became frequent; and the government soon perceived, that the severity of the law against drinking spirituous liquors would render it ineffectual.

A. D. 1738. On the fifteenth of January his majesty arrived from Hanover at St. James's, and, in a grand council, which was immediately held, her majesty surrendered to him her commission for being sole guardian of the kingdom in his absence; and on the eighteenth her majesty received the compliments of the city of London.

About this time died Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury. He was a wise and moderate prelate, and had acquired great reputation by his writings against Aterbury, afterwards bishop of Rochester, upon the rights and privileges of the convocation. His successor was Dr. John Potter, bishop of Oxford, whose promotion was obnoxious to no party; and who made a greater figure by his excellent account of the Greek antiquities, than he did by his polemical or theological writings.

Amongst the many irregularities this spring produced, none was more insolent than a conspiracy amongst the footmen in London and Westminster, which went to so daring a height, that notwithstanding the presence of their royal highnesses the prince and princess of Wales and others of the royal family, they attempted by force to possess themselves of a gallery in the playhouse. A great number of people were wounded upon this occasion; and it was with the utmost difficulty that colonel Deveil, the Westminster justice of the peace, assisted by a party of the guards could quell them. This insolence was, in a great measure, owing to the discredit which the magistrates of Westminster had incurred with the lower ranks of people. Most of the acting justices, being men of very small fortunes, sought to encrease them by making a trade of their duty; which being no secret to the commonalty, rendered them very obnoxious.

Sir John Norris, after an effectual expedition, arrived safe from Lisbon at Portsmouth in April. The mediation of his fleet had perfectly re-established a good correspondence between the crowns of Spain and Portugal; and his Portuguese majesty, at taking leave of Sir John, expressed himself in terms the most grateful towards his Britannic majesty, and the English nation. But in proportion as the nation felt the benefit of the seasonable relief sent to the Portuguese, she became sensible of the necessity of breaking with Spain, if his Catholic majesty did not shew more sincerity in the cedulas he dispatched to his governors in America.

The state of Venice, at this time, having shewn great marks of honour and respect to the eldest son of the pretender, their resident at London received orders from court to leave England in three days; which he accordingly did, in company with a messenger of state. The insult was thought to have been committed at the private instigation of the court of Spain.

The princess of Wales, who was advanced to the very last month of her pregnancy, but not thought to be so near her time as she really was, being with their majesties and the rest of the royal family at Hampton-court, but without any midwife attending her, she was, on the thirty-first of July, seized with the pains of child-birth, which increased so violently that the prince, who was with her, was obliged to bring her to London; and was that night delivered of a daughter, the princess Augusta. His majesty, on being acquainted with this unlooked for event, sent a message, by the earl of Essex, to the prince, congratulating him upon the birth of the princess; but at the same time expressing his displeasure at his royal highness's conduct, in carrying away the princess from Hampton-court under the immediate pains of child-birth, to the hazard and danger both of the princess and her child, without acquainting his majesty or the queen with the circumstances the princess was in, or giving them the least notice of his departure, was looked upon by his majesty to be such a deliberate indignity offered to himself and the queen, that he resented it to the highest degree. His royal highness endeavoured to clear himself, by representing the necessity of leaving Hampton-court without delay, considering the condition the princess was in; this he did in two letters, one addressed to his majesty, and the other to the queen, both wrote in a very dutiful strain. He repeated his importunity for a reconciliation, in a very humble message he sent next day, by the marquis of Carnarvon, one of the lords of his bedchamber; to neither of which he received any answer.

The king then sent a message by the earl of Dunmore to the prince of Wales, to acquaint him that it was his majesty's pleasure the baptism of the young princess should be performed on the twenty-ninth, and that he would send his lord-chamberlain to stand as godfather in his place; that the queen's lady of the bedchamber would stand for her majesty as godmother;



godmother; and desired the princefs to appoint one of the ladies of her bedchamber to represent the dutchefs-dowager of Saxe-Gotha; as the other godmother; the ceremony to be performed by the archbishop of Canterbury. This message encouraged the prince to repeat again his application for a reconciliation with more earnestness than ever, both to the king and queen; but on the tenth of September following, he received, by the duke of Grafton, a very severe message from the king, reproaching him with his past conduct, and concluding with the following expressions:

"The whole of your conduct, for a considerable time, has been so entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reason to be highly offended with you; and until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and the queen, and until you return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of them who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the division which you have made in my family, and thereby weaken the common interest of the whole.

"In this situation, I will receive no reply; but when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, that may induce me to pardon what, at present, I most justly resent. In the mean time, it is my pleasure that you leave St. James's, with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princefs. I shall, for the present, leave to the princefs the care of my granddaughter, until a proper time calls upon me to consider of her education."

The prince of Wales paid due obedience to this message, and retired to Kew. He made several new efforts to regain his majesty's favour, but they all proved ineffectual. He ordered lord Baltimore, one of his domestics, to apply to lord Grantham, chamberlain to the queen, to know whether her majesty would receive a letter from him, in mitigation of his conduct; but her majesty declined that. The princefs then wrote an humble letter to the king, which was delivered by the earl of Pembroke. This his majesty answered in terms full of affection and civility to the princefs; but it appeared plainly, that his displeasure towards the prince was rather increased than abated. The guards were now taken off from their attendance on the prince and princefs; and those who paid their court to them were not suffered to come into his majesty's presence.

The letters which passed between the royal family were printed by authority, and made various impressions on the minds of the people. All the prince's servants soon after joined the opposition to ministry.

The Spaniards still continued to commit depredations upon the properties of English subjects in the West-Indies and America. Three very rich ships had been lately taken by their guarda-costas. This fresh insult upon the property of the nation obliged the merchants to address his majesty personally, which was done as follows:

"That the fair and lawful trade of your majesty's subjects to the British plantations in America, hath been greatly interrupted for many years past, not only by their ships having been frequently stopped and searched, but also forcibly and arbitrarily seized on the high seas, by Spanish ships fitted out to cruise, under the plausible pretence of guarding their own coasts: that the commanders thereof, with their crews, have been inhumanly treated, and their ships carried into some of the Spanish ports, and there condemned, with their cargoes, in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns."

"That, notwithstanding the many instances made by your majesty's ministers at the court of Madrid, against this injurious treatment, the late and repeated insults of the Spaniards upon the persons and pro-

perties of your majesty's subjects, lay your petitioners under the necessity of applying again to your majesty for relief.

"That by these violent and unjust proceedings of the Spaniards, the trade to your majesty's plantations in America is rendered very precarious; and if any nation is suffered thus to insult the persons of your majesty's subjects, and plunder them of their property, your petitioners apprehend it will be attended with such an obstruction of that valuable branch of commerce, as will be very fatal to the interest of Great-Britain.

"Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your majesty, that your majesty will be graciously pleased to procure speedy and ample satisfaction to your subjects for the losses they have sustained; and that no British vessel be detained or seized on the high seas by any nation, on any pretext whatsoever; and that the trade to America may be rendered sure for the future, by such means as your majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think fit."

To this petition his majesty returned a most gracious answer; and his secretary of state sent fresh orders to Mr. Keene to repeat his instances, at the court of Madrid, for their relief. A committee of the privy-council sat at Whitehall, and heard the proofs of the losses which the merchants had suffered by the Spaniards.

This year died, greatly lamented, queen Caroline, in the fiftieth year of her age. She had been, for some time, indisposed, and had taken medicines for the gout in her stomach, but her disorder proved to be a concealed rupture. The virtues which adorned this princefs were various and numerous; her conjugal affection was exemplary: the king always found in her a wife and a faithful counsellor; and when she was intrusted, as she frequently was, with the reins of government, the public was happy under her administration. Her natural sagacity and talents were improved by reading and conversing with the most eminent philosophers and authors of the age; and she had made so great a progress in literature, that she became an umpire in one of the most abstruse points of metaphysical reasoning, the doctrine of free-will and fatality, as disputed between Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Clarke. The ingenious were always sure of a patronage in this amiable princefs; and the bench of bishops, through her means, was filled with prelates eminent for their learning.

The king was prodigiously afflicted, for a length of time, at his irreparable loss; and the public likewise shewed every mark of concern they could testify upon this melancholy occasion.

A war broke out this year between the Turks and the Russians, and between the Turks and the Imperialists. The Russian army was commanded by count Munich, who carried on the campaign with great success. He besieged and took Oczakow, one of the strongest cities in the Turkish dominions, garrisoned by twenty thousand of their best troops. This success, which was, in a great measure, owing to the valour of general Keith, cost the Russians very dear, and disabled Munich from carrying his conquests farther. At the same time, general Lascei, at the head of another Muscovite army, marched towards Precop, with a design to carry the war into Crim Tartary, which he effected.

Though these operations were carried on in concert with the Imperialists, the latter were far from being so successful. The duke of Lorraine had nominally the command of their army; but count Seckendorff, an old man and a protestant, was the acting general. The emperor had given him this command, in compliment to the diet of the empire, by whom he was assisted in the war. The scheme of operations was, that Seckendorff should advance, with the main body of the army, and attack Widin, upon the Danube; but finding that place too advantageously situated to be reduced, without a squadron of ships, he suddenly attacked Nissa, one of the strongest towns upon



upon the Turkish frontier, which surrendered. The rest of the campaign on that side was unfortunate for the Imperialists. The excessive heats killed great numbers of their men, and Seckendorff, through the management of the Roman catholic party and the jesuits, had not the proper supplies of either men or money. Being obliged to divide his army, he formed with one part of it the blockade of Widin, which he was forced to abandon with loss. The baron de Raunach, another imperial general, having penetrated, at the head of six thousand men, into Croatia, was entirely routed; and the prince of Saxilburghausen, who had formed the siege of Bagnalac, was defeated by a superior body of Turks, who destroyed the best part of his army, which consisted of fourteen thousand men. These repeated losses threw the court of Vienna into consternation: Seckendorff was ordered home to account for his conduct, and the command was given to velt-marshal Philippi. Notwithstanding those and a great many other important advantages gained by the Turks on the side of Bosnia and Servia, their governor seemed very desirous of a peace; and some conferences on that head had been held at Niemerén; but as the Russians insisted upon keeping possession of Asoph and Oczakow, they proved fruitless; and all parties went into winter quarters.

A.D. 1739. His majesty opened the session of parliament on the twenty-fourth of January. His speech upon that occasion was remarkably short, and exhorted the house to unanimity and dispatch. They, on the other hand, returned him very loyal addresses of condolence upon her majesty's death. The first business of great importance they went upon, was the state of affairs between Great Britain and Spain. His majesty had referred the examination of the complaints of the British merchants to a committee of the privy-council, where they attempted to make good their allegations. Having no one to oppose them, the public unanimously took their part, and every day brought fresh accounts of depredations committed upon British subjects, not only in the American, but in the European seas. The court of Spain did not indeed directly justify all those captures, and to give its proceedings an air of moderation, the crews three English ships which had, upon frivolous pretexts, been taken in the Mediterranean, and imprisoned in Spain, were ordered to be released; and in some flagrant cases in the West Indies, the ships that had been taken, were released, upon the owners giving security for the value, if they should be adjudged to be lawful prizes.

On the third of March a petition was presented to the house of commons from divers merchants, planters, and others, trading to, and interested in the British plantations in America. After recapitulating all that had passed in consequence of former applications of the same kind, the petitioners set forth, "That the Spaniards had paid so little regard to his majesty's most gracious endeavours (to obtain justice to his subjects) that they had continued their depredations, almost ever since the treaty of Seville, and more particularly last year, had carried them to a greater height than ever; they having arbitrarily seized several ships with their effects, belonging to his majesty's subjects, on the high seas, in the destined course of their voyages to and from the British colonies, amounting to a very considerable value; and that the captains or masters of the said ships were, according to the last advices of the petitioners, and are, as the petitioners believe, at this time, confined by the Spaniards in the West Indies, and the crews are now in slavery in Old Spain, where they are most inhumanly treated; and that cruel nation make it their practice to attack and board all British merchant ships they meet with in the American seas, under pretence of searching for goods which they deem contraband, or not according to their own arbitrary will and pleasure, contrary to the law of nations, and in

manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. And that by these unjust and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, the trade and navigation to and from America, is rendered very unsafe and precarious, inasmuch that the insurance from Jamaica has greatly risen on these accounts, only; and that without some speedy and effectual remedy, the American trade and navigation will be, together with the revenue of the crown arising therefrom, greatly diminished, if not entirely lost: and, farther representing to the house, that although his Catholic majesty has stipulated by the treaty of Seville, and by the declaration of 1732, relative thereto, to cause reparation to be forthwith made to the unhappy sufferers, yet there is no instance of its having been done; so far from it, that whilst the British subjects have been amused with vain and fruitless hopes of satisfaction, the Spaniards have committed farther insults and depredations upon them, and still continue the same unjust practices; and that the cedulas or orders given by the court of Spain to their governors in America, are only calculated, as the petitioners, by experience, have reason to apprehend, to evade giving satisfaction to the British subjects; for there has never been one of those cedulas complied with; nor any governor recalled or punished for his disobedience, as the petitioners ever heard: and that for any nation to assume the power of detaining or rummaging the British ships, upon their lawful voyages on the American seas, is, in effect, the petitioners conceive, claiming and exercising the sole sovereignty of those seas: and that if the Spaniards be suffered to act in this injurious manner, to insult the persons of his majesty's subjects, or to plunder them of their property, the petitioners apprehend the same will be attended not only with a great obstruction to this valuable branch of our commerce and navigation; but also with consequences very fatal to Great Britain itself: and therefore as the measures hitherto pursued have proved ineffectual, praying the house to take the premises into their mature consideration, and provide such timely and adequate remedy for putting an end to all insults and depredations on the British subjects, as to the house shall seem meet, as well as procure such relief for the unhappy sufferers, as the nature of their loss, and the justice of their cause, require, and that they may be heard, by themselves and council thereupon."

This petition was referred to a committee of the whole house, as was another petition to the same effect, presented on behalf of the master, wardens, assistants, and commonalty of the society of merchant adventurers within the city of Bristol. On the same day, a petition upon a particular case was laid before the house, and made great noise: it was from the owner of the ship *Ann Galley*, which was taken in a time of profound peace, bound from Guinea to Jamaica. This capture, which the owner said was in value ten thousand five hundred pounds, was so flagitious, that the Spanish ministry frequently ordered reparation to be made to the petitioners, and they actually received upwards of five hundred pounds from the Spanish chest at St. Jago, by way of compensation. But that not being near the value of their damages, though the Spanish ministry had admitted the capture to be illegal, and had even ordered full satisfaction to be made to the owners, they therefore brought their petition for relief. Another petition of the same kind was presented at the same time, and all of them were referred to the same committee.

It was then moved "to address his majesty for copies of the several petitions, representations, and memorials; and all other papers relating to the Spanish depredations upon the British subjects, which had been presented to his majesty, or had been delivered to either of the secretaries of state since the first of September last; with copies of such representations or memorials as had been made either to the king of Spain or his ministers; and of the letters written



to his majesty's minister at Madrid; and of the answers that have been given or received to such memorials, representations, and letters."

The substance of this motion was not opposed by the minister; but he thought that complying entirely with it might discover particulars, of which a bad use might be made: he therefore insisted upon not addressing for the answers that had been given or received to such memorials, representations, and letters. This brought on a long debate, in which the cruelties of the Spaniards, and the tameness of the English ministry, were equally exaggerated. The chief speakers on both sides exerted themselves upon this occasion; but the minister adhered to his point, that as affairs were then situated, it would be imprudent to plunge the nation into a war, without trying whether it was possible to bring Spain to terms, of which there was then great probability. All that the opposition urged, with any appearance of truth, was admitted of by the minister, who was more frank on this head than some of his friends; for they were apt to throw out reflections against the smuggling trade, which the subjects of Great-Britain carried on in the West-Indies, contrary to treaties. The opposition immediately turned this into a reflection upon the whole body of the British merchants in America, and were always ready to give the most shocking instances of the cruelties of the Spaniards against the English; and that they were of such a nature, as, in fact, admitted of no farther treaty. Some of them went even so far as to say, that the motion was so fair and constitutional, that it was not safe for the minister to oppose it.

Sir Robert Walpole owned, with great candour, that the last answer which had come from the Spanish ministry, was so far from being satisfactory, that if the house should see it, and if (as it unavoidably must) it should come to the knowledge of the public, very bad consequences must follow. The parliament and nation, unacquainted with the reasons which his majesty and his ministry might have for avoiding a precipitate war, would press it; and his majesty must either comply, contrary to the true interests of his people, or he must disagreeably exercise that part of his prerogative, which vests him with the power of making war or peace. He intreated the gentlemen to consider, that even though the present motion was carried without any amendment, it was in his majesty's breast to comply, or not to comply with it; and if the house should address for a paper or papers, which his majesty and his ministry were conscious ought not to be made public, they must lay his majesty under the hardship of refusing it. He acquainted them, that the British ministry, notwithstanding the harshness of the last answer from Spain, had sent to that court some propositions which might soften them, and which, in all probability, would soon be answered. If they were not answered to the satisfaction of his majesty, he himself would move, that every paper relating to Spain, even their last answer, should be laid before the house; but that, till then, it would be highly improper to comply with the motion. He next made a recapitulation of the late treaties and transactions between England and Spain; and he endeavoured to prove, that the stiffness of the Spaniards was owing to the perplexed state of affairs in Europe since the treaty of Seville, which did not admit of the meeting of the commissaries for adjusting the pretensions on both sides, so as to make a final report of their commission. He observed, that the sentiments of certain gentlemen against the Spaniards, since that time, were greatly altered; and that the claims which the English had upon them were far from being looked upon, either at home or abroad, to be so clear as they were then represented, which appears by their being referred to a congress. He next attempted to shew, that the Spaniards had hitherto done as much to satisfy the English sufferers as could be well expected. The distance between Madrid and the Spanish West-Indies, from whence

the proofs must be brought, was very great. The Spanish governors were extremely insolent, and, in some measure, arbitrary, and independent upon the ministry; so that it was no wonder if that court sometimes found difficulty in bringing them to reason. He even gave instances of some English ships that had been absolutely released by the Spaniards; of others, that had been released, upon giving security to stand trial whether they had been engaged in an illicit trade or not; and he mentioned others, that the court of Madrid seemed very well disposed towards satisfying their claims; and, to conclude, he was for annexing the question that had been moved for.

Sir William Wyndham, and the other heads of the opposition, were sensible of the advantages they had in an argument which had so highly enflamed the passions of the nation. They perceived the minister aimed at fixing the retrospect of the Spanish depredations no farther back than the treaty of Seville; but they observed, that the causes of complaints had existed for these twenty years; and that little or no redress having yet been obtained, the house ought, for the honour and interest of the nation, to be informed of the reasons, which they could not be without complying with the motion in its full extent: that the public and sufferers had a right to all the satisfaction which the house could give them; and if they could give them none upon the Spaniards, they ought at least to know who were the authors of their calamities at home, by a timid, disgraceful conduct, in so long delaying to repress force with force.

The minister's speech had a great effect upon the house, and he carried the question by a majority of one hundred and sixty-four against ninety-nine.

Mr. Pulteney then made a motion in the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill "for the more effectually securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's subjects in America. In order to introduce this motion, he moved, that the sixth and eighth sections of an act passed in the sixth of queen Anne, intituled, An act for the better securing the trade of the kingdom by cruizers and convoys, should be read; and likewise the second section of an act made in the same session, intituled, An act for the encouragement of the trade to America. It was upon these two bills that the substance of this act moved for was founded, and both of them were thought necessary at the time they passed. The intention of the act now proposed, was to give the property of all prizes taken from the Spaniards after the declaration of war, to the officers and seamen present in the action. Head-money of five pounds for every Spaniard taken at sea, was likewise granted to the sailors; and the property of all places taken from the Spaniards, was to be vested, by his majesty's patent, in the captors.

Little opposition was made to this bill when it was first proposed; but when a motion was made for a second reading, it was strongly opposed by Sir Robert Walpole. He observed, that with regard to the first article, if hostilities were immediately to commence against Spain, and a squadron of English ships of war was to take the whole Plate fleet or flotilla of the Spaniards, with all their register ships, every shilling of it must become the property of the English seamen, though it was publicly known that not one fifth part of that treasure belonged to the Spaniards, but was the property of the French, the Dutch, and other trading nations of Europe. As to the granting head-money for every Spaniard taken at open sea, he approved of very much, as soon as war should be declared. The third article he thought of a very dangerous nature; and that, if it passed into an act, it must effectually preclude the concluding any safe and honourable peace; because, in all negotiations of peace, some places on both sides are commonly given up to facilitate it, which could not be done if his majesty, by letters patent, should part with the property to private owners.



He then urged with great energy, that, should the act in question immediately take place, without being greatly amended, it must be attended with the absolute ruin of the British commerce all over Europe. It must give an alarm to the French for their property, which is greater than that of the Spaniards themselves on board their American fleets; and that the French court, in such a case, would not hesitate to take part with Spain, and join her with all her naval force to convoy the Spanish plate fleet to Europe; besides, most of the French, the Dutch, and the Danish property at sea, were insured in England or Holland in time of peace, and therefore the loss, in fact, must fall upon the British and Dutch insurers, as they could have no pretext to indemnify the French and other nations for the losses they would sustain; so that the bill, if passed into a law, might ruin the Dutch as well as the British insurers. He desired the house to consider, in such an event, what must be the case of the British merchants then residing in Spain, their persons, their ships, and their properties, all which the Spaniards would certainly sequester. "What must the Dutch," said he, "think of such a bill? or what power in Europe can be our hearty friend, should it, at this time, pass into a law?"

In answer to those who insinuated, that he was afraid of a war because peace was his only safety, he said, "It was but a mean excuse for a minister when any wrong step is made in government, that he is not accountable for the events of measures that never were advised by him, and in which he was over-ruled by his superiors. I have always disdained those mean subterfuges; and with what face can I appear again in this house, if full and ample satisfaction is not made us, or, at least, if we do not do our utmost to obtain it; either by fair and peaceable means, or by exerting all our strength in case a war becomes necessary." If my country should call me to account, I would willingly take upon me the blame of every step that has been made by the government, since I had the honour to enter into the administration. As to the common notion of a minister being afraid to enter upon a war, I do not understand upon what it can be grounded. For my part, I never could see any cause, either from reason or my own experience, to imagine a minister is not as safe in time of war as in time of peace. Nay, Sir, if we are to judge by reason alone, it is the interest of a minister, conscious of any mismanagement, that there should be a war; because by a war, the eyes of the public are diverted from examining into his conduct; nor is he accountable for the bad success of a war, as he is for that of an administration."

The ministry were now endeavouring to get a decisive answer from the court of Spain, but not being able to obtain one, the examinations and enquiries about depredations went on with more fury than ever in both houses of parliament. Mr. Pulteney at last brought into the house of commons, which he moved for in a speech, the following set of resolutions.

"That it is the natural and undoubted right of the British subjects to sail with their ships on any part of the seas of America; to and from any part of his majesty's dominions; and that seizing and confiscating such ships as are not sailing and trafficking in the ports and havens, which have fortifications, castles, magazines, or warehouses, or other places possessed by the king of Spain, is contrary to equity and justice, and a manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. That it is the indisputable right of the subjects of Great Britain to carry in their ships all sorts of goods, merchandize, or effects, from one part of the British dominions to any other part of the British dominions; and that no goods or merchandize being so carried, are, by the laws of nations, or any treaty between the two crowns, to be deemed or taken as contraband goods; and that the searching of such ships on the open seas, under pretence of finding contraband goods, is highly inju-

rious to the trade of this kingdom, a violation of the law of nations, and an infraction of the treaty subsisting between the two crowns. That the subjects of Great Britain did hold and possess lands in the province of Jucantan in America, antecedent to, and at the time of the treaty of 1670; which treaty confirmed the right to each contracting party of such lands or places as either did at that time hold and possess; and that the subjects of Great Britain then had, and have at all times since, claimed a right of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and enjoyed the same, without interruption, till of late years; which right seems further particularly secured to us by the manner in which the first article of the treaty of 1670, with those remarkable words, "Without prejudice to any liberty or power which the subjects of Great Britain enjoyed either through right, sufferance, or indulgence." That the attacking a fleet of British ships gathering salt in the island of Tortugas, then under convoy of one of his majesty's ships of war, by two men of war belonging to the king of Spain, was a notorious infraction of the convention signed at Madrid December 14, 1715, and an high insult on the honour due to the flag of Great Britain. That for many years last past, the liberty of navigation in the American seas hath been unjustly disturbed by the Spaniards, under pretence of searching for, and finding, illicit trade; the British ships unlawfully seized, upon the open seas, plundered and confiscated; the sailors robbed, inhumanly tortured, imprisoned and made slaves; to the grievous loss of the merchants, the obstruction of the commerce, and the dishonour of the nation. That, notwithstanding the repeated application of parliament, the treaty of Seville, and the assurances so frequently given to merchants of procuring reparation for their losses and ill usage; and notwithstanding the expectation of the nation of receiving just and ample satisfaction for the cruelties exercised on its subjects, and the insults offered to itself, nothing has in so many years been obtained from the court of Spain effectually to satisfy the losses, repair the injuries, or retrieve the honour of the nation; though the said treaty of Seville, so advantageous to Spain, hath been punctually executed on the part of Great Britain."

Sir Robert Walpole told the house that he was very ready to agree to the first part of the resolution, upon the natural and undoubted right which the subjects had to sail with their ships in any part of the seas of America, to and from any part of his majesty's dominions. He observed, that considering the state of the negotiation between Spain and England at that time, it would be much more eligible to make the resolutions the house agreed to, not quite so peremptory and so particular. He therefore proposed that the rest of the resolutions should run as follows:

"That the freedom of navigation and commerce, which the subjects of Great Britain have an undoubted right to by the law of nations, and which is not in the least restrained by any of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, has been greatly interrupted by the Spaniards, under pretences altogether groundless and unjust. That before and since the execution of the treaty of Seville, that the declaration made by the crown of Spain pursuant thereto, for the satisfaction and security of the commerce of Great Britain, many unjust seizures and captures have been made, and great depredations committed by the Spaniards, which have been attended with many instances of unheard of cruelty and barbarity. That the frequent application made to the court of Spain, for procuring justice and satisfaction to his majesty's injured subjects, for bringing the offenders to condign punishment, and for preventing the like abuses for the future, have proved vain and ineffectual; and the several orders or cedulas, granted by the king of Spain for restitution and reparation of the great losses sustained, by the unlawful and unwarrantable seizures and captures made by the



the Spaniards, have been disobeyed by the Spanish governors, or totally evaded and eluded. And that these violences and depredations have been carried on to the great loss and damage of the subjects of Great Britain trading to America, and in direct violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns."

These amendments occasioned great debates, but the minister and his friends maintained, that the resolutions moved by him, contained all that could be reasonably expected from Spain at that time; and with regard either to possession or navigation, it could not be effected or weakened by the house agreeing to the amendment; which the house, after a long debate, complied with, upon a division of two hundred and twenty-four, against one hundred and sixty-three, and an address to be presented by the whole house was accordingly voted.

During this period the lords were no less anxious than the commons, in their enquiries into these important affairs. The earl of Cholmondeley had prepared a set of resolutions, which had a much greater tendency to obtain satisfaction to the nation, than those debated in the house of commons. Lord Carteret, in a very fine speech, shewed, that after the conclusion of the American treaty in 1670, none of the articles in 1667 are applicable to the American navigation by the English and Spaniards. He made a deduction as far back as the peace of Munster, to shew that the basis of all European commerce in America consisted in each nation reserving to itself an exclusive right to trade with its own colonies and plantations there; and that therefore, no ship which was not actually in the ports and harbours of Spain, could be supposed either searchable or seizable by the Spaniards. He proved, beyond a doubt, that all the modes of visiting and searching mentioned and prescribed by the treaty of 1667, was applicable to the European navigation alone, and not to the American; "because," said he, "that very treaty takes it for granted, that no trade between the Spaniards and the English can be carried on there, and consequently there can be no object of search, unless the ships of one power shall be found actually trading within the ports and harbours of the other." As to the claim the Spaniards made of stopping ships within a certain space from the shore, he demonstrated to be unjust and groundless; because, in a coast so extensive, so uncertain, and so little known as that of America, it was often impossible for British subjects to navigate their ships, so as to prevent their being sometimes forced by squalls and currents, and sometimes to know in what part of the world they were, to prevent their making land, and often coming within the distance which the Spaniards pretended gave them a right to seize them. His lordship enforced his arguments with so much clearness, that they agreed to present the following address:

"Most gracious sovereign,

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, having taken into our serious consideration, the many unjust violences and depredations committed by the Spaniards, upon the persons, ships and effects of your majesty's subjects in America, have come to the following resolutions, which we beg, in the humblest manner, to lay before your majesty for your royal consideration, viz.

I. "Resolved that the subjects of Great Britain have a clear and undoubted right to navigate in the American seas, to and from any part of his majesty's dominions; and for carrying on such trade and commerce, as they are justly entitled to in America; and also to carry all sorts of goods, merchandizes, and effects from one part of his majesty's dominions to any other part thereof; and that no goods being so carried, are, by any treaty subsisting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, to be deemed or taken as contraband or prohibited goods; and that the searching of such ships on the open seas, under

pretence of their carrying prohibited or contraband goods, is a violation and infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns.

II. "Resolved, that it appears to this house, as well before as since the treaty of Seville, on the part of Great Britain, divers ships and vessels with their cargoes belonging to the British subjects, have been violently seized and confiscated by the Spaniards, upon pretences altogether unjust and groundless; and that many of the sailors on board such ships have been injuriously and barbarously imprisoned and ill treated; and that thereby the liberty of navigation and commerce belonging to his majesty's subjects, by the law of nations, and by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, hath been unwarrantably infringed and interrupted, to the great loss and damage of our merchants; and in direct violation of the said treaties.

III. "Resolved, that it appears to this house, that frequent applications have been made on the part of his majesty to the court of Spain, in a manner the most agreeable to treaties, and to the peace and friendship subsisting between the two crowns, for redressing the notorious abuses and grievances before mentioned, and preventing the like for the future, and for obtaining adequate satisfaction to his injured subjects, which in the event have proved entirely fruitless and of no effect.

"We think it our duty, on this important occasion, humbly to represent to your majesty, that we are most sensibly affected with the many and grievous injuries and losses, sustained by your majesty's trading subjects, by means of these unwarrantable depredations and seizures; and to give your majesty the strongest and most sincere assurances, that in case your friendly and powerful instances for procuring restitution and reparation to your injured subjects, and for the future security of their trade and navigation, shall fail of having their due effect and influence in the court of Spain, and shall not be able to obtain that great satisfaction and security which your majesty may in justice expect; we will zealously and cheerfully concur in all such measures, as shall become necessary for the support of your majesty's honour; the preservation of our navigation and commerce, and the common good of these kingdoms."

His majesty returned the following answer:

"My lords,

"I am sensibly touched with the many hardships and injuries sustained by my trading subjects in America, from the cruelties and unjust depredations of the Spaniards. You may be assured of my care to procure satisfaction and reparation for the losses they have already suffered, and security for the freedom of navigation for the future; and to maintain to my people the full enjoyment of all the rights to which they are entitled by treaty and the law of nations.

"I doubt not but I shall have your concurrence for the support of such measures, as may be necessary for that purpose."

This important question between Spain and England, so entirely employed the attention of the public, that very little regard was paid to other affairs, which happened in the course of this session, though some of them were of importance. Two millions were granted to his majesty, for the service of the current year, and for paying to the governor and company of the bank of England one million for redeeming an annuity of forty thousand pounds payable to them. Another act of great importance that passed this session was, for building a bridge cross the river Thames, from the Woolstackle, Westminster, to the opposite shore in Surry. Some farther regulations were likewise made with regard to the drinking spirituous liquors; and those already made having been found ineffectual, and productive of many perjuries, a power had been granted to retail spirituous liquors with licences. But this had rather increased than diminished the disorder complained of; and an act passed



passed this session, by which a penalty was laid on all occupiers of houses in which spirituous liquors were illegally sold.

On the fourteenth of June, the king came to the house, and put put an end to the session in a speech, wherein he earnestly recommended unanimity among the members, and desired them to transmit, by their example, peace throughout their different counties.

Great pains had been taken to conceal from the people the state of our connections with Spain, but the continual depredations committed upon our trading vessels in different parts of America, alarmed the whole nation, and a war seemed inevitable. Mr. Keene, our ambassador at Madrid, delivered a remonstrance to the Spanish ministry, complaining of the conduct of their naval officers, and demanding restitution of such goods as had been seized from the British subjects. Great augmentations were made to our land forces, by raising ten new regiments, and filling up such as had been reduced. Nor was the navy neglected; for many ships that had been laid up were put in commission, and there was an exceeding hot press for sailors in all the sea-port towns in the kingdom. Orders were sent to admiral Brown, then stationed at Jamaica, to make reprisals on the Spaniards, and every thing seemed to wear a promising appearance, and the nation in general was satisfied.

The sources from whence the Spaniards derive their wealth, became an object of national concern to Great Britain; and therefore it was proposed that two squadrons should be fitted out, one under the command of captain Cornwall, and another under captain Anson. That under captain Cornwall was to sail round Cape Horn, into the South Seas, in order to attack such of the Spanish settlements as lay near the coast; but if he found that impracticable, he was to sail to the Manila, one of the Phillippine islands. Captain Anson was to sail to Java-head; a promontory in the East-Indies, where he was to take in fresh water, with such other necessities as his squadron should want, and then to proceed on his voyage to meet captain Cornwall at Manilla. This scheme was so agreeable to all ranks of people in the nation, that harmony began to take place of discord, and all seemed united to contribute towards distressing the common enemy.

But still it was necessary that a much more respectable squadron than either of those already mentioned should be fitted out; and accordingly nine ships of the line, with several smaller ones, were ordered to sail for the West-Indies, under the command of admiral Vernon, an officer of consummate knowledge, undaunted courage, and great prudence. He was strongly attached to the interests of his country; he had distinguished himself in the house of commons against some schemes of the ministry; but no sooner did he consider the nation in danger, than he forgot every thing like discontent, and cheerfully took upon him the command of the squadron.

Every preparation for war, by both powers, then only wanted the form of a declaration, and that took place on the nineteenth of October. This measure was in its own nature absolutely necessary, for both the honour and interest of the nation were at stake. Our merchants had been plundered of their most valuable goods, and so pusillanimous were our ministry, that the British flag seemed falling into disgrace. Complaints, indeed, had been often made to the ministry, but the persons injured were either refused redress, or dismissed with ambiguous promises. But the declaration of war gave new hopes to the people, and although they knew it had not been done till absolutely necessary, yet they began to have some confidence in the ministry.

Soon after the declaration of war, admiral Hadcock took a rich Spanish ship; but the Spanish admiral, who commanded the squadron, returning from the South Seas, having received notice, or rather suspecting that some of our ships of war would attempt to intercept him off Cadiz, he sailed north

round Ireland, and from thence coasting by the Land's-end of England, arrived safe in Spain; to the great mortification of the English sailors, who expected to acquire an immense booty.

It was the opinion of most people in general, that the French would take part with the Spaniards, and such was the conduct of the states-general, that no confidence could be placed even in their most solemn protestations. Mr. Walpole, our ambassador at the Hague, endeavoured to persuade them to take part with us, as their natural ally, but he received only evasive answers; from which it seemed evident that they intended to remain neuter till their own territories should be attacked. With respect to the Spaniards, they were filled with consternation when they found what preparations we were making against them, for the timid behaviour of our ministry had induced them to look upon the people of England as divested of that courage for which they had been so long distinguished.

On the continent, the emperor of Germany, Charles VI. in consequence of some losses, found himself under the necessity of concluding a treaty of peace with the Turks, upon terms neither honourable nor advantageous. The empress of Russia, whose forces acted in concert with those of the emperor, was obliged to follow his example, and recall her army without having obtained any singular advantages.

On the fifteenth of November the British parliament met, and the king in his speech informed them, that contrary to his own inclination, but consistent with the dignity of his crown, and the interest of his subjects, he had declared war against Spain, not doubting but the commons would cheerfully contribute such sums as were wanting to maintain the army and the navy. Both houses were so well pleased with his majesty's speech, that most loyal addresses were presented to him; and the commons declared that nothing should be wanting to defray every necessary expence. And that a complete triumph might be obtained over the ministry, Sir William Wyndham moved, that an address might be presented to his majesty, praying that no treaty of peace should be entered into with Spain, till the British sovereignty was acknowledged in America.

The ministry were so well convinced of the reasonableness and popularity of the motion, that they made no opposition to it; and his majesty, in answer to the commons, told them, that they might depend upon his steady perseverance in rejecting all terms of a dishonourable nature. Some very popular acts passed at this time, though not without opposition from the ministry, who seemed to have nothing so much at heart as that of crossing every measure that seemed productive of public good. Great encouragement was given to foreign seamen to enter into our merchants service; and some thousands of the persecuted protestants in Germany, were invited by our government to settle in America.

Lord Polworth, now earl of Marchmont, proposed, that in compassion to the people already burthened with very heavy taxes, no unnecessary officers should be retained in the army; and although nothing could be more just or equitable, yet the ministry opposed it for this reason, that it threatened to deprive them of the privilege of rewarding their favourites.

A.D. 1740. The commons ordered the proper estimates for the support of the army and navy to be laid before them, but scarce had they taken them into consideration, when Sir Robert Walpole, as chancellor of the exchequer, presented to the house a message from his majesty, intimating that he had some things under consideration of the utmost importance, that would be attended with greater expence than he imagined, and therefore prayed that such sums as were necessary should be granted. This was referred to the committee of supply, and the whole was granted with very little opposition.

The next thing that engaged the attention of the house, was a bill brought in by Sir Charles Wager, for



for taking an exact number of all seamen in the merchants service, together with such as plied on the river. But however necessary such a step might be, in order to know the internal strength of the nation, yet the popular party treated it as a measure that would, in the end, enslave the people, and therefore the bill was rejected by a very great majority. The whole conduct of the antiministerial party, on this occasion, shewed that they acted from motives of opposition, because the bill had not originated from themselves.

His majesty sent a message to the house, informing them that he intended to marry his daughter, the princess Mary, to the prince of Hesse-Cassel; and prayed that they would enable him to give her a portion suitable to her rank. The commons unanimously agreed to give the princess forty thousand pounds; and, at the same time, agreed, that an address of thanks should be presented to his majesty, for having communicated to them his royal intention.

The beginning of this year was remarkable for one of the severest frosts that had been known. It began on Christmas-day 1739, and continued, without intermission, upwards of seven weeks. The Thames was frozen over in such a manner, that a public fair was held on it, and booths erected for the reception of all those whose curiosity led them thither. The hardships of the poor were extremely great; but, to the everlasting honour of the English, let it be recorded, that they did every thing in their power to alleviate the distresses of their suffering fellow-subjects. From the king, down to the humble tradesman, each seemed anxious to be most forward in acts of benevolence; so that a national calamity revived decaying charity.

His majesty, on the twenty-fifth of April, went to the house of peers, and, in a speech from the throne, thanked the commons for their readiness in granting the supplies; and recommended unanimity, as the only sure means of making them formidable to their enemies. He added, that the justice of his cause in taking up arms, gave him reason to hope for the divine blessing; after which the parliament was prorogued to the third of June.

The king set out for Hanover in the beginning of May; and during his absence, the princess Mary was married, by proxy, to the prince of Hesse-Cassel. John, duke of Argyle, being offended with some of the measures of government, resigned all his places, and retired to live in a private manner. But it is now necessary that we should look back to the state of the war.

Admiral Vernon having sailed from Portsmouth, came to an anchor at Port-Royal in Jamaica; and sent an account of his business to Mr. Trelawney, the governor, desiring him to grant him all the assistance he could; and, at the same time, promising, that nothing should be wanting on his part to discharge his duty according to the nature of his instructions. At Port-Royal the admiral was joined by commodore Brown, with one ship only; and having procured intelligence that the Spanish fleet intended sailing towards Porto Bello, he resolved, if possible, to be there before them. The fleet under admiral Vernon, with which he proposed taking Porto Bello, consisted of six ships only, having on board two thousand four hundred and ninety-five seamen, and two hundred land forces.

Porto Bello is situated on the isthmus of Darien, where a small track of land divides North and South America from each other. It consists of several strong forts, and is the place to which all the riches of Mexico and Peru are annually brought. The Spaniards had been at great expence in making additions to the fortifications, and they even imagined that it was impregnable. One battery of guns, level with the surface of the water, seemed to threaten destruction to every ship that approached; but abilities, courage, and perseverance, overcome the greatest difficulties.

On the twenty-first of October 1739, the squadron came up to the fort; but the wind being easterly, little could be done besides attacking the Iron Castle, near the mouth of the harbour.

The attack was begun by commodore Brown, in the Hampton-Court, of seventy guns; and in the space of twenty-five minutes, four hundred shot were fired. Such an incessant fire, which was seconded by captain Mayne, in the Worcester, obliged many of the Spaniards to retire from different parts of the fort: upon which the admiral made the signal for the boats to come up, in order to land the marines, which was done with the loss of three men only. As the courage of seamen and soldiers never shines with more lustre than when opposed by the enemy, and exposed to the greatest dangers; so no sooner had they landed, than they scaled the walls by one man's standing on the shoulders of another. This struck such terror into the Spaniards, that both officers and men fled from the lower forts into the uppermost part of the citadel, where they hung out a white flag, as a signal that they would capitulate. The marines and seamen, who had first landed, were so impatient to obtain the victory, that striking down the Spanish colours, they hoisted those of Britain; while such of the Spanish soldiers as beheld their courage, surrendered prisoners at discretion. Two Spanish men of war lying in the harbour surrendered at the same time; so that, in the space of one day, this great fort was taken.

News of this important event was brought to England by captain Renton on the thirteenth of March 1740, while the parliament was sitting; and so much elevated were the people in general, that medals of all sorts were struck, and great rejoicings made throughout the kingdom.

Having forced the governor of Panama to deliver up such of the English as had been illegally confined, the admiral set sail for Jamaica, where he came to an anchor in the harbour of Port-Royal, though not without great damage to his ship, which had been attacked by a violent storm.

While admiral Vernon was supporting the honour and interest of his country in the West-Indies, admiral Haddock, after cruising some time in the Mediterranean, blocked up the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz. But here admiral Haddock was led into a snare; for another Spanish fleet, under the command of admiral Pintado, made a feint, as if they intended sailing towards Minorca; and Haddock leaving his station to oppose them, the Spanish fleet got out of the harbour of Cadiz, and joined another squadron then lying in the harbour of Ferrol.

The French, who had hitherto concealed their intentions, began to pull off the mask; for they fitted out a strong squadron, under the command of the marquis D'Antin, which sailed to Martinico, with positive orders to act offensively against the English. Indeed our valuable settlements in America had long been an object of envy to our haughty neighbours; and therefore it was resolved that, in concert with Spain, we should be deprived of all the benefits of trade in that part of the world.

No sooner was the news made public, that the French had fitted out a squadron, than our ministry, who had no suspicion of any such intentions, were perplexed in their minds; while the nation was filled with discontent from the one end to the other.

The ministry, in order to quiet the discontents of the people, ordered a large squadron of ships of the line to rendezvous at Spithead, under the command of Sir John Norris, who hoisted his flag on board the Victory, a ship carrying one hundred and ten guns. The late duke of Cumberland went as a volunteer along with the admiral, and great hopes were formed by the people concerning the success of this armament, but all in vain; for after cruising some time, and meeting with storms, Sir John came to an anchor at Spithead, without having done any thing besides amusing the people, who had so generously



submitted to very heavy taxes towards supporting the war. This was the most unpopular measure that could have been taken; and the ministry, in order to regain their lost credit, resolved to fit out a squadron under captain Anson; for the scheme projected the former year, of sending him and captain Cornwall to the South-seas, had been partly laid aside.

Mr. Anson, now made commodore, was ordered to sail, with the following ships under his command, namely, the *Centurion*, of sixty guns; the *Severn* and *Gloucester*, of fifty guns each; the *Pearl*, of forty; and the *Wager*, of twenty-eight; with the *Trial* sloop, carrying eight guns; and two victualling vessels. This scheme was well projected; and although it did not, in every thing, answer the hopes that had been formed of it; yet, in the end, the commodore received immortal honour, and riches were brought into the nation. His orders were to sail to the South-seas, and distress the Spaniards in their remote settlements, so as to prevent them from opposing admiral Vernon, who still remained as commander in chief in the West-Indies.

On the twenty-first of October, this small squadron arrived at Madeira, where they took fresh provisions, and then passed Cape Horn, though not without considerable loss; for many of the seamen died, while others were confined to their hammocks in a most sickly condition.

In the mean time, admiral Torres, who commanded the Spanish fleet in the bay of Ferrol, sailed for America, with two thousand land forces on board; which struck such a panic into the English ministry, that they saw no appearance of keeping their ground, unless a fleet was sent to reinforce the squadron under admiral Vernon. That brave commander, upon his return to Port-Royal, having refitted his ships, and taken in fresh provisions, sailed for Carthagea, which he bombarded, and did considerable damage to the place; but not having sufficient force, and many of the men being sickly, he was obliged to return to Porto Bello, where having again refitted, he attacked fort Chagre, and obliged the garrison to capitulate. In the letters sent to the ministry by admiral Vernon, he complained that necessary reinforcements had not been sent him in proper time, so that no beneficial consequences could arise from his victories; and however secret these letters were kept; yet the contents of them transpired, and the nation was again filled with discontent.

This induced, or rather forced, the ministry to send over to the admiral six regiments of marines, with two of foot, the whole under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of great courage and resolution. Sir Chaloner Ogle was ordered to sail from Spithead with twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships, having on board twelve thousand seamen, furnished with every thing necessary to distress the enemy. But notwithstanding all these preparations, carried on at a great expence, yet the fleet did not sail till October; so that the Spaniards had time to put their forts in a proper state of defence.

This year Charles VI. emperor of Germany, paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded by his daughter Maria Theresa, who had some years before married the grand duke of Tuscany, of the house of Lorrain. The king of Prussia died much about the same time, and his death was succeeded by that of the Czarina Anne Iwanowna, empress of Russia. The death of so many sovereigns could not fail of being attended with such consequences as must always happen on similar occasions, namely, that of lighting up the flames of civil war. The young king of Prussia laid claim to the province of Silesia, belonging to the house of Austria; and a revolution took place in Russia, by which Elizabeth, the late empress, was placed on the throne, amidst the united acclamations of the people.

In September, his majesty arrived from Hanover; and on the eighteenth of November following, he assembled the parliament. In his speech he took notice,

that the Spaniards, sensible that they were not able to oppose the British forces, had called in the assistance of some other powers, as appeared from some very extraordinary steps that had lately been taken; by which he meant the fleet fitted out by the French. He added, that if, contrary to the faith of treaties, and inconsistent with the laws of nations, any power whatever should take part with the Spaniards, the honour of his crown and the safety of the people would require every necessary assistance from the commons. He took notice of the death of the emperor, and how far it was likely to affect the peace of Europe: and concluded with recommending unanimity among the members.

As soon as his majesty had left the house, and the commons were returned to their own house, John, duke of Argyle, moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to congratulate him upon his safe return, and to assure him that the peers would not only stand by him with their lives and fortunes, but that they would exert those inherent privileges enjoyed by them as the highest tribunal in the nation, by promoting the honour, interest, and happiness of his majesty and the kingdom. His grace, in his speech, in order to enforce the motion, arraigned the conduct of the ministry, in not attending to the interest of the nation; and, in express terms, accused them with having given private orders, that none of our ships should attack any of the Spanish forts. He charged them with neglecting to give orders for the fleet to sail; and intimated, it would have still remained at Spithead, had not his majesty returned to England.

The nervous eloquence of the duke attracted the attention of all such peers as were not attached to the ministry, and great debates ensued. The earl of Holderness observed, that the duke's motion was couched under vague, uncertain terms; and therefore moved, that in the address his majesty should be thanked for his gracious care of his people; and that his faithful lords would support him with their lives and fortunes in the execution of every treaty that he had entered into with any of the German princes. This debate was carried on with great strength of argument, and in language that would have done honour to a Roman senate, by lord-chancellor Hardwicke, lord Harvey, lord Cholmondeley, and the earl of Holderness, for the ministry; and against them, by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Chesterfield, lord Carteret, and lord Talbot. At last the question being put, it was carried in favour of the court address; so that the ministry once more triumphed over those who wished well to the nation.

In the house of commons, after a long debate, an address was drawn up in very general terms; and, indeed, too general, when it is considered in what state the nation then was. That the commons might know in what condition the navy was, they moved for an address to be presented to his majesty, desiring that all letters, or other papers sent from admiral Vernon, should be laid before them: and although it was the interest of the minister to have concealed these from the public, yet, by an unaccountable inadvertency, he suffered the motion to pass, and the address was presented. When the letters came to be read, they were found to contain heavy complaints against the ministry, for not sending him proper reinforcements; and that the ships under his command were in so shattered a condition, that they were not fit for action.

A. D. 1741. The country party, though inferior in number, were, in both houses, the most respectable characters, and most justly celebrated for their eloquence, integrity, and disinterestedness. During the month of January this year, the minority in both houses had frequent consultations together, and at last it was resolved to impeach the minister. Mr. Sandys was to manage this business in the lower house; and accordingly, on Friday the thirteenth of February, he stood up in his place, spoke long and sensibly



sensibly of the many errors committed by Sir Robert, and traced his conduct as far back as the year 1720. He accused him with having advised his majesty to do some things inconsistent with his dignity; and boldly charged him with concealing from the people the real state of the nation. He took notice, that the people expected no redress of their grievances at home, nor success to their arms abroad, unless the minister was for ever removed from his majesty's councils, as well as all those connected with him. He therefore moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, requesting that the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole, knight of the most noble order of the garter, first lord-commissioner of the treasury, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, be removed from his majesty's councils and presence for ever.

Mr. Pitt spoke long and forcibly in favour of the motion; and he was supported by Sir John Barnard, Mr. Pulteney, Sir John Hynde Cotton, lord Limerick, and Mr. Gibson, gentlemen of the greatest abilities and integrity. These celebrated statesmen charged the minister with the most bare-faced acts of corruption, in order to support his own interest; and that he had, in the most unnecessary manner, raised a standing army, which was supported at a vast expence, while the navy, the real strength and security of the nation, had been neglected. They concluded by asserting, that he had imposed on his majesty with respect to the state of Europe in general; and that he had concealed from him the complaints of his people.

Such was the nature of the charge exhibited against the minister, and it must be acknowledged, that it was not ill founded. He had long acted on a system of policy inconsistent with the interest of a free people; and corruption was, by his influence, carried to an enormous height.

Mr. Pelham, brother to the late duke of Newcastle, attempted to vindicate the whole conduct of the minister, and to refute the charges brought against him. He took notice, that all the treaties entered into by advice of the minister, were in consequence of some defects in former ones; and that the state of the nation required that his majesty should form the most powerful connection with the princes on the continent. He added, that the corruption with which the minister was charged, could not be proved; and that the whole of the charge was the effect of envy, because his majesty had distinguished him with particular marks of his confidence and favour. In a word, Mr. Pelham did all he could to vindicate the minister, whose friend he had long been, and who continued firm to his interest, even to the last.

During the debate, which lasted till three o'clock in the morning, the minister said not one word; but when the speakers had gone through with their arguments, he stood up, and spoke in his own defence in the most masterly and eloquent manner. Although conscious that one half of the seats in the house had been given by him to such needy wretches as subsisted by the wages of corruption, yet so little was he afraid that they would expose his character, that he boldly charged the whole house to produce one instance of his having bribed one member, either directly or indirectly. He concluded by saying, that patriotism was a most venerable word, when understood in a proper manner; but it was then so hackneyed, that it had fallen into disgrace. "The form," (said he) is preserved, but the substance is lost. "Patriots spring up like mushrooms; I could make fifty of them within the compass of a night. Let a minister only refuse an unreasonable, or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot: I never was afraid of making patriots, and I despise all that they can do. I believe that no minister ever had such an attack made upon him as the present; but I know it has been long forming; and there are gentlemen here present who know that I could

"have prevented it, and by means not difficult to be known. I am convinced of my own integrity; and whatever may be the issue of the present motion, I shall rejoice in it. The whole of my life has been one continued act of duty to my country; and I here defy my most inveterate enemies to prove one single charge which they have, with so much art and appearance of sincerity, exhibited against me."

The minister having finished his harangue, the question was put, and carried in the negative by a small majority, in consequence of above sixty of those who pretended to be of the popular party having gone out.

In the house of lords, the same motion was made by lord Carteret, who was seconded by the dukes of Argyle and Bedford, the earls of Halifax, Carlisle, Berkshire, Abingdon, and Westmoreland, with the lords Bathurst and Haversham. On the other hand, the conduct of the minister was vindicated by the dukes of Devonshire and Newcastle, the lord-chancellor Hardwicke, the earl of Ilay, brother to the duke of Argyle, lord Harvey, the earl of Oxford, and the bishop of Salisbury. The question at last being put, it was carried in the negative. But although the minister was so successful, yet, from that time, his character began to sink; for so many iniquitous practices had been laid open, that although some of them, through the force of prejudice, and the heat of passion, had been considerably exaggerated, yet the sober, thinking members, were convinced that the greater part were too well founded to admit of a single doubt.

The death of the emperor had led his daughter, the queen of Hungary, into a war with the elector of Bavaria, who had married the daughter of the emperor Joseph, and, in consequence of that alliance, laid claim to some of the Austrian dominions. The queen of Hungary demanded from Britain twelve thousand men that had been promised her in consequence of a former treaty; and his majesty, in the beginning of April, went to the house, and informed the parliament of it. He took notice, that he was bound to support his ally; and as the war would be attended with a very great expence, he doubted not but the commons would contribute cheerfully to enable him to support the dignity of his crown, and force his enemies to hearken to the voice of reason. Both houses joined to address the king in the most loyal manner, telling him, that they would enable him to fulfil his engagements with the queen of Hungary, and furnish the necessary supplies for protecting his German dominions from any attacks that might be made upon them by any power whatever. After which, the king having advanced some of the commons to the peerage, he dissolved the parliament, and in May set out to visit Hanover.

The parliamentary business for the season being thus over, it is necessary that we should attend to the state of the navy, and the operations of the fleet. Sir Chaloner Ogle, after meeting with several storms, came to an anchor at the island of St. Dominica, where lord Cathcart died, to the inexpressible grief of the army and navy. The command of the forces devolved upon general Wentworth; and the admiral having taken in fresh water, and other necessary provisions, set sail for Jamaica, in order to join admiral Vernon. In his way thither, he fell in with a part of the French fleet, that had been sent to assist the Spaniards, and a smart engagement ensued; but as war was not then declared between France and England, both admirals thought proper to desist; and on the ninth of January, Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived safe in the harbour of Port-Royal in Jamaica. This revived the drooping spirits of admiral Vernon; for the fleet now amounted to twenty-nine ships, with fifteen thousand seamen, with an equal number of land-forces. Indeed the loss of lord Cathcart was sincerely lamented; but as general Wentworth was considered as an officer of the most undaunted courage,



rage, great hopes were formed of the success that would follow.

A council of war was immediately held at Spanish town in Jamaica, wherein it was resolved, that the fleet should sail towards Hispaniola, to observe the motions of the marquis d'Antin, who was supposed to act in concert with the Spaniards; but the marquis had sailed for Europe in a most distressed condition. This disappointment occasioned another council of war to be held, wherein it was resolved to sail to Carthagena, and attack that fort both by sea and land. Accordingly, after a dangerous voyage, the English forces were landed on a small island near the mouth of the harbour, where they erected a battery, and soon made a breach in the principal fort; while the fleet co-operated with them, and general Wentworth resolved to enter the breach that had been made. At first every thing seemed to second their operations, for the Spaniards abandoned the forts, and the English land forces seemed to carry every thing before them. But unfortunately, a misunderstanding having arisen between the admiral and the general, neither would act in a proper manner, while the men, who were obliged to lay during the nights in the fields, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, died in great numbers; so that their strength was weakened, and it was feared they would become an easy prey to the enemy.

General Wentworth, in order to recover his lost credit as a military officer, resolved to take the place by storm; but above six hundred of his men were cut off, and all hopes of succeeding vanished. To complete the misfortune, the greatest part of the army lay sick, and it was computed that no less than three thousand four hundred and forty men died in the space of two days, merely in consequence of the misunderstanding that had taken place among the commanders.

A council of war was again called, wherein each officer upbraided the other with not having done their duty; but during their debates the public service was neglected and the enemy left to triumph over our weakness. At last it was resolved to sail for Jamaica, which was effected without any obstacle; but no sooner was the news transmitted to England, than the people were filled with the utmost consternation. All Europe waited with impatience for the event of this expedition, which had cost Britain so much money; and the Spaniards had given up their territories in South America for lost, but this revived their spirits and enabled them to go on with the war with more spirit than ever, and at the same time it encouraged the French to give them assistance.

Whether this unfortunate affair was owing to the conduct of the admiral or the general, is of little importance to the public; but certain it is, that admiral Vernon took such care of the fleet that he was considered as a father rather than a commander.

Having refitted the fleet, which was in a most shattered condition, and taken every proper method for preserving the health of the seamen, he resolved to attack the town of St. Jago in the island of Cuba. He had great hopes of succeeding in this enterprize, and accordingly the forces were landed; but general Wentworth still opposed the admiral, so that nothing of consequence was done, nor any honour acquired to the nation. The public money was squandered away in an empty parade; the people were filled with hopes, and in the end, being disappointed, discontent took place every where. It is true, some few of the enemy's ships had been destroyed, but that was not attended with any success worth mentioning; and after a fruitless attempt to bring honour to the British crown and reputation to her arms, it was resolved to sail to Jamaica, where the fleet arrived, though not before many of the men had lost their lives by such disorders as are peculiar to the climate in that part of the world.

The disgrace that attended the British navy in the West Indies had a considerable effect on the political

state of Europe, according to the views of the different courts. The young king of Prussia, whose political and military talents had been hitherto concealed, demanded of the queen of Hungary the province of Silesia, in consequence of some old claims which had been given up by his ancestors; but in all disputes between princes, power becomes predominant. The Prussian army was then the best disciplined in Europe, the king, at their head entering Silesia, every thing gave way to him, while the queen of Hungary, who had taken possession of her hereditary dominions, relied for support on Great Britain. Indeed the Prussian monarch bought his conquests extremely dear; for count Neuperg, having raised an army, a most bloody battle ensued at Molwitz, near the river Neiss. For some time it was doubtful in whose favour victory would declare herself, till at last, about six in the evening, the king of Prussia, by one of those masterly strokes for which his character has been so justly celebrated, obliged the Austrians to retire, and the town of Neiss surrendered to the conqueror.

This blow, though not decisive, threatened the Austrian dominions with immediate ruin; but the queen of Hungary had still great hopes from the late resolutions of the British parliament. She also solicited the assistance of the states-general; but the king of Prussia sent a threatening letter to the Hague, wherein he informed the states, that if they took any part in the present war, so as to oppose him, he would seize on such parts of their territories as his ancestors had formerly laid claim to. To enforce his orders, he commanded a body of six thousand men to encamp on the frontiers of Holland, which so intimidated the Dutch, that they were obliged to apply to the earl of Hyndford, the English ambassador, to intercede in their favour. But all these means proved ineffectual; for the Prussian monarch, finding that the court of Vienna, in concert with some other European powers, had entered into a confederacy against him, he resolved to keep possession of the places he had taken in Silesia; and that he might be able to add the whole of that valuable province to his territories, he concluded a treaty offensive and defensive with France.

In the mean time the French, ever restless and ambitious, resolved to humble the power of the house of Austria; and for that purpose made choice of the elector of Bavaria, who was intended to be made emperor, and the hereditary dominions of the queen of Hungary were to be settled on him and his family. Cardinal Fleury, who at that time was the chief minister at the court of Versailles, was in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and a man of a most pacific disposition; but notwithstanding all his abilities, yet no sooner had the French learned that the king of Prussia had declared in favour of the elector of Bavaria, than the whole people called out for war, and the cardinal was obliged to give way to the public clamour. The French king was so averse to every measure that seemed to countenance the claims of the house of Austria, that he resolved to place the elector of Bavaria on the imperial throne, and secure to himself such of the Austrian provinces in the Netherlands as lay nearest to his own dominions. This was a deep laid scheme, and the news of it was sent to the marshal de Bellisle, then in Germany, that he might be ready for carrying on the intended project.

The bad success attending the English arms in America, gave life to every opposition made against them by any of the European powers. The marshal de Bellisle had his army strongly reinforced; and the Spaniards, eager to strengthen themselves by any alliance whatever, sent considerable sums of money to Paris to defray the expences of the war in Germany.

In order to give some colour to these hostile preparations, the French king published a manifesto, wherein he asserted, that nothing but the safety of



his people could have induced him to take such a step; but as the king of England had assembled an army in Germany, so he thought it his duty to do the same. In the mean time, the marshal de Belleisle, who acted both as general and ambassador, conducted matters with so much art, that the king of Prussia, with the elector of Saxony, were both brought into a general confederacy against the house of Austria, whose dominions were to be parcelled out among them. This was a treaty of so unjust and infamous a nature, that no excuse can be made for it, because it entails infamy upon every one of the parties.

The elector of Bavaria, thus powerfully strengthened, took the field, and declared war against the queen of Hungary, whose whole forces, except a few in garrisons, were engaged in opposing those of the king of Prussia. At first, the elector of Bavaria spread consternation wherever he came, even to the gates of Vienna; while a large body of French troops, under the command of the marshal Maillebois, penetrated through Westphalia to the frontiers of Hanover. His Britannic majesty was then in Hanover; and his whole German forces, amounting to no more than twenty-six thousand men; and the king of Prussia being ready with an army to support the French, he found himself under the necessity of signing a treaty; by which it was stipulated, that the Hanoverian forces should not take any part in the war, but observe a strict neutrality. The queen of Hungary was now driven from Germany, and most of her dominions seized by the enemy. Denied assistance from any prince in the empire, except the elector of Hanover, and he, at the moment his army intended to march to her assistance, was obliged to sign a treaty of neutrality. In that distressed situation, the queen had recourse to methods more proper, and more advantageous than the assistance of any foreign power whatever. She assembled the states of Hungary, a brave, warlike people, who had been subject to her ancestors above six hundred years; and coming into the state-house at Presburg, she held her son, then about six months old, and at present emperor of Germany, in her arms, and addressed her subjects, in Latin, to the following import.

She told them, that her most unhappy circumstances, as they then were, left her no reason to hope that she could ever extricate herself out of such difficulties, unless she was assisted in the most powerful manner. She added, that she was abandoned by her friends, persecuted by her enemies, and that even her own relations had conspired against her. "I have none to trust to but you, my dear and loyal subjects. Here is your king in my arms; to you I commit both him and myself, not doubting but you will support me in opposing my enemies: and if I should be so unfortunate as to lose all in Germany, I shall once more throw myself into the arms of my Hungarian subjects." This speech, delivered in the most tender and pathetic manner, had the desired effect. Many ladies in the hall shed tears; but the brave deputies drawing their swords, called out, "Moriatur pro rege Maria-Theresa!" "We will die for our king Maria-Theresa;" for the Hungarians always speak of their sovereigns in the masculine gender.

It is impossible to express the zeal that her loyal subjects exerted on the present occasion: there seemed to be a contest among them who should be the first to assist their distressed sovereign; and in the compass of a few weeks, an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of count Palfy, an old experienced general, was sent to the relief of Vienna. Prince Charles of Lorraine, the favourite of the Austrian army, had raised some forces, in concert with his brother the grand duke of Tuscany; and several other small armies continued to protect some of the most important towns in Bohemia; and a variety of circumstances seemed to concur towards extricating the queen of Hungary out of her numerous diffi-

culties, and turning the intended mischief upon her enemies.

Cardinal de Fleury, ever attentive to the interests of his country, and well acquainted with the internal power of Great-Britain, left nothing undone to persuade the French king to adopt the most pacific measures; and finding his opinion over-ruled, he was so dilatory in sending provisions and ammunition to the army in Germany, that the marshal de Belleisle found himself reduced to great hardships. Nor was the elector of Bavaria in much better circumstances. Instead of attacking Vienna, which would undoubtedly have surrendered, he spent his time in the most dilatory manner; while Khevenhuller, the bravest of the Austrian generals, did not fail to take every advantage, in order to recover such places as had been taken from his royal mistress. But the elector of Saxony, who owed the crown of Poland to the late emperor, joined his whole army to that of the French and Bavarians; and marching to Prague, the capital of Bohemia, it was invested with such fury, that the whole garrison surrendered prisoners of war; while the grand duke, who was marching to its relief, found himself under the necessity of retiring more to the southward.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, who commanded under his brother the grand duke, proposed that the army should be divided into three bodies, viz. one under the grand duke, a second under prince Lobkowitz, and a third under Khevenhuller. Several advantages were obtained by these different armies, but the most important was that by Khevenhuller, who defeated the general Segur, who commanded for the elector of Bavaria; and afterwards being joined by the army under the grand duke, he attacked the city of Lintz, the capital of the Upper Austria, and the garrison was obliged to capitulate.

The court of France, eager to pursue the measures already taken, proceeded with such celerity, that the elector of Bavaria was crowned emperor, little opposition being made to his title. But this step was trifling to what the French had in view: for as they had resolved not to leave the queen of Hungary in possession of one single province, an ambassador was sent to the Grand Signior, to inform him that he had now an opportunity of humbling the house of Austria, and annexing to his European dominions the ancient kingdom of Hungary.

This was a measure the queen of Hungary had not foreseen; and therefore, as soon as the news of it was communicated to her, she was filled with the utmost consternation. However, her natural fortitude, and a presence of mind for which she had been always distinguished, supported her drooping spirits; and she wrote a letter, with her own hand, to the Grand Signior, wherein she mentioned the distressed situation to which she was reduced; and begging that, consistent with the character of an heroic prince, he would not avail himself of circumstances that could not, in the end, produce any real advantage.

The pope gave the queen leave to claim one tenth of the revenues of all ecclesiastical benefices within her dominions: and the empress of Russia intended to have assisted her, but the French stirred up the Swedes to declare war against that princess. The Swedes accordingly entered the province of Livonia, and took some of the most important places; but the Russians at last drove them from their territories. This was succeeded by a revolution in Peterburgh, by which the empress was deposed, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, elected empress in her room.

This revolution, however sudden and unexpected, did not disconcert any measures taken by the queen of Hungary, in order to secure her honour and interest. General Berner, who commanded for her in Austria, made an irruption into Bavaria, where he destroyed several of the French magazines, and obliged the garrisons of Tichel and Hallstadt to submit,



as prisoners of war. This masterly stroke opened a passage for the Austrian army into the center of Bavaria; and, upon the whole, the campaign was finished much to the advantage of the queen of Hungary. The French had tried every method to bring over the king of Sardinia to their interest, but in vain; for that prince was extremely jealous of the Spaniards or French getting footing in Italy. Genoa, indeed, declared against the queen of Hungary; and the kingdom of Naples being, in a manner, dependent on Spain, and Spain directed by French councils, it was no difficult matter to persuade the court of Madrid to send a body of forces into Italy; and before admiral Haddock could come up with them, they were joined by the French fleet in the harbour of Toulon.

In the latter end of October, his majesty returned to England; and on the first of December, the new parliament met at Westminster. During the election for new members, the minority acquired considerable advantages, in consequence of the neglect of the minister, who still considered himself as sure of a majority that would support his measures, and screen him from censure. This had induced him to neglect his common practices of corrupting electors; so that his ruin seemed not far distant.

His majesty, in his speech, told the members, that he had entered into the present war with Spain by their advice and concurrence; and that, with respect to the confederacy that had been formed against the queen of Hungary, it was too well known to the nation in general, for him to descend to particulars: that, consistent with the advice of his parliament, he had done every thing in his power to support that unfortunate princess, by striving to dissolve such connections as had been formed against her; but as he had hitherto been unsuccessful, he doubted not but his parliament would enable him to pursue such measures as would bring the war to a happy conclusion.

The commons being returned to their own house, Mr. Herbert, afterwards earl of Powis, moved for an address to his majesty, which was seconded by some other members: but lord Noel Somerset having proposed, that it should be inserted in the address, that Britain should not be involved in a war, in order to preserve his majesty's dominions in Germany, a long debate ensued, in which it appeared evident that the minister had lost much of that superiority which he had hitherto maintained over the house. At last a formal, though very bold address, was agreed to; but no sooner was it presented, than the minister was blamed for not exerting himself with more spirit, which, in reality, he might have done; but he seemed to be altogether infatuated.

For some years, there had been a misunderstanding between the king and the prince of Wales, who, on many accounts, was beloved by the people: and the minister laying hold of this circumstance, resolved to make up the breach, and so reconcile himself to both. Dr. Secker, then bishop of Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was employed, on this occasion, as a mediator. But the prince desired him to inform his majesty, that 'however willing and desirous he was to regain his long lost favour, he would not countenance any measure of government till the minister was removed.'

A. D. 1742. This was the last blow given to the power of the minister; for, on the third of February, his majesty adjourned both houses of parliament to the eighteenth; and, in the mean time, Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments. The prince of Wales was, soon after, reconciled to his royal father, and a guard appointed to attend him at Carlton-house; while some of the principal persons in the opposition were advanced to the highest employments: but still the influence of Sir Robert seemed to operate on the ministry; and his removal from his places was looked upon in no other light than as a sham contrivance to amuse the nation.

On the eighteenth of February, the parliament met, according to the time mentioned in their last adjournment; and petitions were presented to them from the merchants of the most eminent trading towns in the nation, complaining that their goods had been taken by the enemy, because the ministry had neglected to send out force sufficient to protect them. This induced the house to resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the nature of these grievances; and the people in general began to hope for redress, when they found that the minister, who had so long been the object of their resentment, was removed from the council. But these hopes soon vanished; for many of those who had so violently opposed the ministry, no sooner found themselves invested with power, than they resolved to gratify their avarice and ambition, by acting on the same principles with him. Disputes arose among them, which were agitated with great heat on both sides, while the interest of the nation was, in a manner, totally neglected. Some were for calling the late minister to an account for his conduct; but others opposed it, because the profits that he had formerly enjoyed were now divided among themselves. The nation in general cried out against him, and were supported in the house by such discontented members as had not been advanced to places in consequence of the late change; but he was powerfully supported by many of those who had formerly been his most inveterate enemies.

Motions were made in the house of commons to repeal the act for septennial parliaments, and likewise the pension-bill; but both these passed in the negative, although supported by a powerful party. This began to open the eyes of the people; for as these two points were the principal objects the patriots pretended to have in view, and as their number had been considerably increased at the last general election, it was not doubted but they would have carried both the motions: but they were mistaken; for those who had appeared most forward while Sir Robert was at the head of affairs, now did all in their power to oppose every measure that tended towards promoting the interest and security of the nation. In a word, the people lost all confidence in their representatives; they had changed men, but the same measures were pursued. Those who had been the strongest in the opposition, were brought over by pensions, or allured by titles; among whom was the famous Mr. Pulteney, who had so long distinguished himself in the house of commons. He was created earl of Bath, and gratified with a large part of the crown lands; but from that moment his popularity sunk into contempt.

It is now time that we should return to the continent, and consider the operations of war, which the British nation had so liberally contributed towards supporting. The earl of Stair, a man equally acquainted with war and politics, had been appointed commander in chief of the army, in the room of John duke of Argyle, who had resigned all his employments; and early in the spring that nobleman went over to the Hague, to try if he could bring the united provinces to declare in favour of the queen of Hungary. But although he was a man of the greatest address, and well acquainted with the passions of statesmen, yet he found it impossible to bring over the Dutch to our measures. Accordingly he was recalled, and lord Carteret sent in his room. The troops that had been raised in England for the service of the queen of Hungary, embarked for Flanders the latter end of April, under the command of the earl of Stair. They were to be joined by twenty-five thousand Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians, who had been taken into the pay of Great-Britain. But things took a different turn from what was expected, as will appear in the course of this work.

The king of Sardinia was convinced that he must stand or fall with the house of Austria; and therefore, as soon as he heard of the alteration that had taken



taken place in the British ministry, he resolved to join his forces to those of the queen of Hungary. The French were terribly alarmed at this resolution of his Sardinian majesty; and as they doubted not but their harbours would be visited by the British fleets, they resolved to put their navy on a proper footing. The Austrian arms, still attended with more success than could have been expected, penetrated into the center of Bavaria, and Munich, the capital city of that electorate, surrendered to them. The queen of Hungary, no stranger with respect to the most proper methods to be used in order to acquire the esteem and secure the affections of her army, wrote a letter to general Khevenhüller, desiring him to thank the soldiers in her name, and to present them with the pictures of herself and her son Joseph. No sooner were the pictures shewn to the army, than they seemed fired with enthusiasm in favour of their sovereign; and their whole conduct, during the remainder of the war, was a convincing proof of their loyalty.

The critical state of affairs in Bavaria induced the French to send a fresh reinforcement thither, in order to drive the Austrians from Munich; upon which the garrison, being afraid that they would be taken prisoners, abandoned the place: but before the French could march thither, it was retaken by a large body of Austrians. General Khevenhüller finding that another body of French, under the command of duke Harcourt, were marching to oppose him, quitted the city of Munich; and, in order to secure a retreat, threw a bridge across the Danube. Both armies came to an engagement near the banks of the Danube, where the Bavarians were defeated with considerable loss: but prince Maurice of Saxony, afterwards known by the name of Marshal Saxe, took the town of Egra; while Glatz, and some other towns in Silesia, being greatly reduced for want of provisions, and having lost many of their men, were obliged to surrender to the king of Prussia, who seemed to carry every thing before him.

The army under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine amounted to upwards of forty thousand men, besides a large body of irregulars drawn from the most remote parts of the provinces. The Austrians had the greatest confidence in prince Charles; and, in general, he was very successful, for he prevented the king of Prussia from marching into Bohemia, at least for some time. This gave fresh spirits to the Austrians; and prince Charles finding himself under an absolute necessity of coming to a battle with the king of Prussia, both armies met at a place called Czaflaw, about thirty miles east from Prague. A most bloody engagement ensued; for both armies were nearly equal in number, and both were composed of as brave soldiers as ever took the field. The king of Prussia, after his men had done every thing in their power, was going to give way; but the irregulars that followed the Austrian army broke into the Prussian camp for plunder, and their example being followed by the regulars, the king embraced that opportunity to rally, and prince Charles was defeated, with the loss of three thousand men.

This victory might have enabled the king of Prussia to penetrate into the heart of Bohemia; but he began to discover that he could not put any confidence in the French, who had hitherto deceived him with promises of new reinforcements. This induced him to think of making peace with the queen of Hungary, and no time seemed so proper as when the memory of the late battle was recent in the minds of the Austrians. A packet, with dispatches, had been sent to the marshal de Broglie, the French general, which was, by mistake, delivered to his Prussian majesty; and, upon perusing the contents, he discovered that it was the intention of the French court to spare their army as much as possible, by throwing the burthen of the war upon him. In a letter to marshal de Broglie, and in a conference with marshal de Belleisle, he upbraided them for not seconding him in his ope-

rations; but they still continued to deceive him with false hopes. Accordingly a treaty was concluded between the king of Prussia and the queen of Hungary, by which the latter gave up Silesia, with the province of Glatz in Bohemia, upon condition of his withdrawing his forces, and observing a strict neutrality. The elector of Saxony made peace with the queen of Hungary at the same time; so that the French were deprived of two of their allies, and the emperor was left exposed to the whole power of the Austrian army.

Prince Charles, immediately after the battle of Czaflaw, marched towards Budweis, where he was joined by prince Lobkowitz, and their united army amounted to sixty thousand men. Thus reinforced, prince Charles crossed the Moldaw, and attacked a body of French under the command of M. de Aubigné, and put them to flight. He pursued and harassed them so much, that their loss was equal to a defeat in a general engagement. The hussars pillaged the French of their baggage; and such of the soldiers as happened to stray from the main body, were murdered by the peasants. In the mean time, the marshal de Broglie came up with a body of forces to oppose prince Charles, who was on the point of cutting off the whole French army; but nothing could re-animate the drooping spirits of his army; and they were so much struck with terror, that they never looked behind them till they came under the walls of Prague. Here they were joined by the army under the command of marshal de Belleisle, and both generals resolved to concert the most proper methods for opposing prince Charles. As soon as prince Charles came within sight of the French at Prague, he encamped his men, and next day he was joined by his brother, the grand duke.

The marshal de Belleisle was now so much distracted concerning what means he could use to preserve his army, that he offered to give up Prague upon condition that his men were allowed to depart, unmolested, out of Bohemia; but all the answer they received was, they must surrender prisoners of war. This would have been a fatal stroke to France; and had it taken place, their whole scheme would have been defeated; so that there remained nothing to be done but to defend the place to the last extremity; and, in consequence thereof, one of the most remarkable sieges took place that we meet with in history.

On the twenty-eighth of July, the trenches were opened; and although the Austrian army was more formidable in appearance than that of the French, yet the latter were better acquainted with the arts of attack and defence, and their generals behaved with the most intrepid spirit and undaunted resolution. They knew that the strongest enemy they had to contend with was famine, for they doubted not but the Austrians would hinder the peasants from sending in provisions. This happened just as they expected; for in a short time, meat was sold for three shillings and sixpence a pound, and horse flesh was eaten by many of the gentry. Forage was so scarce, that fourteen thousand horses were either killed or turned loose, while the French officers gave every thing they had to purchase provisions for the soldiers.

On the twenty-second of August, the marshal de Belleisle made a sally, at the head of twelve thousand men, drove the Austrians from their works, filled up some of the entrenchments, and took general Monty prisoner, besides killing fifteen hundred men.

Nor was the bravery of the Austrians less conspicuous; for prince Charles and the grand duke exposed their persons on every occasion, in order to animate the soldiers. Cardinal Fleury, who had the utmost aversion to war, proposed bringing about an accommodation, and desired the king of Great-Britain to become a mediator; but his late majesty knew that no confidence could be placed in any proposal made by the cardinal, and therefore rejected his overtures with disdain. Finding himself baffled in this undertaking, he wrote a letter to the Austrian generals, wherein



wherein he informed them, that he had opposed the war, but was over-ruled by the king and marshal de Belleisle: and this letter, which made a considerable noise, was published at Vienna.

It is not consistent with the plan of this work to descend to every particular that happened during this memorable siege. There were in the city, besides the French army, at least one hundred thousand inhabitants, whose distress was beyond description, nor was there a possibility of relieving them. The marquis de Fenelon, then ambassador at the Hague, proposed that the army under the command of the marshal Maillebois should be sent to relieve Prague; for France had been, in a manner, exhausted both of men and money. This proposal was strongly opposed by the cardinal, who insisted, that if the brave army under the command of marshal Maillebois should be sent into Bohemia, then France would be left exposed both to England and Holland; but the marquis de Fenelon having undertaken to keep the states-general from engaging in the war, the measure was adopted, although apparently attended with very dangerous consequences. The emperor was averse to this plan, because his hereditary dominions were over-run by the Austrians; and he insisted, that if they were driven out of Bavaria, Prague would be relieved of course. Nor was Maillebois less averse to this measure than the emperor; but the orders sent to him being absolute, he began his march from the Lower Rhine about the middle of August, at the head of a brave, well-disciplined army. The duke de Harcourt was then in Bavaria, the imperialists were under the command of general Seckendorff, and the brave Khevenhuller watched their motions with an army of Austrians. But the principal object that engaged the attention of Europe was the fate of Prague.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, ever attentive to his duty as a brave officer, no sooner heard that the marshal Maillebois was marching against him, than he turned the siege of Prague into a blockade; and, committing the care of it to prince Lobkowitz, set out to meet the French, in order to prevent their marching into Bohemia. In his march he was joined by the troops under Khevenhuller, but not before the imperialists had, by forced marches, given them the slip; and, in their way towards the French camp, marshal Saxe, become a great favourite with the army, joined them, so that Maillebois found himself strongly supported. This junction of the three armies was entirely owing to the good conduct of count Saxe; and from that time his knowledge in military affairs shone with such a distinguishing lustre, that no plan of operations was laid down without first consulting him.

The French marshals, Belleisle and Broglie, resolving to avail themselves of the departure of prince Charles, made several sallies upon the Austrians, who were at last obliged to raise the siege; so that all the detached parties of each army found an opportunity of joining together in two very formidable bodies. Prince Charles finding himself reduced to the alternative of either venturing on a battle, the fate of which would decide the war, or leaving the kingdom of Bohemia exposed to the French, resolved to avail himself of the most trifling circumstance.

The scarcity of provisions had obliged the French army once more to divide itself into separate bodies; and prince Charles, who was well acquainted with the country, resolved, if possible, to prevent their joining a second time. This had the desired effect; for the French being reduced to the greatest extremity for want of provisions, the main body under Maillebois marched towards Bavaria, where that general was disgraced, and the command given to marshal Broglie, who had disguised himself as a peasant, to escape the Austrians, and in that manner had travelled several days without being suspected.

Belleisle, who had been obliged to return to Prague, was so closely blocked up by the Austrians, that he resolved, if possible, to make his escape from a place

that he was not able to defend. This scheme he put in practice in such a masterly manner, as must convince every one that he was one of the most accomplished generals of that age. He sent out some spies, who pretended to be deserters, and they being taken to the Austrian general Lobkowitz, they informed him that the marshal, during the next night, intended to make a general sally from a particular quarter of the town. The Austrians, not doubting the truth of this story, drew off their forces to that quarter; and, in the mean time, marshal de Belleisle made his escape from the place, and got at least a day's march from Prague before prince Lobkowitz knew any thing of his departure. Three thousand of the French were left in Prague, and Belleisle continued marching ten days, over ice and snow, before the Austrians could come up with him. At last prince Lobkowitz getting intelligence what route they had taken, came in sight of them; but not chusing to venture on a general engagement with men reduced to a state of desperation, he resolved to block up such passes as lay before them, and so prevent them from joining with the main body of forces in Bavaria.

But notwithstanding the vigilance of the Austrian general, yet the marshal de Belleisle rose superior to every difficulty. He made choice of a road so dangerous and unfrequented, that the enemy had no notion of his ever going that way; and although he was so much afflicted with the rheumatism, that he was obliged to be carried in a sedan, yet he gave orders in the most cool and deliberate manner, without ever complaining of the hardships he suffered. At last, after a march, over snow and ice, of above one hundred and fifty miles, and surmounting incredible difficulties, he arrived safe at Egra, having lost about a thousand men through the inclemency of the weather, but none by any other accidents whatever. The troops left by him in Prague capitulated on the same day that he had completed his march, and were allowed to march to Egra; so that this distressed city was relieved, after a siege of five months and some days.

Such was the state of affairs in Germany during the year 1742. But we must now look to Italy, where the different contending powers were using their utmost endeavours to light up the flames of war, and bring the smaller principalities, as well as the most powerful states, into an alliance with them. The queen of Hungary, sensible that the king of Sardinia, consistent with his own interest, could not join with France or Spain, resolved to bring him over to her measures, and accordingly dispatched an ambassador, for that purpose, to the court of Turin. But the Sardinian monarch was too cunning to enter into any negotiation till he had made proposals to the court of London, in order to procure such a subsidy as would defray his expences. Indeed the English ministry were now convinced that they ought not to keep any measures of a pacific nature with France: the views of that court were now fully laid open, especially when it is considered in what manner they assisted the Spanish fleet when it was opposed in the Mediterranean by admiral Haddock, whose orders were of so ambiguous a nature, that he knew not in what manner to act.

Admiral Haddock was now so much reduced by sickness, that he found himself under an absolute necessity of returning to England for the re-establishment of his health; and the command of the fleet devolved upon commodore Leacock, who had lately arrived from the West-Indies.

As soon as the admiral had set sail for England, the commodore made a proper inquiry into the state of the fleet; and finding that the whole number of ships amounted to twenty-eight, he weighed anchor, and arrived safe in the harbour of Port-Mahon, in the island of Minorca. There he took in fresh provisions; and having refitted such of the ships as were damaged, he sailed from Mahon, and appeared before the harbour of Toulon. The French, who



imagined that he had come there in a hostile manner, were filled with consternation, but nothing of importance was done; and, in consequence of the change that had taken place in the English ministry, admiral Matthews was sent to the Mediterranean, to take upon him the command of the fleet; and Leftock, who had, on former occasions, distinguished himself, was raised to the degree of an admiral.

This step, in joining these two admirals together, was considered as the most impolitic measure that could have been pursued; for there had formerly been many differences between them; and it was not doubted but they would do all in their power to cross each other. In the mean time, admiral Matthews took care to put the fleet on the most respectable footing; and accordingly, soon after his arrival, he burnt some Spanish ships that had taken shelter in the bay of St. Tropez, on the coast of the Mediterranean. He also sent commodore Martin to Naples, to demand that the king of the two Sicilies would immediately withdraw his troops from the Spanish army in Italy; and to sign an agreement, that he would not give them any assistance whatever. The whole city of Naples was filled with the utmost consternation at the peremptory manner in which the English admiral made his demands; but necessity obliged pride to give way, and the king of Sicily, consistent with the duty he owed to his people, was obliged to withdraw his troops, by which the Spanish army was considerably weakened.

The Spaniards had attempted to send a large body of men into Italy; but although they were powerfully assisted by the French, yet such was the spirited conduct of the king of Sardinia, that he drove them back from Piedmont with very considerable loss. The Austrians in Italy taking fresh courage from this circumstance, returned to the duchy of Modena, and laid all the towns under contribution. Thus every thing on the part of the queen of Hungary seemed to wear a most promising aspect in Italy. The king of Sardinia was her ally; the king of Naples was prevented from doing her any injury: some of the smaller states were overawed; while admiral Matthews was cruising in the Mediterranean, to prevent either the French or Spaniards from landing any forces.

While these things were transacting on the continent of Europe, the British affairs in America were in the most deplorable situation. The admiral and the commander of the land forces could never agree in any single proposal; and the time that should have been devoted towards prosecuting the war, was spent in idle contention, the effect of passion and malevolence.

A reinforcement had been sent over to admiral Vernon in the West-Indies; and it was proposed to sail to Porto-Bello, and from thence to send a detachment, over the isthmus of Darien, to Panama, the capital city of that province. Admiral Vernon was of opinion, that no time should be lost; and therefore, having anchored in the harbour of Porto-Bello, he dispatched Mr. Lowther, an officer of the army, to bring him proper intelligence concerning the situation of Panama, and what force would be necessary to reduce it. Upon the return of Mr. Lowther, a council of war was held, wherein he gave it as his opinion, that they could not, with safety, attack the fort of Panama, on account of the rainy season, and the great sickness that prevailed in the army. In this he was seconded by the other officers of the land forces; and admiral Vernon, vexed to the utmost, found himself under the necessity of returning once more to Jamaica, to take in fresh provisions, without having been able to do any thing for the service of his country. So true is it, that nothing so much retards the progress of an army as differences among the commanders.

On the sixteenth of November, the British parliament met at Westminster; when the king informed them, that he had taken into his pay sixteen thousand

Hanoverian and Hessian forces, in order to strengthen the army on the continent. He took notice of the state of Europe, particularly Germany; and spoke in the highest terms concerning the magnanimous conduct of the queen of Hungary. He added, that an alliance with the queen of Hungary in the war would humble the power of France and Spain, and make Britain more respectable than ever. He observed, that although the expence of the war would be great, yet it was necessary; and therefore the proper estimates should be laid before the commons, not doubting but they would contribute towards supporting him in the same cheerful manner as they had hitherto done. This was what he hoped no person could have any reasonable objection to; and he assured them, that the strictest œconomy should be observed by himself.

His majesty having left the house, and the commons were returned, great debates arose concerning the words of the address that should be presented. This opposition was occasioned by the conduct of the discontented members, who not being gratified according to their expectations, became as inveterate enemies to that ministry they had set up, as they had been to that which they pulled down. But all these attempts proved unsuccessful; for both houses presented most dutiful and loyal addresses to his majesty, wherein they approved entirely of every part of his conduct, and thanked him for his great care in watching so attentively over the affairs of Europe. They assured him, that nothing should be wanting to support the dignity of his majesty's crown, and humble his enemies in every part of the world.

The committee of ways and means took into consideration in what manner the proper supplies were to be raised; for on the last day of this year, (1742) the national debt amounted to forty-eight millions, nine hundred and fifteen thousand forty-seven pounds, sixteen shillings and nine-pence halfpenny.

A. D. 1743. The land-tax was raised to four shillings in the pound; seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds were borrowed on excise-bills; eight hundred thousand pounds were to be raised by a lottery; one million was taken from the sinking fund, besides the whole surplus of the exchequer. The whole sum granted by parliament to defray the expences of this year, amounted to five millions, three hundred and fourteen thousand one hundred pounds.

Motions were made to revive the place and pension bills, and to enquire into the conduct of the earl of Orford during the last ten years of his administration. But although these motions were strongly supported by Sir Watkyn-Williams Wynn and Mr. Lyttleton, yet they were thrown out by a great majority. Another motion was made, that his majesty be enabled to take into British pay such a body of Hanoverian and Hessian dragoons as should be consistent with the state of affairs on the continent. This was most violently opposed by the country-party; and it was urged, that by the act of settlement, Great-Britain was not to be concerned in any war relating to his majesty's electoral dominions: nay, some of the members insisted, that to demand money to support the Hanoverian forces, was a gross imposition on the English nation; for they knew that those troops could not take part with the queen of Hungary, without bringing his majesty under the ban of the empire. It was answered by the minority, that every thing done by his majesty was in compliance with the advice of his parliament; but this was denied by those in the opposition, who insisted, that what was promised was upon a supposition that the states-general would have joined their forces with those of Great-Britain, in order to oppose the French, and support the queen of Hungary in the peaceable possession of her hereditary territories.

Much was said by those at the head of affairs concerning the balance of power in Europe, which could not be maintained consistent with the safety of Britain, unless



unless we assisted the house of Austria. At last the question being put, it was carried in favour of the ministry by a great majority. In the house of lords, it met with still greater opposition; for earl Stanhope moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying, that he would take into his royal consideration the distress of the nation, in consequence of the enormous load of taxes; and that he would be pleased to discharge all such foreign troops as had been taken into British pay without the consent of parliament. This motion was seconded by the earl of Sandwich, and supported by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Chesterfield, viscount Lonsdale, and lord Harvey. The principal speakers in defence of the ministry were, the lord-chancellor Hardwick, the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Cholmondeley and Bath, lord Bathurst and lord Carteret; for sentiments changed with the admission into places.

The next business upon which the parliament entered, was to take into consideration the state of the licences for the sale of wines and spirituous liquors, and to impose other duties upon them than what had been done hitherto. It appeared evident, that the late restriction upon the sale of spirituous liquors had not been of any service in promoting the health or morals of the people; and therefore, that the sale of those pernicious articles might become more common, it was proposed to lower the taxes. The whole bench of bishops voted against this measure; and the archbishop of Canterbury, in particular, spoke long and learnedly on the subject. Lord Harvey, who had been deprived of the privy-seal, vented all his spleen against the ministry, by comparing their conduct, in lowering the duties on spirituous liquors, to a tyrant who lets loose a wild beast upon a parcel of innocent children. Many eloquent harangues were delivered in the house of lords on this memorable occasion, particularly by the duke of Bedford, the earls of Chesterfield, Sandwich, and Aylesford, and the lords Talbot and Lonsdale.

On the other hand, the bill was supported by the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Bath, Cholmondeley, and Ilay, with the lords Bathurst and Carteret. During this argument, many brilliant sallies of wit were thrown out on both sides, particularly by the earl of Ilay, who levelled his satire at the bishops; and by the earl of Chesterfield, who ripped up all the sores of the ministry. At last, the question being put, it was, as usual, carried in favour of the ministry, by a very great majority.

The minority in both houses finding the power of the ministry too strong for them to overthrow, resolved to give them all the trouble they could, by plying them in parliament with one motion after another. Accordingly they moved, that an address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would order the proper officer to lay before the house copies of all papers and memorials, with the answers to them, that had passed between the courts of Vienna and London: but this motion, with several others, was carried in favour of the ministry, while those in the opposition were provoked to the highest degree.

On the twenty-third of April, his majesty went to the house; and having given his assent to the bills, delivered a speech, wherein he told them, that he had ordered his army, in conjunction with that of the queen of Hungary, to cross the Rhine, and watch the motions of the French: that he had given orders to continue a strong fleet in the Mediterranean, to prevent the Spaniards from sending forces to Italy; and another in the West-Indies: that he would not neglect any proper measures that could tend towards restoring the tranquillity of Europe, and procuring such an honourable peace as would promote the interest both of his people and his allies. Lastly, he thanked the commons for the cheerful manner in which they had granted the supplies; told them, that the money should be expended according to their direction; and doubted not but they would be ready

to support him on any future occasion; and then the lord-chancellor prorogued both houses.

During the beginning of this year, nothing was to be seen throughout the greatest part of Europe, but preparations for opening the campaign. In Germany, the emperor Charles VII. was at the head of one party, strongly supported by the French; and, in opposition to him, was the queen of Hungary, assisted by Great-Britain. The English ministry endeavoured to prevail with the states-general to join in supporting the house of Austria; and these endeavours being seconded by the prince of Orange, who was extremely fond of war, the Dutch raised, or rather increased, their army to forty thousand foot and five thousand horse, to be ready to march when ordered. This spirited resolution in the states, who had so long remained neuter, surprised all Europe; but, upon enquiry, it was found, that they had been instigated by Mr. Van Haren, a young gentleman, and one of the deputies. He wrote elegant allegorical pieces, wherein he compared Holland to ancient Greece, when that famous republic was oppressed by the Persians and Macedonians; and these pieces being universally read, the people were roused from a state of insensibility.

The king of Prussia was cultivating the arts of peace in his dominions. The new empress of Russia refused to join the French; and the king of Sweden was too far advanced in years to engage in any enterprizes of a public nature. Such was the state of Europe, when cardinal Fleury paid the debt of nature, in the ninetieth year of his age. He was a man of great political abilities, and seemed to possess the untainted simplicity of the primitive ages. He had lived in an obscure manner till he was upwards of sixty years old, and then he was appointed bishop of Frejus, a small living, and situated in a very unhealthy part of the kingdom. At last superior merit brought him into office, and the pope honoured him with a cardinal's hat. As a minister, the principal object he had in view was to promote the internal happiness of the French people, to preserve peace in Europe, and to make his sovereign great without oppressing his subjects. In him the French king lost an able minister, a faithful servant, and an honest man: and although he might have enriched his family at the expence of the public, yet he despised such meannesses, and died extremely poor. Lewis XV. king of France, with his son, the late dauphin, visited the cardinal in his last moments; and his dying advice to them was, to desist from any farther connections in the war.

His Britannic majesty, ever faithful in fulfilling such conventions as he entered into with his allies, resolved to visit the continent; and therefore, soon after the prorogation of the parliament, he set out for Hanover, where he arrived on the sixth of May, having first taken care of the internal peace of the nation, by appointing a regency to act, with plenary powers during, his absence.

The campaign had been opened this year sooner than usual. The queen of Hungary seemed to be in a prosperous state; for the French army had suffered considerably during the preceding winter, owing to the severity of the season, and the soldiers crowding themselves too near German stoves, filled with burning wood, the mortality among them became general, and vast numbers of them perished every day.

The emperor took the field with what forces he could raise, and seemed determined to act in the most vigorous manner; but prince Charles of Lorraine, having gathered together an army of Austrians, attacked the imperialists, and gave them a total overthrow. Besides prisoners, five thousand were left dead on the spot, and the whole baggage and artillery of the emperor fell into the hands of the Austrians. This victory opened a way for the Austrians to penetrate into Bavaria, and the towns in general surrendered on



on their approach. The discomfited emperor was obliged to take shelter in Augsbürg, one of the imperial cities; but Mentzel, an Hungarian general, at the head of a strong body of Pandours, drove him from it, so that he was obliged to seek shelter in Frankfort.

The British forces, under the command of the earl of Stair, began their march from the Lower Germany in the month of February, and on the nineteenth of May were joined by the Hanoverian, near the town of Aix-la-Chapelle. From thence the earl of Stair continued his march to the neighbourhood of Frankfort, where the emperor then was, and to whom he sent a messenger to inform him, that his reason for marching into that part of Germany was to restore the peace of the empire, and that no disturbance should be given to him. The rest of the allies marched at the same time to join the earl of Stair, the whole amounting to about thirty-seven thousand men, encamped on the banks of the river Maine near Frankfort.

The French army, who expected that such measures would be taken, resolved to lose no time, and therefore, on the fourteenth of May, the marshal Noailles crossed the Rhine and reduced the allied army to great hardships for provisions. They even endeavoured to seize the town of Aschaffenburg, where there was a bridge over the Maine, but the vigilance of the earl of Stair prevented them from putting their intended project in execution. His Britannic majesty, accompanied by the duke of Cumberland and lord Carteret, arrived in the camp of the allied army on the nineteenth of June, and was received amidst the joyful acclamations of the soldiers. The same afternoon he reviewed the army, and found them in exceeding good order, after which he took up his residence in the palace of Aschaffenburg.

But although the presence of his Britannic majesty raised the spirits of the soldiers, yet the allied army was still in great distress; for the French had sent out parties to seize all the boats on the Maine, and which was still worse, the allies were in danger of being surrounded in their camp and made prisoners of war. In this distressed situation, news was brought to the king of England, that prince Charles of Lorraine had made himself master of the greatest part of Bavaria, and that a body of Hessians and Hanoverians were marching to join the allied army. This intelligence induced his Britannic majesty to decamp in the night of the twenty-sixth of June, in order to meet the auxiliary forces; for he was afraid, that had they continued their march much farther, they would have been surrounded and made prisoners by the French.

As soon as the French marshal learned that the allied army had left their camp, he looked upon their destruction as inevitable, and therefore ordered thirty squadrons of dragoons to cross the river and take post at the village of Dettingen, through which he knew they must pass. At the same time the marshal Noailles ordered four regiments of foot to march across two temporary bridges, and conceal themselves in a hollow way near the village of Dettingen, and the duke de Grammont, to whom the command of these forces was given, had orders not to attempt any thing, till such time as the allies should be hemmed in between the rising grounds, that there would be no possibility of their escaping. All the passes on the Maine had been secured by the French marshal, so that his Britannic majesty found himself reduced to the alternative of either fighting on the most unequal terms, or to surrender a prisoner of war, with his whole army. But all the precautions taken by the French general were rendered abortive by the precipitate conduct of the duke de Grammont, who, impatient of waiting any longer, advanced to a rising ground, and attacked the allies before the one half of them had passed the defile. Here the French were led into the same snare they had laid for their

enemies; for their cannon, on the opposite side of the river, not being able to give the detached party any assistance, great numbers of the French were killed.

The marshal de Noailles having seen from the opposite banks of the river, the conduct of the duke de Grammont, marched to his assistance, but too late; for the allied army behaved with so much intrepidity, that the French were defeated with great slaughter, and that army which in the morning seemed devoted to destruction, was in possession of the field before evening. Indeed the conduct of his Britannic majesty, during the whole of the engagement, was consistent with the character of a great hero. He rode through the ranks, encouraging the men to exert themselves to the utmost, and they obeyed in the most cheerful manner. No troops ever behaved with greater bravery than the English, and some of their principal officers were killed, particularly general Clayton, who was shot dead by a random shot from a French cannon. General Monro, a brave Hanoverian officer shared the same fate; and the gallant duke of Cumberland, whose behaviour during the battle procured him the esteem of all present, was wounded in the leg, as were several other officers of the highest distinction.

It is certain, that whatever advantages were obtained on this occasion, they fell to the share of the English; but for all that, the French pretended they had obtained a complete victory. Few advantages, however, resulted from it other than opening a passage for the British forces; and accordingly his majesty continued his march to Hannau, where he was joined by the twelve thousand Hessians and Hanoverians, under the command of prince George of Hesse-Cassel.

The earl of Stair sent a messenger to the marshal de Noailles, recommending to his care such of the wounded soldiers and officers as had been left on the field of battle; and to the honour of the French let it be mentioned, that they treated them with the utmost tenderness.

The French army, removing from their camp near Frankfort, marched to a town called Offenbach, on the south side of the Maine, exactly opposite to Hannau, where his Britannic majesty, with the allied army, then lay encamped, and both continued for some time looking at each other.

In Bavaria prince Charles of Lorraine defeated the marshal de Broglie, and obliged him to retreat in the most precipitate manner. The emperor was reduced to such poverty, that he actually wanted provisions for his family, and must have discharged his domestics had not the marshal de Noailles lent him forty thousand crowns.

On the twelfth of July the marshal de Noailles received information that prince Charles of Lorraine was marching, at the head of a powerful army, to attack him, upon which he set fire to his magazines, and in four days arrived with the French army at Worms, near the Rhine. In the mean time prince Charles arrived at Hannau, where he was received in the most friendly manner by his Britannic majesty, and the plan of operations for the different armies, was agreed upon. The emperor, unable to support his dignity, wearied out with the fatigues of war, and feeling for the misery he had brought on his subjects, by being made a dupe to French councils, resolved to conclude a separate peace with the queen of Hungary; but the Austrian minister would hearken to no terms of accommodation. Many of the German princes began to consider the queen of Hungary as too inflexible, and, at the same time, they pitied the unfortunate emperor, who longed earnestly for peace. The two last places of importance in his dominions, viz. Egra and Ingolstadt, were taken by the enemy, and in the last mentioned were found the records and archives of the electorate of Bavaria, the family jewels, pictures, plate, curiosities, and most of the valuable things belonging to the Bavarian nobility,



nobility. This was a fatal stroke to the emperor; and, to increase his misfortune, his kinsman and faithful counsellor, the archbishop of Mentz, was dead, and his successor was a friend to the Austrians. A protest was sent from the Austrian ministry against the election of the emperor, declaring it null and void; and the elector of Mentz, as high-chancellor of the empire, ordered it to be registered. This occasioned many disputes among the German princes, each party espousing the cause that suited their interests or inclinations; but the most sensible complained of the conduct of the Austrians, in not hearkening to terms of accommodation.

Among those who espoused the cause of the emperor, was the king of Prussia, who declared, that he could not behold with indifference the head of the empire treated in so indignant a manner. That prince finding that nothing could persuade the Austrian ministry to hearken to reason, went to Frankfort; where he had an interview with the emperor, which occasioned much speculation, especially as the Prussian monarch was convinced that no confidence could be put in the French; and the emperor's connections were such, that he could not, without great difficulty, disengage himself from them.

Such was the situation of affairs, when his Britannic majesty, at the head of the allied army, crossed the Rhine near Mentz, and established his head-quarters in the city of Worms; while marshal de Noailles retreated to Alsace, where he pitched his camp in the most safe and commodious manner. About the latter end of September, the allies marched from Worms to Spire, where they were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries, who had marched from Holland.

The army was now considerably increased; and having taken every necessary precaution, they entered into winter quarters about the latter end of October; but the hussars and pandours, with other irregulars belonging to the Austrian army, penetrated into the dutchy of Lorrain, and ravaged it in the most cruel manner. Prince Charles of Lorrain, after an unsuccessful attempt to cross the Rhine, returned to the frontiers of Bavaria, where he distributed his troops into quarters of cantonment.

The earl of Stair, either displeased that his advice, in some things, had been rejected, or because the king shewed more respect to the foreign generals, desired leave to resign his command, and the king returned to Hanover.

In Italy, the king of Sardinia raised an army of forty thousand men, in order to oppose the Spaniards, who had taken possession of Savoy: but he was too inactive; for he rather remained on the defensive, than offered to attempt any thing of importance. Count de Gages, who commanded another army of Spaniards in Italy, transmitted accounts to Madrid, that he had lost, out of forty thousand men, above ten thousand by sickness: but the king of Spain, who was under the influence of his queen, sent peremptory orders to the count to engage; and accordingly he crossed the Panaro, and encamped in a place belonging to the pope, resolving to act some time on the defensive. He sent several pressing letters to the king of Naples, to send him a fresh reinforcement: but however willing that prince was to assist the Spaniards, yet he knew, that if he had sent them any part of his army, the English fleet would have battered down his capital.

In the month of September, prince Lobkowitz was sent to take the command of the Austrian army in Italy, and immediately resolved to take the field. Accordingly he marched against count Gages, who not having force sufficient to oppose him, retreated to Fano, a small town near the gulph of Venice; where he resolved to wait for the Austrians. He caused all the passes and avenues leading to the town to be fortified; but prince Lobkowitz, knowing that the place would naturally be given up on account of the scarcity of provisions, and not doubting but, before the expiration of the season, the Spanish army

would be obliged to surrender prisoners of war, he did not offer to pursue them, but put his men into quarters.

The prince de Conti was sent, at the head of twelve thousand men, to reinforce the army in Savoy; under the command of Don Philip; and to these were added four thousand foot, drawn from the Spanish regiments in Catalonia. The design of sending these troops into Savoy, was to attempt to force a passage through the Alps, which had been attempted before by the marquis de las Minas, though without success, and three thousand of the Spanish soldiers were cut off. The united army of the French and Spaniards now amounted to fifty-six thousand men. As it was difficult to procure provisions for such a numerous body of men in the mountains of Savoy, where the poor peasants have scarce as much as will support themselves; it was resolved, in a council of war, to march to Chateau-Dauphine; but, after several unsuccessful attempts, they found themselves under the necessity of going into the same winter quarters they had occupied before: so that nothing of importance was done against his Sardinian majesty during the whole of that campaign.

In the Mediterranean, things remained in the same situation as the preceding year. Admiral Matthews had taken care to prevent the Spanish and French fleets from joining; but as the French resolved not to act any longer in an underhand manner, it was agreed, that the fleet blocked up in Toulon should be reinforced by some ships just finished in that harbour; while another squadron was to be fitted out at Brest, to intercept any reinforcements that might happen to be sent from England to the Mediterranean. But some ships belonging to the Spaniards being taken by Matthews, he found out the scheme laid to overpower him; and sent notice of it to the ministry, earnestly begging that they would send him more ships and men, the fleet being in a very miserable situation.

Sir Chaloner Ogle succeeded to the united command of the army and navy, in the room of general Wentworth and admiral Vernon, who had both been recalled home; but the Spanish admiral, de Torres, was still in the harbour of the Havannah, with a large fleet; so that it could not be expected that any thing of importance would be done.

Captain Knowles was sent, with a small squadron, to attack one of the Spanish settlements called Porto Cavallo; but the governor, either suspecting, or having some intelligence of the attempt that was to be made, caused the fortifications to be repaired; and Knowles, not being able to reduce the place, was obliged to sail for the island of Curacoa, belonging to the Dutch. A second attempt was made on the same place; but although twelve hundred men were landed, under the command of major Lucas, yet scarce had they begun the attack, when they fell into confusion, and were obliged to return to their ships.

On the continent of America, things were in no better a situation than in the West-Indies: for although general Oglethorpe undertook a long, fatiguing march, to prevent the Spaniards from penetrating into any of our provinces, yet he was obliged to return to Georgia, without having been able to do any thing of importance.

Having thus described the state of affairs abroad, we must now look back to England, where several things of importance happened that claim our immediate attention. In Scotland, a regiment of highlanders had been raised, under pretence that they were to act as militia in preserving the peace of the country: but being ordered up to London, they were reviewed on Finchley-cymmon by general Wade, and then told that they must embark at Gravesend. This they complained of, as inconsistent with the terms upon which they had been embodied; and therefore a large party mutinied, and set out, in order to return to their own country; but they were overtaken by a regiment of dragoons, and brought



prisoners to the Tower, where three of them were shot, and the remainder sent to the West-Indies; while such as had continued obedient embarked for Flanders, and behaved, in several engagements, with great bravery. The princess Louisa of England being married, by proxy, to the prince-royal of Denmark, set out for that kingdom on the nineteenth of October, accompanied by the countess of Albemarle and baron Salenthall, a Danish nobleman. On the twenty-ninth, she arrived at Hanover, and, on the eighteenth of November, was met at Altena by the prince, where they were publicly married, and then continued their journey to Copenhagen, the capital, amidst the acclamations of the people.

His majesty being returned from Hanover, the parliament met on the first of December; and the king, in his speech, told them, that the situation of affairs on the continent had obliged him to head the army in person, where he had been joined by a large reinforcement from his good friends the Dutch: that, in order to restore peace to Europe, he had concluded a treaty with the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, the particulars of which should be laid before them. He added, that it would appear to them, that he had nothing so much at heart as the restoring the public tranquillity: and concluded by telling the commons, that although the expence was great, yet it was necessary; and therefore he doubted not but they would contribute, in the most cheerful manner, to support the dignity of the crown, and promote the happiness of the people.

Great debates arose in the house of lords concerning the nature of the address that should be presented to his majesty: for the earl of Sandwich moved, that the Hanoverians should no longer be continued in the pay of Great-Britain, because they were of no real service to the nation.

The motion, however, was over-ruled by a great majority, and twenty-five peers protested against it. It was much the same in the house of commons: for although several members moved for the discontinuation of Hanoverians in the British service, yet the ministry carried all before them. That system of bribery that had been first planned by Sir Robert Walpole, and brought to a state of perfection during twenty years that he was at the head of public affairs, had made the majority of both houses a standing council to the crown; and thus the public money was spent in debauching the morals of the people.

This year John duke of Argyle died, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He was one of the most steady patriots that ever adorned any nation whatever. No scheme proposed by the minister was ever embraced or supported by him, if it appeared to be inconsistent with the rights of the people. He had served the crown in some of the highest departments of the state; but neither promises nor threatenings could ever make him swerve from that duty he owed to his country. He lived an honest man, and died lamented by every lover of virtue.

A.D. 1744. The first thing that the parliament took into consideration, was the raising the proper supplies for carrying on the war; and so great was the power of the ministry, that ten millions were granted, a sum that increased the national debt to an enormous height, and burthened the people with taxes almost intolerable to be borne. Many worthy members of both houses opposed such scandalous measures, by which ruin was threatened to the whole nation. But their attention was led off by an event that called upon both parties to unite in the same common cause.

Charles Stuart, the eldest son of the pretender, had left Rome; and travelling through Italy in the most private manner, arrived in France, where he had a conference with the French king, who had invited him to Paris, in hopes of sending him over to Britain; not doubting but the discontents in that kingdom would enable him to procure a powerful party, and by these means lead the British forces out

of Flanders. Accordingly, a body of troops was raised in France to assist him, and count Saxe was appointed the commander in chief.

Count Saxe had been some time in England, and had taken notice that there were but few places fortified in a regular manner; and therefore, upon his return, having made a proper representation of these things, an army of fifteen thousand men was ordered to march to the coast near Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne, where the young pretender was to see them embarked on board the proper transports. It is necessary to take notice, that although hostilities had, in some measure, been commenced between us and the French, yet war had not been declared; and therefore our ministry sent an express to Mr. Thompson, then at Paris, to remonstrate to the French ministry on their conduct; but he only received evasive answers. A fleet of men of war had been fitted out at Brest, as a convoy to the transports; and the command being given to M. Roquefeuille, that admiral sailed up the British channel, but was discovered by some English cruisers, who took shelter in the harbour of Plymouth, and sent an express to the board of admiralty. Sir John Norris was sent to take upon him the command of the fleet; and being joined by some other ships of the line, he found himself superior to the enemy.

The design of the French was to have landed their forces in Kent, and thereby strike such a terror into the people in London, that they would be obliged to abandon their houses; but the English ministry took every precaution to frustrate their designs. Several régiments were ordered to march towards the coast opposite France; proper care was taken of the forts, and the governors and commanders of garisons were ordered to repair to their respective stations. The militia were raised; the laws in force against the papists and non-jurors were ordered to be put in execution; and the earl of Stair was again appointed commander in chief of the army.

In the mean time, the French went on with their preparations for the embarkation of their forces; and seven thousand went on board at Dunkirk, while M. Roquefeuille attempted to get up the channel; but stopping near the Isle of Wight, he was informed that the English squadron had deserted their station. He sent Mr. De Barreil, his second in command, with two ships of the line, to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk; while he set sail with the rest of the fleet, and came to an anchor at a place called Dungeness, eighteen miles south-west of Dover.

Sir John Norris, who had received information concerning the French fleet, set sail from the Downs, and would have come up with them, had not the wind shifted about, so that he was obliged to cast anchor within two leagues of the enemy. This induced the French admiral to call a council of war, and the result of it was, that they were to sail home to their own coast, because they had not force sufficient to oppose the English. Accordingly they weighed anchor; and a hard gale springing up, they arrived off Cape Barfleur in a very shattered condition. The transports in particular were so much distressed for want of necessary provisions, that many of the men were so extremely sick, that they were obliged to be landed; and this mighty armament, which had made so much noise, ended in nothing. The English remained masters of the seas; and Sir John Norris returned with his squadron to the Downs, from whence he detached several ships to annoy the enemy. The pretender, who, a few weeks before, supposed that he would be able to make himself master of England by conquest, was obliged to return to Rome; for the court of France, whose tool he was, looked upon him in a very cold and indifferent manner.

The suspicion of danger, in consequence of a foreign invasion, induced the parliament to set aside the habeas corpus act; and, in consequence thereof, several persons of distinction were taken into custody; but



but no proof of their guilt appearing, the court of King's-bench admitted them to bail, and they were soon after discharged. On the eighteenth of March, six thousand Dutch forces arrived at Gravefend, in consequence of a former treaty; and the French king finding all his schemes rendered abortive, declared war against Great-Britain on the twentieth day of March. On the thirty-first day of the same month, his Britannic majesty published a counter-declaration of war, to the great joy of the nation; for the people in general had long beheld, with indignation, the insults daily offered to the British flag; while the most solemn treaties had been disregarded, and public faith, the basis of peace, trampled on.

War was, at the same time, declared against the queen of Hungary, by the French; so that nothing was to be seen but preparations for taking the field as early as possible. On the third of April, his majesty went to the house of peers; and, in a most pathetic speech, informed them, that, with respect to the event of the war, and the support of his faithful and loyal subjects, he depended on the divine providence. He told them, that he had not drawn the sword till forced to it; and that, as he had but one interest with his people, so he depended upon them for support. Affectionate and loyal addresses were presented by both houses to his majesty; and a bill was brought in, to make it high-treason in any British subject to correspond with the pretender. This bill having passed in the house of commons, was carried to the upper house, where the lord-chancellor Hardwicke moved, that an amendment should be made, by extending the act to the natural lives of the pretender's two sons. Debates arose upon the merits of the amendment; for it was argued, that however imprudent it might be in British subjects to correspond with such as had the most distant claim to the crown, yet it was inconsistent with humanity to make it criminal, particularly high-treason, the greatest offence that can be committed in the eye of the law. It passed, however, by a small majority, though not till eighteen lords had entered a protest against it: and when it was sent down to the commons, great opposition was made to the amendment by those who had framed the bill; but the court party carried it, and soon after it received the royal assent. The parliament was prorogued on the fifteenth of May, when his majesty told them, that the vast preparations then making by the French was a proof of their ambitious views, and therefore the safety of the nation depended on opposing them in the most vigorous manner: and he thanked the commons for their generosity in furnishing the supplies.

The fleet under the command of admiral Matthews had been strongly reinforced; for he had no less than forty vessels, twenty-eight of which were of the line. On board were fifteen thousand seamen, with eight hundred men drawn from the garrisons in Minorca. The French and Spanish fleets had been, for a considerable time, blocked up in the harbour of Toulon; but the queen of Spain, who could set no bounds to her ambition, stirred up the French to give absolute orders for their admirals to engage. Accordingly an express was dispatched to Toulon; and on the ninth of February this year, the combined fleet came out of the harbour; and admiral Matthews, who had watched all their motions, made the necessary preparations to attack them. Lestock commanded the left wing, or rear; Rowley the right, or van; and Matthews the center. But the wind dying away, they were obliged to come to an anchor. Next day, towards the evening, both fleets came very near to each other; but neither the French or Spanish admirals seemed willing to engage, because of the superior force of the English. However, the admiral resolved to lose no time, and therefore gave orders for a general attack; but Lestock kept back his ships, and suffered four of the Spanish ones to pass him. The captains Hawke, Cornwall, Osborne, and Forbes, behaved with the most unparalleled bravery; but

some of the other captains acted in such a manner, as to be a dishonour to their country. Captain Cornwall commanded the Marlborough; and, after reducing the Real; the Spanish admiral's ship; to a perfect wreck, had both his legs shot off, and at last was killed by one of the enemy's chain-shot. The command having devolved upon the first lieutenant, the ship continued to fight till near five in the evening, when she was towed out of the fleet, as unfit for action. The Royal Philip, another Spanish ship, was so much disabled, that admiral Matthews ordered one of the fire-ships to burn her. These fire-ships are filled with gun-powder, and other combustibles, with grappling-irons on the fronts and sides, which fix them to the enemy's ships; and then the sailors getting into boats, set fire to them, when all blow up together. It is the constant practice to send one of the large ships to protect the fire-ship from being blown up by the enemy; and Matthews took that precaution, but the captain did not obey his orders. In the mean time, the brave captain Mackay, who commanded the fire-ship, though unsupported by any vessel whatever, continued to advance; and Lestock having suffered the Spaniards to advance, Mackay saw his destruction inevitable, and therefore resolved to lose his life in the destruction of the Royal Philip. In consequence of that desperate resolution, he got up along-side of the Spanish admiral's ship, and lighting a match, set fire to the combustibles, and was blown up, without doing any other damage to the enemy than covering their decks with the wreck. The Namur, in which admiral Matthews was, suffered much in this engagement; and had she not been assisted by the brave captain Hawke, in the Berwick, she must have been destroyed. Hawke took one of the Spanish ships of the line; but she was the next day retaken by the French, who finding that she was not fit for service, burnt her. Towards the evening, the French admiral, M. de Court, attacked that part of the fleet under the command of Rowley; and although Lestock was witness to this, yet he did not so much as offer him the least assistance. Night coming on, the firing ceased; but next morning, Matthews seeing the enemy to the leeward, continued in pursuit of them till dark. In the morning, the enemy's ships were discovered from the top-mast-head, and Lestock was sent in pursuit of them; but before he could come up with them, Matthews gave the signal for him to desist, and steered for the island of Minorca. The Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Navarro, got into the harbour of Carthage, and that of the French into Alicante.

As soon as Matthews arrived in Minorca, he deprived Lestock of his command, and sent him a prisoner to England. The public were much divided in their opinions concerning the conduct of the two commanders; but certain it is, they were men that, from motives of private resentment, sacrificed the public interest; so that, notwithstanding the vast expence the nation had been at in fitting out the fleet, and after many brave men had been killed, no advantages were reaped from an engagement which, if rightly conducted, would have been the destruction of the Spanish and French navies. Matthews having resigned his command of the fleet to admiral Rowley; and coming to England, was put under an arrest by order of the government. A committee of the house of commons was appointed to enquire into his conduct; and that of admiral Lestock; but they not being properly acquainted with the import of sea-terms, nor the form of naval engagements, presented an address to his majesty, praying that he would issue his warrant to a court-martial to try the delinquents. As is customary in such cases, many of the evidences were abroad; so that the court-martial did not deliver their judgment till the latter end of the year 1746, when Lestock was, to the surprise of every one, acquitted, and Matthews declared incapable of ever serving his majesty, and all his commissions were taken from him. People in general



general blamed the court martial, nor is it fully known to this day, which of the commanders were most deserving of censure. Both were men of courage and abilities, but some private resentment operated so strongly upon their minds, that no good could be expected from any thing undertaken by them in concert.

The Mediterranean being thus in a manner left open, the Spaniards had an opportunity of sending forces and provisions to Italy, while Don Philip was supplied in the same manner by the French. The Sardinian army, which had hitherto only guarded the passes of the Alps, had sent a strong detachment to Nice, and that place being considered as of the utmost importance, Don Philip and the French general resolved to attack it. This was one of the boldest resolutions that could have been formed, because in that mountainous country a single battalion can stop a whole army; and what was still more, the king of Sardinia had formed a strong camp near Villa Franca, which seemed almost impregnable.

About the latter end of March Don Philip and the prince of Conti, having collected their forces together, crossed the Var, a river that runs from the Alps, and having taken the city of Nice, they advanced to attack the camp of the king of Sardinia in the midst of rocks and mountains almost inaccessible. A detachment from the forces on board the English fleet were sent to assist the king of Sardinia; but the French and Spaniards, animated by the example of the two young princes who commanded them, made themselves masters of the first lines that served as an advanced guard to the batteries of Villa Franca. Every thing gave way to the ardour of the French and Spanish troops, and although they lost above six thousand men, yet they proceeded from one rock to another, and made prisoner the marquis de Suze, natural brother to the king of Sardinia, and above three thousand men under his command. Another most furious attack was made on Montalban, a strong fort belonging to the king of Sardinia, and taken after an obstinate resistance; while the remainder of the Piedmontese army embarked on board the English fleet, and were landed at a town called Oneglia, seven miles south-west of Genoa.

A passage being thus opened into Italy, the Spaniards advanced to Oneglia, from whence the Piedmontese troops, under the command of general Sinzan, retreated and encamped at a place called Gareffio, situated among rocks almost inaccessible. But notwithstanding all the advantages obtained by the French and Spaniards, yet they were in great want of provisions in a country not capable of cultivation; and the artillery was obliged to be drawn by the soldiers. This induced the prince of Conti to propose to Don Philip, that, in order to preserve the army, they must endeavour to return to the borders of France; and accordingly, on the ninth of June, all the detached parties being called in, they crossed the Var, and soon after reached the Upper Dauphine, where they separated in order to prepare for entering Italy by Demont, and some other passes that were then guarded by his Sardinian majesty, who had taken every proper precaution, and although not an active general, yet displayed a large share of military skill in opposing the enemy.

On the eighteenth of July, early in the morning, the French and Spanish armies, having struck their tents, began to put in practice their intended scheme of forcing a passage into Italy, in a more advantageous manner than what had been attempted before. The undertaking was one of the most hazardous that could have been imagined, the Sardinian troops had every advantage on their side; but the French and Spaniards surmounted all difficulties, and took the pass of Monte Cavallo, although defended by a detachment of twelve hundred men. The French grenadiers leaped into the intrenchments, and by the favour of a fog, which prevented the enemy from

discovering them, took one redoubt after another, though not without the loss of near four thousand men. The king of Sardinia, driven from his strong holds, resolved to collect all his forces together, and provide for the safety of his capital city of Turin. The French and Spanish armies, flushed with success, continued their march through defiles almost inaccessible, and the whole plain country of Piedmont being now laid open to them, they exacted heavy contributions from the people, and enforced the payment of them under the severest penalties.

Don Philip and the prince of Conti resolved to attack Coni, a strong fort about ten leagues south of Turin, and garrisoned by twelve hundred men, under the command of baron Leutrum, who had taken every necessary measure to put it in a proper state of defence, so as to preserve it to the last extremity. The king of Sardinia having been joined by the forces under general Pallavicini, found himself at the head of thirty-six thousand men, and conscious that if Coni fell into the hands of the enemy, they would soon be masters of Turin, his capital city, resolved to put the whole upon the hazard of a battle, a step much more consistent with sound policy, than to remain inactive. Accordingly, he marched to attack them in the intrenchments they had thrown up before the walls of Coni, but found it impracticable to bring them to a general engagement. The season of the year, however, seconded his operations; for the French and Spanish armies had suffered so much, that they were obliged to raise the siege, and march back to Dauphine, leaving their sick and wounded behind them to the mercy of the Piedmontese, and the whole country in possession of his Sardinian majesty.

In the more interior parts of Italy, the prince Lobkowitz carried on the war against the Spanish forces; and the king of Naples, having pulled off the mask, declared that he would assist his father the king of Spain; because, as he alledged, he had been treated in a very illegal manner by the courts of London and Vienna. He insinuated farther, that the queen of Hungary had attempted to raise an insurrection in his dominions, and that prince Lobkowitz was to assist in driving him out of his hereditary dominions. The army under count Gages had marched towards the Neapolitan territories, while the Austrians marched towards Rome; and it was resolved by the king of Naples, that both should come to a general engagement; and accordingly they came in sight of each other in the neighbourhood of Velletri, about twenty-seven miles east of Rome; where they threw up entrenchments. For some time they remained inactive; but prince Lobkowitz, having received intelligence that one wing of the Spanish army was quite uncovered, resolved to surprize it and seize on their head quarters in the town of Velletri, where their ammunition was kept.

This project was executed in such a manner as must for ever reflect honour upon the prince; for about midnight count Brown, having been sent at the head of six thousand Austrians, forced the advanced guards, and, entering the town, put all those whose opposed him to the sword, while such as submitted were made prisoners of war. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena, narrowly escaped being taken; but count Brown being afraid that his retreat would be cut off, marched out of the town, so that no beneficial consequences flowed from an enterprize so hazardous in its own nature, and so well conducted. As most of the Austrian soldiers had been taken from cold countries, so the climate of Italy did not agree with their constitution. The heat at autumn destroyed them in great numbers, and prince Lobkowitz, who imagined himself on the eve of victory, found his army daily decreasing. Count de Gages, who from the whole of his conduct, seems to have been a very experienced general, resolved to avail himself of the distressed condition of the Austrian



Austrian army; and therefore, as soon as he heard that they had marched from Velletri, he resolved to harass them as much as possible. Accordingly he struck his tents; and coming up with the Austrians under the walls of Rome, where part of them had crossed the Tiber, and broke down the bridges, a smart engagement ensued, in which the Austrians were the greatest sufferers: at the same time, great numbers of their soldiers deserted, so that the prince's army was reduced to a handful of men; but notwithstanding, he made good his retreat, amidst a thousand difficulties. At Gabbio, in the territory of Bologna; he received information that the French and Spanish troops had been driven out of Italy, which gave fresh spirits to the forces under his command; and he put them into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Imola, about one hundred and eighty miles north-west of Rome; while the count de Gages, unable to pursue him any farther, retired to Viterbo, on the east of Rome, and the winter was spent in making preparations for another campaign. Such was the state of affairs, with respect to military operations, in Italy, during this year; and therefore we must now turn our thoughts to another part of Europe.

In Germany, the emperor saw himself stripped of every thing, and reduced to the necessity of living on a pension from France; but even that distress became of service to him. Other princes beheld with indignation the inflexible spirit of the house of Austria, that would not hearken to any terms; and therefore the kings of Sweden and Prussia, with the elector Palatine, entered into a confederacy with France, in order to support the emperor, and trouble the queen of Hungary. A declaration of their intentions was published, with this view, that the people of England, seeing such a confederacy formed against the queen of Hungary, might be induced to withdraw from her any farther assistance. The king of Prussia sent an order to his ambassador at London to remonstrate to our court on the impropriety of distressing the head of the empire, and granting too much power to the house of Austria. This memorial was published in all our news-papers, and it convinced our ministry that the king of Prussia was well acquainted with the state of parties in England.

The king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, resolved to avail himself of the convention that had been formed against the house of Austria; and therefore he entered into an agreement with the queen of Hungary, to furnish her with thirty thousand men. In return, the queen was to give him a part of Silesia, to which he laid claim by an ancient title; for all the German princes have claims, or at least pretend to have, to each other's territories. But money was another motive with the king of Poland: he expected a subsidy from Britain; for most of the German princes are so poor, and live in such an extravagant manner, that they let out their troops to such as bid most for them.

The French king, determined to prosecute the war to the utmost, assembled an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men in the Netherlands, under the command of marshal de Noailles and count Saxe. Lewis XV. having heard that his army was assembled, set out from Paris, in order to be present during the campaign; for, from a variety of concurring circumstances, he doubted not of being successful.

On the fourth of May, the French king reviewed his army at Lille; and made several regulations relating to military discipline, which, for some time, had been too much neglected. The confederate army, composed of British, Dutch, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Austrians, amounting to about seventy-six thousand, encamped in the neighbourhood of Brussels, under the command of three different generals. Marshal Wade commanded the English and Hanoverians; the duke of Aremberg had the command of the Hungarians; and the Dutch under count Maurice of Nassau. These three generals were

greatly esteemed by their respective sovereigns. Wade had been brought up under the great duke of Marlborough; Aremberg had served in many campaigns with prince Eugene; and count Maurice was descended from those heroes who had established the liberty of the united provinces. The only thing that tended towards retarding the progress of the allies, was the conduct of the Dutch: for although they had taken the field, yet they were very unwilling to engage; and therefore sent count de Walsenaer to Lewis, to expostulate with him on the terrors they were under, because of his army being so near the frontiers of their provinces. But the French king told the Dutch minister, that he had long borne with the insults of his enemies; but as his indulgence had only emboldened them in their designs against him, he was determined not to hearken to any terms, but to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour.

The city of Courtray surrendered at the approach of the French; and Menin, one of the Dutch frontier towns, in which was a garrison of fifteen hundred men, was taken, after a siege of four days, and both soldiers and officers made prisoners of war. Thirty thousand French, under the command of count Clermont, attacked Ypres, in which was a garrison of two thousand five hundred men, commanded by the prince of Hesse Philipsthal. The siege of this city began on the first of June, and continued till the fourteenth, when most of the outworks being taken, the governor was forced to capitulate. This important event opened a way for the French to penetrate into the center of the Austrian Netherlands, where the garrisons surrendered almost as soon as attacked.

The allies could not stop the progress of the French; and their generals beheld their towns taken, one after another, without being able to give them any assistance. The French king made his public entry into Dunkirk in the most pompous manner, imagining that every thing would give way to his arms; but news was brought him, that prince Charles of Lorraine had crossed the Rhine in sight of the French army, at the head of seventy thousand men; and had entered Alsace, after taking possession of the important pass of Lauterburg.

The conduct of prince Charles in crossing the Rhine did him great honour, and astonished all Europe, for it was looked upon as next to impossible; but the activity of the prince, and the perseverance of his troops, surmounted every difficulty. Marshal Coigni, who commanded the French army on the Rhine, saw with astonishment the Austrians in possession of Alsace, and the whole province of Lorraine laid open to prince Charles. He saw no other means left but that of cutting his way through the enemy, which he attempted, and a bloody battle ensued; but the French were defeated, and obliged to return to their former station; while flying parties infested the neighbourhood of Lorraine; and king Stanislaus, with his whole court, was obliged to retire from his capital city of Nancy. When news of this was brought to the French king, he did not hesitate one moment concerning the proper steps to be taken; but leaving an army of forty thousand men, under the command of marshal Saxe, to protect his new conquests in Flanders, he set out to join his army on the Rhine, accompanied by the marshal de Noailles, at the head of above fifty thousand men. Upon his arrival at Metz, in Lorraine, he received information that an event of the utmost importance had taken place, and drawn the attention of prince Charles to another part. The king of Prussia marched through Saxony into Bohemia, at the head of eighty-four thousand men, and a large train of artillery. On the frontiers of Bohemia, he was joined by twenty thousand men from Silesia; and on the twenty-fifth of August, he established his head-quarters at Peterwald, where he published a manifesto, in order to justify his conduct in having taken up arms against the house of Austria.



Having caused several copies of this memorial to be dispersed, he continued his march to Prague, which he invested: and having taken one fortification after another, the commander, general Ogilvy, surrendered, and fifteen thousand men were made prisoners of war. Having placed a garrison of six thousand men in Prague, he left that city, and reduced several other places in Bohemia. But conquests are more easily obtained than preserved.

News of the state of affairs in Bohemia having been transmitted to Vienna, orders were sent to prince Charles to repass the Rhine, which he did a second time in sight of the French army, although they were much superior to him in number. The king of France had been seized with a violent fever at Metz, and his life was, for some time, despaired of; but by proper care, and a good constitution, he recovered, to the great joy of his subjects, whose fears were consistent with that respect always shewn by the French to their sovereigns.

The king of Prussia no sooner heard that prince Charles had crossed the Rhine, than he complained bitterly of the French generals for not opposing him, but he only received evasive answers. In the mean time, prince Charles having been reinforced by twenty thousand Saxons, and a considerable number of Austrians under the command of general Bathiani, resolved to attack the Prussian monarch, well knowing that he was too far distant from his own territories to procure new reinforcements. Indeed, the king was sensible that it was not in his power to stand his ground in Bohemia; and therefore, having abandoned all the passes leading to Prague, he entered that city, to which he was closely pursued by the Austrians. On the nineteenth of November, he marched from Prague, leaving behind him his whole train of artillery; and so much did the Austrians harass his fatigued troops, and such was the severity of the season, that many died: and when he arrived in Silesia, the greatest part of the army were naked. Having distributed them into winter quarters, he returned to Berlin, mortified with his disappointment, and filled with indignation against the French state.

The affairs of Germany now began to assume a new form. Count Seckendorff had driven the Austrians out of Bavaria; and, on the twenty-second day of October, the emperor entered his capital city of Munich. The French marshals, Belleisle, Noailles, and Coigni, were at the head of eighty thousand men; and on the first of September, they invested the city of Friburg, a place of great strength, and still greater importance, as it opened a passage into the circle of Suabia. The French king, being perfectly restored to health, took into his service the famous count Lowendahl, and set out for his army at Friburg, where he arrived on the eleventh of October, amidst the acclamations of the soldiers, who rejoiced to see their sovereign once more restored to them. The trenches were immediately opened, and the garrison made a vigorous defence; but the superior power and knowledge of the French overcame every obstacle; and the place was surrendered on the twenty-eighth day of November, all the soldiers having been made prisoners of war.

This was a most valuable acquisition to the French, though it was dearly purchased, for they lost upwards of eighteen thousand men. In the arsenal they found three hundred pieces of cannon, seventy-two field-pieces, and two hundred mortars, with a suitable proportion of all other sorts of artillery and ammunition.

Thus ended the campaign in Germany; and the French troops were put into quarters of cantonnement along the banks of the Rhine, while their king returned to Paris, where he was received with such demonstrations of joy as had more the appearance of adoration paid to a divine being, than the homage due to an earthly sovereign.

In Flanders, the allies finding that the greatest part of the French army had been obliged to march

to the Higher Germany, resolved to take the advantage of their absence: and accordingly, having crossed the Scheldt, a river that runs through great part of the Netherlands, attempted to force marshal Saxe to come to an engagement; but that general, ever cautious where he saw the least appearance of danger, kept himself behind his trenches, waiting for a more favourable opportunity.

The allied army finding they could not bring marshal Saxe to an engagement, filed off towards Lille, the capital of French Flanders, which they might have taken, but they neglected so valuable an opportunity, for which the conduct of the generals was severely censured in England. The truth is, the generals were divided in their opinions: Wade was too indolent to conduct any enterprize that required courage: the duke de Aremberg was afraid of giving umbrage to the French king, because great part of his estate lay in France: and the Dutch generals were as inactive as if they had not had any connection in the war.

The naval power of England in the Mediterranean had not performed any thing, during this year, of real service to the nation; and therefore it is necessary that we should turn our thoughts to commodore Anson, whom we have already mentioned as being sent on an expedition into the South-seas. In the month of January 1741, the commodore arrived in the bay of St. Indian, on the coast of Patagonia, where he called a council of war, in order to consult on the most proper methods to be used in distressing the enemy in that quarter of the world.

From St. Indian he sailed to the straits of La Maire, where he lost sight of the Severn and the Pearl, two of his ships; nor did he ever see them again during the remainder of his voyage; for they were so much shattered, that they were obliged to return to the Brazils to refit, and from thence they sailed for Europe. This induced the commodore to sail to the island of Juan Fernandez, where such of the men as had been long afflicted with the scurvy, recovered in a most surprising manner, that small place being esteemed one of the most healthy in the universe. The Wager, a ship of twenty guns, belonging to Anson's squadron, having been driven on the island of Socoro, the crew mutinied, and confined the captain, after which they converted the long-boat into a schooner, in which they set sail for the Brazils, where they arrived in the month of January 1742. The captain, with such of the men as had continued firm in his interest, had the good fortune to get on board a vessel that carried them to Chili, and from thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where they remained till there was a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, when they were sent home to England.

Commodore Anson was now reduced to a most shocking condition, in a part of the world where he could not procure any assistance: and his small fleet consisted of no more than three ships, namely, the Centurion, the Gloucester, and the Anna, which last was loaded with provisions. But that fortitude and presence of mind that seemed to be the particular characteristic of Mr. Anson, never forsook him, even in the midst of the greatest dangers. He resolved to attack the city of Paita, where the Spaniards had a large sum of money, which they intended to send to Europe; and accordingly he ordered his lieutenant, Mr. Brett, to land in the night with only fifty-eight men; all which was accomplished without their being perceived by the enemy. Such was the consternation among the inhabitants, who imagined that a great army was landed among them, that, with the governor, they abandoned the place in the utmost confusion; while the English sailors seized on all the treasure, which they conveyed to their ships; and then the commodore sent some more of his hands on shore, who set fire to the town, and reduced it to an heap of ashes.

This was a most fatal stroke to the Spaniards, whose loss amounted to above fifteen hundred thousand







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England*



*The MANILLA GALEON taken by ADMIRAL ANSON*



land dollars: and the commodore having weighed anchor, set sail for the coasts of Mexico and California. His design was to intercept the Manilla galleon, which he knew was then at sea, and destined for the harbour of Acapulco; but it was the nineteenth of February before Mr. Anson could get into the bay of Mexico. When he arrived there, he had the mortification to learn, that the Manilla ship had got into the harbour of Acapulco on the ninth day of January, and that she was to have sailed soon after; but no sooner had the Spanish governor learned that an English Squadron was in those seas, than he gave orders to countermand the sailing of the ship; so that the commodore saw no other method left to save his ships, than to cross the vast Pacific ocean, for the river of Canton in China. The Centurion and Gloucester were all the ships he had now left; for although he had taken several prizes, yet not having hands to navigate them in a proper manner, they were obliged to be sunk; while the Gloucester, soon after, having sprung a leak, was obliged to be set on fire; so that there remained none but the Centurion.

The hardships which the crew of the Centurion suffered are almost beyond conception; for so many of the men were afflicted with the scurvy, that there was scarce a sufficient number left to do the necessary duty. At last they made for the island of Tinian, in the vast Pacific ocean, where most of the crew recovered, but the whole number amounted to no more than seventy-one. Having taken in all sorts of necessary provisions, he once more put to sea, and arrived in the river of Canton in China on the twelfth day of November, after having suffered every thing that human nature could sustain. The governor of Canton sent an order to him, demanding the customary fees paid by all ships coming into that river: but he maintained the honour of the British flag, and insisted that he would never comply with any such terms. The governor was amazed when he heard in what a cool and deliberate manner the commodore delivered his answer; and sending for him on shore, they had a long conference together, the result of which was, that assistance was granted him to refit his ship, and take in proper provisions.

On the fifteenth of April 1743, he left China, with a fixed resolution of sailing in quest of one or more of the Manilla ships; and towards the latter end of May, arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo, in the island of Samal Mare, where the Manilla ships always pass in their voyage to Europe. There he lay by for some time; but on the twentieth of June, one of those rich vessels made her appearance, which added fresh spirits to the crew of the Centurion. The Spanish captain resolved not to give up his prize, and accordingly a warm engagement ensued; but the superior skill and undaunted courage of the English overcame every opposition: and although sixty-seven of the Spaniards were killed, yet commodore Anson lost only two men.

With this rich prize the commodore returned to Canton, where he refitted his ship; and being willing to taste the sweets of his native country, from which he had been so long secluded, he set sail for Europe, and on the eleventh of March 1744, arrived safe at the Cape of Good Hope. From thence he sailed for England, and arrived in safety at Spithead on the ninth of June, where the treasure was landed, and conducted to London by those brave seamen who had taken it.

The British fleet in the Mediterranean being in great distress for want of necessary stores, several vessels were sent, containing what was necessary, under the command of Sir Charles Hardy, who had with him eleven ships of the line. The weather obliging him to put into Lisbon, a fleet of French men of war from Brest cruised near the mouth of the Tagus, in order to intercept him. News of this having been transmitted to England, Sir John Balchen, with the admirals Stevens and Martin, were sent to

relieve Sir Charles; and, if possible, destroy the French fleet. A Dutch fleet of twenty men of war, under the command of admiral Bacceliffet, joined our Squadron at Spithead; and having set sail on the seventh of August, they cast anchor near the mouth of the Tagus on the ninth of September. The French admiral retired as soon as he heard of their approach, upon which the sea was left open to Sir Charles, who proceeded on his voyage without interruption.

So far the British fleet was prosperous; but, upon their return home, in the night of the third of October, they were overtaken by a most dreadful storm, and the Victory, carrying one hundred and ten guns, and esteemed the best first-rate ship in Europe, was dashed to pieces on a rock near the island of Alderney. Sir John Balchen, with all his officers, and every one of the crew, amounting to near twelve hundred men, besides above fifty young gentlemen of the best families in the nation, who had gone volunteers, perished, without any person's being able to give them the least assistance. Some other events took place during this year which must not be omitted. A small Squadron was sent to the East-Indies, to protect our settlements in that part of the world; and many of the French ships were taken; so that money flowed in abundance among the sailors.

Another Squadron, under the command of commodore Warren, was stationed to protect the leeward islands; and, in consequence thereof, the French ships, destined with provisions for the island of Martinico, were taken, and the inhabitants reduced to the utmost distress. A most dreadful hurricane happened on the twentieth day of October, in the island of Jamaica, by which six ships of war, besides near a hundred of the merchantmen, were totally destroyed. In general, the British cruizers were extremely fortunate; and although some of them were taken, yet, at the conclusion of the year, the balance in our favour against Spain was one million nine hundred thousand pounds; and against France, seven hundred and seventy thousand pounds.

This year died Sarah, the celebrated dutchess of Marlborough; a woman who, from a very obscure original, raised herself, by intriguing with the political parties, to the highest station that a subject could arrive at. She possessed great abilities, with an unbounded ambition; but so artful in the use of money, that she left behind her a most princely estate.

The marshal de Belleisle and his brother having, on the second of December, in their journey to the Imperial court, stopped at a village called Elbingrode, belonging to Hanover, of which they were ignorant, a party of the allied army took them both prisoners, and conveyed them to Stade, from whence they were sent over to England. They were treated with that respect due to their rank; and being on their parole of honour, were suffered to reside at Windsor, and enjoy all sorts of public diversions.

On the twenty-eighth of November, the parliament met; and the king, in his speech, informed them, that although nothing of importance, in favour of the allies, had happened; yet he was determined, in consequence of the assistance of his parliament, to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. He told them, that nothing could so much contribute towards promoting the public tranquillity, as unanimity among the members; and concluded by recommending to them the obligations they were under to raise the proper supplies. Both lords and commons voted, that loyal addresses should be presented to his majesty; and, in general, the public business went on without interruption.

A considerable change took place in the ministry; for the patriots were so clamorous against lord Carteret, now become earl Granville, in consequence of his mother's death, that he resigned all his places; and the duke of Bedford was appointed first lord of the treasury; the seals were given to the earl of Harrington, as secretary of state; the privy seal to lord Gower; the earl of Chesterfield was sent over to the Hague,



Hague, to prevail with the states-general to act more heartily in support of the common cause; and, upon his return, he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Dorset was made president of the council, the duke of Devonshire steward of the household, Mr. Doddington treasurer of the navy, Sir John Phillips was made first lord of trade, and Mr. Lyttleton was brought into the treasury.

A. D. 1745. These noblemen and gentlemen were strongly attached to the interests of the queen of Hungary, and therefore it was resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour; but still there was a general wanting to conduct the army. Some of the oldest in command refused to take the office upon them, for this reason, that the ministry would not fail to wreak their vengeance upon them in consequence of the least miscarriage: so that the duke of Cumberland, youngest son of his majesty, was appointed commander in chief of the British forces. This choice of a prince brought up in the army, and who had, on many occasions, given distinguishing proofs of his courage, gave great satisfaction to the people in general; and therefore he set out for Flanders. Many excellent bills having passed both houses, the king prorogued the parliament on the second of May, and next day embarked at Gravesend, in order to visit Hanover.

During these transactions in England, the French were daily gaining ground; and, notwithstanding some considerable losses, yet they seemed to rise superior to them. The queen of Hungary was much reduced, in consequence of having spent great sums in supporting her army; so that the eyes of all Europe were turned upon the event of the war. But many of the plans formed by the contending parties were near being disconcerted, in consequence of the death of Charles VII. emperor of Germany, and elector of Bavaria. That monarch, who had been advanced to the imperial dignity by the intrigues of the French, enjoyed little more than the name of emperor; and it may justly be said of him, that he died of a broken heart. He had seen himself neglected, and even despised, by those who, consistent with the faith of treaties, were bound to stand by him. His hereditary dominions were wrested from him; his enemies triumphed over him in every quarter: he saw his family on the brink of ruin; and, unable to sustain the weight of his sufferings, he sunk under the load, and died, leaving to succeeding monarchs a striking lesson, never to let ambition blind their understanding, to trust in those in whom no confidence ought to be placed. When he was buried, the globe was carried before him, as if he had been the sovereign of the whole world, although he had scarce a house wherein he could rest in safety. Such is the vanity of men's actions and views in general, who love the shadow more than the substance, and even rejoice in their own folly.

The death of the emperor, who had, in a great measure, been the cause of the war, induced people in general to hope that peace would be restored to Europe; but the English ministry refused all proposals of accommodation, thinking that they would have it in their power to distress the French, by carrying on the war in the most vigorous manner. The French, in order to play off their old game of interfering with the election of an emperor, cast their eyes on the king of Poland, elector of Saxony; but that prince was persuaded against embarking in such a dangerous scheme, by his minister, count Bruhl, who represented to him, that the Poles would never submit to an emperor of Germany, lest he should deprive them of their privileges: and as the interest of the grand duke was very great, so, by an act of so imprudent a nature, he might even lose his hereditary dominions. All these arguments were enforced from the example of the late emperor; and therefore the king of Poland, instead of aspiring to the imperial crown, did every thing he could to place it on the head of the grand duke.

The next object that France had in view, was to raise the king of Prussia to the empire; but he was so well convinced of their perfidy, that he treated all their proposals of that nature with the most sovereign contempt. On the other hand, the queen of Hungary, who had still some hopes of recovering Silesia, would hearken to no terms of accommodation; and in that she was strongly encouraged by the English ministry, who made her the most liberal promises, that nothing should be wanting to enable her to regain such of her territories as had been seized by the French, and, at the same time, to raise her husband, the grand duke, to the imperial throne.

Lewis XV. finding all his proposals rejected, and not seeing the most distant appearance of putting an end to the war, resolved to push it on, with the utmost vigour, in Flanders; and accordingly sent marshal Saxe to take upon him the command of the army, consisting of about seventy-six thousand men, assisted with a large train of artillery.

To animate the troops, the French king set out, accompanied by his son the dauphin, then about sixteen years of age, and arrived in Flanders before the two armies could come to a general engagement. The duke of Cumberland, just entering into the twenty-fourth year of his age, arrived at the Hague on the seventh of April; and having concerted proper measures with the states-general, set out for Brussels, where he found prince Waldeck, general of the Dutch forces, and the count Konigsfegg, the commander in chief of the Austrians. The duke had made the art of war his study from his most early youth; he was not afraid of the greatest dangers; and although he knew that the French were superior to him in numbers, yet such was his opinion of the undaunted courage of the English, that he seemed to despise the French, who were commanded by some of the most experienced generals of that age. Some of them had served above forty years in the army; they had reduced the art of war to a science; and even the subaltern officers were able to conduct any engagement whatever.

Marshal Saxe, one of the greatest generals that ever commanded an army, was not ignorant of the youthful ardour of the duke of Cumberland; but, at the same time, knowing that the troops under him were men of the most invincible courage, resolved to obtain by stratagem what he could not in a regular engagement. Accordingly, for some days, he marched from one place to another, concealing his real intentions; but, on the twenty-fourth day of April, he sat down before Tournay, a strong city on the river Schelde, defended by a garrison of eight thousand Dutch troops, under the command of baron Dorth. Tournay had been fortified by the great Vauban, and was esteemed the strongest of all the frontier towns belonging to the Dutch; so that the duke of Cumberland imagined, if he could raise the siege, it would be of the utmost service to the common cause. Accordingly, he marched from Brussels, and on the twenty-ninth of April, came within musket-shot of the French army, just as marshal Saxe had expected; for the whole was a scheme laid by the French to draw the allies into a snare.

The French army was strongly encamped; and between them and the allies was the village of Fontenoy, about three miles south-east of Tournay. On the twenty-eighth of April, the French king rode from the city of Douay, and took up his headquarters at the bridge of Calonne, near the village of St. Antoin; where there was a strong battery of cannon. The bridge of Calonne was guarded by several battalions, both of regulars and militia; so that every precaution was taken by the French, while the allies depended too much on personal courage.

That part of the allied army composed of English forces was employed to drive the French from their advanced posts, which they did with great courage; but this only served to make the enemy more formidable, by being more united. As the allies were



now in possession of the ground from which they had driven the French, they drew up on it, and a council of war being called, it was resolved upon by the majority to engage the next morning. This opinion, however, was disliked by the oldest generals, who thought it much better to act on the defensive; but the opinion of the young ones was embraced.

As this was one of the most obstinate and bloody engagements that we meet with in history, so it is necessary that an account should be given of it in the most particular manner.

The English and Hanoverians composed the right wing, and were drawn up in four lines, having the village of Vezon in their front. The Dutch, with part of the Austrians, composed the left wing, consisting of three columns, and they advanced into the plain of Fontenoy. Prince Waldeck, with some of the best Dutch troops, proposed to attack Fontenoy; and the duke of Cumberland, in order to second the prince, ordered general Ingoldsbys to attack a fort near the village of Vezon, on which was a strong battery of cannon. Sir John (since earl) Ligonier, commanded the right wing of the infantry, and Sir James Campbell was ordered to cover him, by extending the cavalry as far as possible along the plain of Fontenoy.

The courage of the British forces on this memorable day is incredible; for at the first charge they drove the French beyond their lines, and would have penetrated into the center of their first line, had not marshal Saxe opened a concealed battery which swept off whole ranks at a time. The intrepidity of the British foot struck the French with amazement; and there is not the least reason to doubt, but they would have been masters of the field had not some circumstances conspired to deprive them of that glory.

General Ingoldsbys was so dilatory in attacking the fort at Vezon, that marshal Saxe had time to strengthen it both with troops and cannon. But the most fatal circumstance was the Dutch troops under prince Waldeck, for although he led them thrice on to the attack of Fontenoy, yet they as often fled, by which the Austrians were left exposed to the fire of the enemy. Had Ingoldsbys taken the fort at Vezon, the French king and his son, the dauphin, would have been made prisoners of war. But still the courage of the English was the most surprizing that can be imagined. The broken lines were filled up from the rear, and although once put into some disorder, yet when rallied by the duke, they advanced a second time with more ardour than ever. In this manner both armies continued on the first day of May, from five in the morning till about three in the afternoon; but the English, who received no assistance from the left wing, were so galled by the enemy, who, in consequence of the cowardice of the Dutch, took them in front and flank. Their numbers were now greatly reduced, and the French were raising a new battery, when orders were given for the allies to retreat. This they performed in such excellent order, that some of the French cavalry, who attempted to pursue them, had a whole regiment destroyed. Next day the allies marched to Aeth; but such of the brave soldiers and officers as had been wounded, were obliged to be left to the care of the enemy, who treated them in the most tender manner.

Such was the memorable battle of Fontenoy, which was of no other service to the nation, but that of making an ostentatious display of courage of the English and Hanoverians, who both fought in the most amazing manner; while the Dutch, to their everlasting disgrace, procured the loss of the battle. The allies lost in this action two brave generals, namely, Sir James Campbell, and major-general Ponsonby, three colonels, a great number of subaltern officers, with about eight thousand men. The loss of the French cannot be well ascertained: but it must be considerable, because seven of their generals were killed, and four others died soon afterwards of their wounds.

Baron Dorth, the Dutch commander in Tournay, held out that important fortress against the whole French army till the twenty-first day of June, when he was obliged to capitulate, and obtained the most honourable terms. A detachment of four thousand English and Hanoverians were sent to reinforce the garrison in the city of Ghent, but one thousand of them were cut off. At the same time the French took the cities of Aeth, Dendermond, Oudenarde, and Newport, with the important town of Ostend; after which Lewis XV. the French king, returned in triumph to Paris.

It was impossible for the duke of Cumberland to do any thing more than act on the defensive; and to crown our misfortunes, an unnatural rebellion broke out at home, which obliged the duke of Cumberland to return to England, leaving the victorious marshal Saxe in possession of the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands.

In Germany the French had sent an army to the assistance of the young elector of Bavaria; but the Austrians had been so strongly reinforced that the elector was obliged to leave his capital city of Munich, and take shelter in Augsburg, while all that his army could do was to act on the defensive, till such time as reinforcements came to their assistance.

Count Traun, with an army of thirty thousand Austrians, marched from Bohemia towards Frankfort, in order to drive out the French, under the command of the prince of Conti; alledging, as a reason, that there could not be a free election of an emperor, till all foreign troops were driven out of the empire. Count Bathiani joined count Traun; and the whole Austrian army, amounting to near seventy thousand men, took the field, and the grand duke having taken upon himself the chief command, marched against the prince of Conti, and obliged him to repass the Rhine with very great loss.

The French being thus driven out of Frankfort, seven ambassadors, from so many electors, assembled in the Imperial college, to make choice of an emperor; but those of Brandenburg and the Palatinate were not present. The election fell on the grand duke of Tuscany, husband to the queen of Hungary; and on the twenty-fourth of September the emperor was crowned with the usual ceremonies. This important event, so much for the benefit of the princes in Germany, was, in a great measure, brought about by the unwearied assiduity of his Britannic majesty, who left nothing undone to bring over the electors to the interest of the house of Austria, and prevailed upon the prince of Hesse-Cassel, to withdraw his troops from the French service, and enter them into British pay.

The king of Prussia, who had suffered so much the preceding year, would have listened to terms of accommodation, especially as he found that he had been deceived by the French; but the house of Austria rejected every offer. The Austrians had taken some towns in Silesia; but no sooner had the king of Prussia learned that his proposal had been rejected, than his indignation was fired, and all his military skill rekindled in his breast. In a sudden he attacked the Austrians, and drove them from one post to another with great slaughter, besides making many prisoners. At Glatz six thousand Prussians, under general Lehwald, attacked twelve thousand Austrians commanded by general Helfrich, and totally defeated them. At Ratibor, three thousand Austrians were made prisoners of war; every thing gave way to the victorious Prussians to the surprise of all Europe. People in general imagined that he had been too much dispirited by his losses to have undertaken things of such importance; but there are particular reasons that call forth great minds to action.

But all these advantages obtained by the Prussian monarch, were trifles to what he performed afterwards. His real character had been hitherto concealed, and his taking Silesia was ascribed by the Austrians rather to a fortuitous concurrence of



events; than either to real courage or military skill.

In May, prince Charles of Lorraine being joined by the forces under the command of the prince of Saxe-Weissenfels, marched from Bohemia, and encamped on those mountains which separate that kingdom from Silesia. The king of Prussia had taken all the precaution that the greatest general could use, in order to augment his army, and secure his garrisons: and about the middle of June, he found himself at the head of eighty-four thousand men, all disciplined in the best manner, and accustomed to the greatest hardships that can be imagined. With these men he resolved to attack prince Charles, who had advanced to Friedburg; and for that purpose ordered Du Moulin, his general, to march, at the head of fifteen thousand men, to make as if he intended to march towards Breslaw, which was done that prince Charles might be led into a snare. This stratagem had the desired effect; for the Austrians being taken off their guard, and lulled into security, the Prussians attacked them with such fury, that although prince Charles and the prince of Saxe-Weissenfels did all that lay in their power to procure a victory, yet the military abilities of the king of Prussia bore down every opposition, and the Austrians were totally defeated, with the loss of five thousand men killed, and near seven thousand taken prisoners.

His Britannic majesty was then at Hanover; and being afraid that the king of Prussia would too much distress the house of Austria, entered into a treaty with him, which was concluded at Hanover in the month of August. By this treaty Great-Britain engaged to support the king of Prussia in his conquest of Silesia; but the courts of Vienna and Dresden having protested against it, the king of Prussia marched into Lusatia, and having taken possession of Górlitz, forced prince Charles of Lorraine to take shelter in Bohemia.

The prince of Anhalt-Deffau, one of the Prussian generals, entered Saxony at the same time, and made himself master of the city of Leipzig; while the king of Poland, afraid of being made a prisoner in his capital city, left Dresden, and took refuge in Prague. Prince Lobkowitz, with a body of Saxons, attempted to force the Prussian lines, but he was defeated with great loss, and Dresden, the capital of Saxony, was obliged to submit to the victorious king of Prussia. The king of Poland seeing the Prussians in possession of his capital, was obliged to make peace on the best terms he could, and the queen of Hungary consented to give up all future claim to Silesia.

In Italy, during this year, the war had been very unfavourable to the queen of Hungary, and her ally, the king of Sardinia. In the month of April, count Gages crossed the Appenine mountains, in order to join the army under the command of Don Philip, in Lombardy; and although he was opposed by several parties of Austrians, yet he proceeded as far as Lucca, and placed a Spanish garrison in that city.

From Lucca count Gages continued his march to the eastern part of the Genoese territories: and on the fourteenth day of June, Don Philip, who had received fresh reinforcements from Catalonia, met him near the city of Genoa. Upon the junction of the two armies, the republic of Genoa declared in favour of France and Spain against the house of Austria and the king of Sardinia; and the Austrian general Schuylemberg found himself under the necessity of marching towards Milan, the capital city of Lombardy.

Count Gages reduced the fort of Serravalle, while Don Philip opened a passage to Alexandria, and obliged the Austrian general to retire beyond the river Tanaro. Pavia, Tortona, and some other places, submitted to count Gages; and Don Philip took the rich city of Milan, with Parma and Placentia; while the king of Sardinia was obliged to seek shelter at Valenza, on the other side of the Po,

a rapid river that oftentimes overflows its banks, and lays the neighbouring country under water. The city of Alexandria submitted to the Spaniards, after a siege of twelve days: and soon after, prince Lichtenstein was sent to command the Austrian forces in Italy, but nothing of any importance was done by him; for the united forces of the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, carried all before them; and the Austrian dominions in Italy, as well as the greatest part of the king of Sardinia's territories, were taken.

With respect to the naval affairs of England during this year, they began, in some measure, to wear a more promising aspect than before. Admiral Rowley had been sent into the Mediterranean, to command in the room of Matthews; and he, during the summer, bombarded Genoa, and several other places; while the English privateers took several capital prizes; all which contributed towards inspiring the seamen with fresh courage. But the most important naval transaction was the reduction of Cape Breton, in North-America, a place of great importance, which the French had been at great expence in fortifying, and which they looked upon as one of their most valuable colonies. The scheme had been projected by the people of Boston in New-England; and Sir Peter Warren, who had been stationed near the leeward islands, was ordered to sail for North-America, to assist such forces as were then in New-England in the intended expedition. Accordingly, on the sixth of April this year, Sir Peter set sail, and soon after landed at Causo, having under his command ten ships of the line; and having taken on board six thousand men from New-England, he came to an anchor at Gabaron, about four miles south of Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton. The ground between the fort and the place where they landed was the most dangerous to pass over that could be imagined; but the forces sent from New-England surmounted all difficulties, and, by the most unwearied diligence and perseverance, formed two camps, in order to carry on the attack. One of these camps was on the north, and the other on the south side of the town; and the fort had a battery of thirty-five pieces of cannon, which commanded the entry into the harbour. The walls and ramparts mounted sixty-four great guns, besides sixteen large mortars; and the garrison, besides the inhabitants, contained twelve hundred regular troops, under the command of M. Chambon. At the west gate of the town, was a strong draw-bridge, secured by a battery of sixteen guns, and near it was another battery of thirty-four guns. The New-England forces were only raw, undisciplined troops; few of them had ever seen a military engagement: but notwithstanding the almost unsurmountable difficulties that seemed to oppose them, yet they displayed such courage as would have done honour to the best regulated forces in the world. They only waited for orders; and no sooner had they received them, than they attacked the grand battery with such fury, that the enemy was forced to abandon it, and that, in a great measure, contributed towards procuring them the victory. In the mean time, the English fleet blocked up the harbour, so that neither men nor provisions could be brought to the besieged; while several French ships, laden with stores and ammunition, fell into the hands of the English, and were condemned as legal prizes.

The New-England forces, who carried on the siege, were plentifully supplied with all sorts of fresh provisions; but the service on the south side of the town was attended with many difficulties; for most of the cannon designed to be placed on the battlements, were obliged to be dragged above two miles, through very marshy grounds; in some parts almost impassable. Perseverance and courage, however, surmounted every difficulty; and the troops that had been considered as unfit for action in a regular manner, performed wonders. Several batteries were erected on the rising ground near the place, from whence red-hot



hot bullets were discharged into the town, and the governor not seeing any prospect of assistance, surrendered the place, and with the garrison, who all engaged not to bear arms against Britain, during the space of twelve months, were conveyed to Rochfort in France. This was a most valuable acquisition to Great Britain; and his majesty was so sensible of it, that he conferred several honours upon the officers. The inhabitants of New England acquired immortal honour, and convinced those in power, that courage, joined with prudence, is able to accomplish any thing.

It is now time for us to turn our thoughts to Great Britain, where a rebellion broke out that threatened immediate destruction to our civil and religious liberties. But although many individuals were ruined by it, yet in the end it was attended with the most salutary consequences to the nation. It awakened the British legislature to take into consideration the nature of the feudal law in Scotland, and by putting an end to the hereditary jurisdictions, by which the power of the landholders over their tenants was destroyed, the royal family of Hanover was more firmly established; on the British throne than ever, while those who had been considered as slaves were now treated as free members of the community.

We have already seen in what manner Charles, the eldest son of the pretender, attempted to invade England during the last year, and it is asserted, that upon his return home to his father at Rome, he was advised to lay aside all thoughts of engaging in an enterprise likely to be attended with insurmountable difficulties, and if failing of success must involve many families in ruin. Such was the advice given Charles by his father, who had failed in an attempt of the like nature; but the young adventurer, whose mind was full of romantic notions, and who had been hurried on by the advice of some needy fugitives, resolved to try his fortune for the recovery of that crown which he looked upon as the right of his family. The French ministry looked on the whole as a Don Quixote expedition, and however earnest they were to see Great Britain distressed, yet such were their notions of the superiority gained by them in Flanders, that all Charles could procure from them was only one ship of war to carry him over to Scotland, where he doubted not of meeting with many friends to espouse his cause. Accordingly, he set sail in a small frigate from Port St. Lazaro, on the fourteenth of July, and was joined by the Elizabeth, a French man of war of sixty guns, which was to serve as a convoy. Their design was to have sailed round Ireland, and then land in the Western Islands of Scotland; but happening to fall in with the Lion, an English man of war of fifty guns, a desperate engagement ensued, and the French ship was so much disabled, that she was obliged to set sail for Brest, where she arrived in a very shattered condition. The frigate, in which was the young chevalier, the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sherridan, and some few others, made her escape during the engagement, and sailing up the channel came to an anchor on the twenty-seventh of the same month, landed at Moidart, between the islands of Sky and Mull, where he was kindly received by Mr. McDonald of Moidart, and concealed in his house till notice of his arrival was dispersed among the rest of the clans. Notice of his sailing from France was given, and a reward of thirty thousand pounds offered for apprehending him; but few people would believe that he had landed, because they did not imagine that any but a madman would have engaged in so romantic an expedition.

On the third of August his Britannic majesty arrived in London from his German dominions, to the great satisfaction of his loyal subjects, who received him with every demonstration of joy. Every precaution was taken by his majesty to crush the rebellion before it had spread too far. The lord-mayor of London was ordered to keep the trained-bands in

readiness; the high-steward of Westminster arrayed the militia; orders for the same purpose were sent to the lords-lieutenants of the different counties; nine battalions of the army were ordered over from Flanders; and six thousand Dutch troops were demanded in consequence of former treaties.

As soon as it was known at Edinburgh that the pretender's son had landed, Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, marched to oppose the rebels; but they gave him the slip, and on the fourth of September arrived at Perth, where they proclaimed the pretender by the name of James III. and a commission was read, importing, that Charles his eldest son, was to act as regent for him. There the young chevalier was joined by lord George Murray, the person called the duke of Perth, lord Nairn, lord Strathallen, and many other persons of distinction, with their dependents and tenants, so that the rebel army was now about two thousand strong; but it must be remembered that not one fifth of them had either arms or ammunition. From Perth they marched south-west to the banks of the Forth, a few miles above Stirling, where they crossed that river, and on the seventeenth of September took possession of Edinburgh without the least opposition. Had the magistrates of that city been unanimous in their opinions, the rebels might have been kept out till the arrival of the forces under Cope; but they spent the time in unnecessary deliberations, without doing any thing of importance.

On the same day that the rebels took possession of Edinburgh, general Cope, who had embarked his forces at Aberdeen, landed at Dunbar, twenty-seven miles east of Edinburgh, where he was joined by two regiments of dragoons under the command of the brave colonel Gardiner. The rebels, knowing that no time was to be lost, marched to meet general Cope, and on the twentieth of September encamped at a place called Trapent, about seven miles east of Edinburgh. Next morning about day break, the rebels, who had got about two thousand sets of arms at Edinburgh, attacked the royal army with such fury, that they were obliged to give way, and many of them were made prisoners. In this engagement colonel Gardiner, a man of great piety and a valiant foldier, lost his life, after he had done every thing in defence of the rights of his country; and the baggage, arms, and ammunition falling into the hands of the rebels, they became so much elated that they doubted not of carrying every thing before them. The consternation that took place among all ranks of people when the news of this engagement was made public, is scarce possible to be conceived; but to the honour of the British subjects in general, both in England and Scotland, they gave their sovereign all the proofs of their loyalty that could be desired.

General Gueft, an officer of great knowledge and courage, commanded in the castle of Edinburgh, to which the archives of the city and the money in the public offices had been removed; and that castle being a place of great strength, the rebels could not get possession of it.

Marshal Wade, at the head of about fourteen thousand men, marched northwards into Yorkshire, and from thence to Newcastle on Tyne, where he encamped; but as most of the men had contracted dangerous disorders in Flanders, so the greatest part of the army was seized with sickness, and rendered incapable of acting, especially as the season was then extremely cold.

On the sixteenth of October the parliament met, and his majesty in his speech told them, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, and therefore he doubted not but they would assist him in restoring peace to the nation, and in supporting the honour of his crown and dignity. Addresses containing the warmest expressions of loyalty were presented by both houses to his majesty; and the commons, in order to provide for the public safety, suspended the habeas corpus act, upon which several suspected



suspected persons were taken into custody. Admiral Vernon was sent to command a fleet in the Downs, there being great reason to suspect that the French would attempt to invade the south of Kent, and his ships seized several French vessels which were carrying arms and ammunition to the pretender in Scotland. This was striking at the root of the rebellion, and from such circumstances our ministry were enabled to form some notion of their strength, and the methods to be used in opposing them.

The chevalier, finding it impracticable to seize the castle of Edinburgh, marched towards England at the head of five thousand men; for after the defeat of general Cope, his army had increased considerably. On the twelfth of November the rebel army attacked the city of Carlisle, and in three days it surrendered; all the arms and ammunition falling into their hands, and there the pretender was proclaimed. Thus successful, and marshal Wade not having been able to get up in time to oppose them, they marched southward to Preston, where they arrived without any molestation; and on the twenty-ninth made their public entry into Manchester. At Preston and Manchester the pretender was again proclaimed; and in the latter place a regiment was raised for him, and the command thereof given to one Mr. Townly, a Lancashire gentleman, who had been some years in the French service. It is impossible to express the consternation of the people in London, when they found that the rebels had got so far southward; and therefore the duke of Cumberland, who had returned from Flanders, was sent down to oppose them.

The rebels, having marched from Manchester, arrived at Derby on the fourth of December; but finding that the duke of Cumberland was advanced as far as Newcastle under line in Staffordshire, they suddenly retreated and marched northward. The duke pursued them with the cavalry and one thousand foot, whom he mounted on such horses as could be procured in the country; while marshal Wade detached a body of horse to second the duke's operations, under the command of general Oglethorpe. The royal army attacked the rear of the rebels at a village called Clifton in Westmoreland, on the eighteenth of December, and made them retire with considerable loss; and on the thirtieth the duke, having driven the rebels into Scotland, retook the city of Carlisle, and sent the garrison to different prisons.

A. D. 1746. The rebels having marched as far as Stirling, one of the most important forts in Scotland, being situated where the High and Lowlands meet, attacked the castle, then commanded by general Blakeney; but they had neither artillery nor engines that could be of service to them in conducting such an enterprise. In the mean time, general Hawley, who had advanced from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, resolved to drive the rebels from Stirling; but on the seventeenth of January both armies met at Falkirk-moor, about six miles south-east from Stirling. There the rebels behaved in the same manner as at Preston-Pans, where general Cope was defeated; for they fell upon the royal army with such fury, that Hawley was obliged to retreat, leaving behind him great part of his baggage and artillery. Indeed there was such a storm of snow, wind and rain, that blew in the faces of the royal army, that many of their muskets would not fire; and the dragoons, of which there were three regiments, fled at the first onset, and breaking through the first line of the foot, threw the whole into the utmost confusion.

However trifling the success obtained by the rebels was, yet it gave them fresh spirits, and because the city of Glasgow had raised a regiment of militia to oppose them, they sent a party under the command of the earl of Kilmarnock, and fined the inhabitants thirty thousand pounds. News of what they called a victory, was sent over to France, and published in the Paris gazette; but the duke of Cumberland, who had returned from Carlisle to London, in consequence of giving his opinion in the privy-council, was sent

down to Scotland to take upon him the command of the army, consisting of fourteen battalions, and two regiments of dragoons; besides about five hundred loyal Highlanders, who had been raised in Argyleshire, by colonel John Campbell.

When the duke arrived at Edinburgh he found the army in much better order than he expected; and on the last day of January he began his march towards Stirling; but the rebels retreated at his approach. They were divided in their councils, dispirited because the French had not assisted them according to their expectations, and knowing that the royal army would be too powerful for them, they resolved to retire to the Highlands, imagining that there they might recruit their forces, and make a fresh stand. From Stirling they continued their march to the north, in the most precipitate and irregular manner; but some small advantages obtained by them over several detached parties, inspired them with fresh courage, and enabled them to hope that it was still possible for them to repair their loss.

The duke of Cumberland marched after them with as much expedition as the season would permit; and on the first of April he arrived at Aberdeen, where he was informed that they had seized a sloop in the harbour of Montrose, and sent her to France for fresh supplies.

At Aberdeen he was obliged to remain till such time as the river Spey was fordable, because in that season it overflows its banks; but on the eighth of April he began his march, and crossed that river on the twelfth without any opposition from the rebels, who might have obstructed their passage had they not been reduced to a state of infatuation. In the mean time, the earl of Cromartie, who had been sent into Caithness to raise recruits for the rebel army, was attacked by a party of militia, and both he and his son made prisoners.

At Nairn the duke received intelligence that the rebels had advanced to Culloden near Inverness, and therefore he marched with the utmost expedition. On the morning of the sixteenth, the royal army, having struck their tents, came up with the rebels about noon; but their numbers had been very much lessened in consequence of desertion, sickness, and a variety of other events, so that it was in a manner impossible for them to oppose the duke with any probability of success. About one o'clock both armies were drawn up in order of battle; and the rebels, in their usual manner, attacked the duke's forces with the utmost fury; but fury or the most undaunted courage, is of little service when opposed by troops regularly disciplined.

The royal army had been drawn up with so much order and regularity, that the rebels soon gave way, and within the compass of forty minutes, twelve hundred of them were killed. The dragoons, who flanked the infantry, advanced even to the rear of the rebel army, and meeting in the center, nothing was to be seen but confusion and bloodshed. The remainder of the rebels fled in great disorder; but the duke of Kingston's light horse being ordered to pursue them, a dreadful carnage ensued; for all those who offered to surrender prisoners, were put to the sword; an act of cruelty that would stand unjustified, were it not for the beneficial consequences that flowed from it. Indeed the state of public affairs rendered it in a manner absolutely necessary to make use of the most violent methods, in order to impress the minds of the people with a reverential respect to the government, without which no sort of subordination among the different ranks in society could be maintained.

For some time the duke remained with the army in the Highlands till the public peace was restored, and then he set out for London, where he was received by his royal father with all the marks of parental respect, and by the people with the greatest acclamations of joy. The unfortunate adventurer, who had involved so many families in ruin, wandered about



in disguise, subjected to all the miseries arising from hunger and nakedness, till the month of August following, when he got on board a French ship, and was landed at Rescourt, near Morlaix, on the coast of Britany.

Such was the end of this unnatural rebellion, carried on by some discontented persons in favour of a popish pretender; and some noblemen and gentlemen being concerned in it, it was necessary that their lives should atone for their crimes. Accordingly, some of them were attainted, among whom were the lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino; but Cromarty had interest enough to procure a pardon, under certain restrictions. Some others of lesser note suffered; and in the beginning of the following year, lord Lovat, the life and soul of the rebellion, was beheaded on Tower-hill.

During the remainder of this year, the war raged with great fury on the continent: for although an emperor had been chosen, yet the acquisition made by the French in the Netherlands alarmed all Germany, while the Dutch looked for nothing less than immediate destruction. The Dutch in general considered it necessary, that a person should be made choice of to conduct the affairs of the republic, and none seemed more proper than the prince of Orange, who had married the princess royal of England. But a strong party opposed that motion, and the command of the army was a second time conferred on prince Waldeck, a German, and a man of known courage; but as he was not a native of the country, so it could not be supposed that he would act like one naturally attached to the republic.

Early in the spring, the French king took the field, accompanied by marshal Saxe and several other generals: and the allies, under count Bathiani, not being able to oppose them, retreated to Breda, the capital city of Dutch Brabant, leaving Antwerp exposed to the enemy, who, in a few days, took possession of it. A detachment from the French army, under the command of the prince of Conti, was sent to invest Mons, a city of great strength; but the garrison behaved with so much bravery, that notwithstanding the superior numbers of the French, yet the place held out till the latter end of July, when they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. So rapid were the French conquests after the battle of Fontenoy, that every place gave way to them almost as soon as they approached; and Lewis XV. published an edict, whereby he ordered to be annexed to his dominions all those provinces that had been taken from his kingdom by the treaty of Utrecht. All the towns of strength in the Austrian Netherlands had submitted to the French, except Namur, a strong fort situated on the confluence of the Maese and the Sambre; and that the French resolved to bring under subjection as soon as the season of the year would permit.

On the eighteenth of July, the allied army being reinforced with the Hessians that had been sent over to Scotland, and also with a strong body of Austrians, resolved to remain no longer unconcerned spectators, but to oppose the French with courage and perseverance. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had marched towards the Netherlands, knew the importance of Namur, and therefore he drew up the allied army, which he had now taken under his command, on an eminence in sight of the French forces.

Nothing could have been better contrived than the measures taken by prince Charles, so far as he was able to act consistent with the inferiority of his army to that of the enemy. But the count Lowendahl having taken Huy, where the allies had their magazine, the prince was obliged to retire to the north of the Maese, and leave Namur exposed to the enemy. Accordingly, the trenches before it were opened on the second of September, and the siege carried on by thirty-five thousand French till the twenty-third, when the garrison, consisting of four thousand Austrians, after making a brave defence, were obliged to

surrender prisoners of war. The allied army, which lay encamped near Maestricht, being joined by Sir John Ligonier, with several battalions from Britain, prince Charles resolved not to remain any longer inactive, but to venture on an engagement with the French; but count Saxe perceived his intention, and having fortified his camp in the strongest manner, the allied army was obliged to return once more to Maestricht. To that place they were followed by the French, who had been reinforced with that part of the army which had been employed against Namur. The allies now finding that an engagement was inevitable, prepared to meet the enemy, who had been drawn up in three columns, with artillery in the front; and about noon a most dreadful cannonading began, which did great execution on both sides. At last the allies, after having done every thing that could have been performed by brave men, were obliged to abandon the field, and retreat to Maestricht: but the French purchased the victory extremely dear, without being able to reap any material advantages from it.

In Italy, the Austrian and Sardinian forces performed many signal actions. Don Philip was obliged to abandon Milan; and the king of Sardinia having retaken all the Piedmontese forts, advanced towards Genoa, in order to join the Austrian army. This brought on a most bloody engagement, in which above nine thousand of the French and Spaniards were killed, and six thousand taken prisoners; while the Austrians did not lose above four thousand. Soon after this battle, the Austrian forces were joined by those of the king of Sardinia, who took upon him the command in chief, and resolved, if possible, to drive the French and Spaniards from their entrenchments, which he effected; for they were obliged to retreat, with the loss of eight thousand men, besides their cannon and ammunition.

Don Philip, in consequence of these repeated losses, found his army reduced to thirty thousand men, with which he returned to Provence, and put them into winter quarters. Nor was it much better with the count de Gages, whose forces suffered considerably; and the court of Madrid was so enraged, that he was recalled, and the command given to the marquis de las Minas.

On the fourth of December, the senate of Genoa delivered up their capital city to the Austrians, who placed in it a garrison of only sixteen hundred men, under the command of the marquis de Botta. Had the Austrians, on this occasion, observed a conduct consistent with humanity, they might have remained masters of Genoa; but their cruelty, in exacting taxes of an exorbitant nature, drove the people to despair, and then awakened in them the last remaining spark of courage. They rose in such numbers upon the garrison, that they killed many of them; and being joined by the peasants in the neighbouring country, the whole Austrian army was driven out of the territories of Genoa.

In the latter end of this year, died Philip, king of Spain, a man of a peaceable disposition, but hurried on to war by the intrigues of the French king, and the ambition of his queen, who was a mortal enemy to the Austrian family. Much about the same time, died Christian VI. king of Denmark, a prince beloved by his subjects; and was succeeded by his son Frederick, who had married the princess Louisa, daughter of his Britannic majesty, and who reigned many years afterwards, rather as a tender parent than an absolute sovereign.

With respect to naval affairs during this year, little was done to promote the interest of Great-Britain. In the East-Indies were six ships of the line, which prevented the French from seizing on our settlements: but in America nothing of importance happened. An attempt was made by an English squadron, of sixteen ships of the line, under the command of admiral Lestock, and eight battalions of land-forces, commanded by general Sinclair, to take possession of Port l'Orient, on the coast of Britany; but they



were driven back by the French, who had notice of their intentions.

On the eighteenth of November, the parliament met; and his majesty, in his speech, told them, that it had been proposed to hold a conference at Breda; but as it could not be known what would be the issue, he was determined to prosecute the war with vigour; and therefore the commons were given to understand, that it would be necessary for them to grant the supplies as soon as possible. Both houses were unanimous in presenting the most loyal and affectionate addresses to his majesty; and the commons granted him nine millions, four hundred and twenty-five thousand, two hundred and fifty-four thousand pounds, for defraying the expences of the war. On the other hand, the king, in order to ingratiate himself with the people, proposed to reduce three regiments of horse to dragoons, and two troops of his life-guards, by which a considerable sum of money would be saved; and so sensible were the commons of the king's œconomy in reducing these unnecessary forces, that they received his message with the warmest expressions of gratitude, and both houses presented him with addresses on the occasion.

In the mean time, it appeared evident that the French had no intentions of making peace; for their late successes had made them so arrogant, that they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, but such as should be dictated by themselves. Ferdinand, the new king of Spain, who had succeeded his father, began to wish for peace; and even went so far, as to upbraid the French ministry with having led his subjects into an expensive and unnecessary war. The king of Portugal was made choice of to act as a mediator between Great-Britain and Spain; but the negotiation was rendered abortive, by the artful intrigues of the French, and the unrelenting disposition of the Spanish queen-dowager. Such was the state of public affairs at the end of this year. In Italy, the Austrians had been successful, but their provinces in the Netherlands were in the hands of the French. The allies could only act on the defensive, while Holland was every moment in danger of being totally subdued.

A. D. 1747. The French resolved, early in the beginning of this year, to make the most powerful efforts; and, for that purpose, Lewis XV. proposed opening the campaign at the head of an army consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand men; while sixty thousand were sent into Provence, to assist the Spaniards, and enable them once more to distress the Austrians and the king of Sardinia.

The duke of Cumberland having restored peace at home, by subduing the rebels, went over to Flanders, and in the month of February marched the allied army, in three divisions, to the banks of the Maese, amounting in the whole to one hundred and twenty-six thousand men. Marshal Saxe, whose army lay in quarters of cantonment along the Schelde, from Brussels to Antwerp, formed a resolution of making himself master of Holland: and having transmitted an account of his design to the French court, it was approved of by a great majority, and orders were sent him to begin the operations as soon as the season would permit. Accordingly count Lowendahl attacked Sluys with an army of twenty-seven thousand men, and in a few days the garrison was obliged to surrender. Many other places surrendered almost as soon as attacked; for the Dutch, during the greatest part of this war, behaved in the most cowardly and infamous manner. Hulst, in particular, a place of great importance, was surrendered up by the Dutch governor, although he knew that the duke of Cumberland was within a day's march to assist him. In a few weeks, count Lowendahl subdued every place in Dutch Flanders; upon which the people of Holland rose in a most tumultuous manner, and insisted that the prince of Orange should be made choice of as stadtholder, and intrusted with the executive authority. It was in vain to op-

pose the popular clamour; and the states of Zealand having made choice of the prince to be their captain-general and admiral, their example was followed by the rest of the provinces, which gave the utmost satisfaction to the people.

Things now began to wear a different aspect; for a treaty had been concluded between Great-Britain and the empress of Russia, by which the latter was to furnish fifty thousand men, to act in such manner as his Britannic majesty should think proper. The Dutch, who had hitherto acted in the most dilatory manner, promised to exert themselves, on condition that the British parliament should be dissolved; a proposal which his majesty complied with, although they had not sat six years. Accordingly, on the eighteenth of June, his majesty went to the house of peers, and the commons being present, he told them, that although he found himself under the necessity of dissolving them, yet it was not from any motives of disgust, but to comply with the requests of his allies. He thanked them for the generous manner in which they had contributed towards the expence of the war; and then the parliament was dissolved, after having passed the famous act for abolishing hereditary jurisdictions in Scotland, which, in all probability, will prevent a rebellion from ever breaking out again in that part of the kingdom.

The duke of Cumberland, who had been obliged to remain some time inactive, drew in his scattered parties on the twentieth of July, and formed, for an engagement with the French, at a village called Vall, or La Vall, near the town of Maestricht. The French were strongly posted on the rising ground, in sight of the allies, and both armies continued to cannonade each other till the evening. Next morning, by day-break, marshal Saxe ordered the French infantry to march down upon the allies, which they did in a vast column of ten battalions in front, and as many in depth, and attacked the village of La Vall with amazing fury. This was one of the boldest attempts that could have been made; for the allies had planted batteries of cannon in all the avenues leading to the village, which did prodigious execution among the enemy, and the village was four times taken and retaken. At last numbers prevailed, and the allies were obliged to give up the village.

In the mean time, the duke of Cumberland ordered the British and Hanoverian forces to advance on the right of the enemy; and he had taken his measures so prudently, that victory would have declared in favour of the allies, had it not been for the cowardly behaviour of the Dutch. The British and Hanoverian foot advanced with such bravery, that the French had almost given way, and the duke ordered the Dutch cavalry to support them; but, instead of obeying the orders, they wheeled to the right, and trod down five battalions of the allied army. The French general, taking the advantage of this unexpected circumstance, ordered his cavalry to advance, which they did, and broke through the lines of the English. In vain did the duke of Cumberland attempt to rally the Dutch forces; and had it not been for the most exemplary behaviour and bravery of Sir John Ligonier, the allied army would have been totally defeated. That brave general, putting himself at the head of a large body of cavalry, attacked the French with such fury, that he checked their progress, and, in consequence thereof, enabled the duke to retreat in very good order. Sir John having, by his gallant behaviour, thus saved the army, was the last man that offered to retreat, and then he was taken prisoner, along with the Hanoverian general d'Ysembourg, general Bland, colonel Conway, and lord Robert Sutton. The loss, in killed and wounded, fell almost wholly on the English, Hanoverians and Hessians, for few of the Austrians engaged; and the Dutch, instead of having done their duty, contributed, in a great measure, towards the loss of the battle. This victory cost the French ten thousand of their best troops; nor was it attended with any great advantages;



tages, for the duke ordered the garrison of Maastricht to be reinforced with several battalions, and established his head quarters at Heer in the dutchy of Limberg.

The country laying open before them, the French resolved to attack Bergen-op-zoom, the strongest fort belonging to the Dutch, and situated in such a manner that it could not be blocked up by sea. It had been hitherto considered as impregnable; for altho' often besieged by great armies, yet had never been taken. The command of the siege was given to the count Lowendahl, one of the greatest generals in Europe; while the fortress, one of the most important that the Dutch had to lose, was left to the care of baron Cronstram, an old superannuated general, destitute of courage, and utterly unacquainted with the art of war. It was imagined by most people, that the French would never be able to take the place; but the activity of count Lowendahl overcame every difficulty; and after two months siege a breach was made; and the French battalions entered the place; while the old governor, who ought to have been every where to superintend the works, was sleeping in his quarters.

The whole of the garrison would have been made prisoners of war, had it not been for the bravery of a regiment of Scotch highlanders, under the command of lord John Murray, who fought like lions, and three-fourths of them were left dead on the spot. The French king created count Lowendahl a marshal of France, the highest dignity he could raise him to; and Bergen-op-zoom being in the power of the enemy, the two armies went into winter quarters, while the duke of Cumberland returned to London.

With respect to the affairs of Italy, the war was carried on there with great vigour. The marshal de Bellisle, who had been released from imprisonment, was sent to command the French army in Provence; but notwithstanding he attempted to penetrate into Piedmontese, yet he met with such opposition from the count de Briqueras, that after an engagement that lasted near a whole day, the French were obliged to retreat, with the loss of near five thousand men.

Money, with arms and ammunition, had been remitted to the republic of Genoa from the French, so that they had been enabled to defend their own territories; but Lewis XV. who had been so successful in Flanders, saw all his Italian projects baffled, and his forces obliged to return to Provence.

With respect to naval affairs, they were very favourable to Britain during this year; for the French, having ordered a fleet to be fitted out in order to recover Cape Breton, the English admirals, Anson and Warren, were sent to oppose them with a strong fleet of ships of the line. Accordingly on the third of May, a most bloody engagement happened near Cape Finisterre, in which the French were defeated with considerable loss, and all their designs of relieving their colonies were rendered abortive. Mr. Anson and Mr. Warren, upon their return home, were both rewarded with marks of the royal favour; the first being created a peer of England, and the other with a red ribbon of the Bath.

Captain Fox, who commanded the Kent, fell in with a fleet of French merchantmen from St. Dominica, near the coast of Galicia, and took twenty-six of them richly laden; by which our brave seamen were, in part, rewarded handsomely for the hardships they had suffered. But this was not all the loss that the French suffered at sea; for, towards the latter end of October, admiral Hawke was dispatched to intercept their West India fleet, and fell in with them near Bellisle. A most desperate engagement ensued, in which the French were utterly defeated; and six ships, with three thousand prisoners were brought into the harbour of Portsmouth. All these losses tended towards discouraging the French; for although their conquests in the Netherlands had been very rapid, yet their nation was drained both of men and money; while their commerce was destroyed,

and their subjects starving: from which circumstance we may learn, the importance a good navy is of to Britain.

With respect to the queen of Hungary, the king of Spain, and others of the allies, they were all heartily tired of the war; and Britain, though at more expence than all the others put together, seemed resolved not to sheath the sword till justice was done; that peace might be concluded upon honourable and advantageous terms. The French king had intimated to Sir John Ligonier, that he was desirous of peace; and, in consequence thereof, towards the latter end of this year, friendly messages passed between all the contending parties.

The election for members to serve in the new parliament had been carried on every where in favour of the court, and both houses met on the tenth of November, when his majesty took notice of the happiness that would arise to the protestant interest, by the change of government that had taken place in the United Provinces; and he congratulated them on the vast success of the British navy, by which it was probable peace would soon be established.

The first thing done by the ministry, was to bring in a bill for the general naturalization of foreign protestants; but the city of London remonstrated so strongly against it, that it was thought most prudent to drop the bill.

A. D. 1748. The committee of ways and means proposed giving nine millions for the expences of the year; and it being approved of by the commons, was unanimously granted, partly by a land-tax, and partly by a loan on the credit of the exchequer. In March a congress was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson on the part of the English; count de St. Severin for the French; and for the states-general baron de Wafsenae and mynheer Hasselaer. On the thirteenth of May the king prorogued the parliament, after having informed them, that preliminaries for a general peace had been signed, and then set out for Holland, where he had a conference with the prince of Orange before he proceeded to Hanover.

On the third day of May, marshal Saxe entered the town of Maastricht, which had been surrendered upon condition, that it should be delivered up without any damage being done to the stores and magazines, if a cessation of arms then took place, in order to make room for a general pacification. To the deputies already mentioned were added the following, viz: the marquis de la Porthune Thuill, on the part of France; for Spain the marquis de Soto Major; for the house of Austria, count de Raunitz; for the king of Sardinia, Don Joseph Offorio, and the count de Chavennes; for the republic of Genoa, the marquis Dorio; count de Monzone; for the duke of Modena; and for the Dutch, the count Bentinck. During the conferences between these plenipotentiaries, many difficulties were started that could not be adjusted till the return of expresses from their different sovereigns; and, after several months spent in daily conferences, peace was concluded upon terms to the following purport:

On the seventh day of October all prisoners, who had been taken during the war, were to be released, and the conquests returned to their former owners. Don Philip was to have Parma and Placentia in Italy; but if he should either assume the throne of Spain or Naples, or die without male issue, these provinces were to be given up to the house of Austria. Great Britain was to send two persons of high rank as hostages to remain in Paris, till such places had been given up as had been conquered by us from the French; and accordingly the earl of Suffolk and lord Cathcart were sent; but this measure gave great displeasure to the people in general, because they looked upon it as dishonourable; and to all intents and purposes a disgrace to the nation. Dunkirk was to remain fortified on the land side, but all the works adjoining to the sea were to be destroyed, and the harbour laid



laid open. The king of Prussia was to enjoy peaceable possession of the province of Silesia, and the queen of Hungary was to remain sovereign of all the hereditary dominions left her by her father the emperor Charles VI. and which had for many years belonged to her family.

The Spaniards were to have leave, for four years, to purchase slaves on the coast of Guinea; a privilege that they had been long deprived of: and with respect to the other parts and articles of this treaty, they were rather of a formal than an important nature.

Such were the principal parts of this treaty, and few are to be met with in history that ever gave greater offence to the people in general. Great sums of money had been granted by the British parliament, the subjects had been loaded with heavy taxes, and they had paid them in order to support the honour of the nation; but here, in consequence of this treaty, they found that their treasure had been lavished away, and the flower of their army destroyed, for no other purpose than that of supporting German princes, and protecting the electorate of Hanover. They complained that their plenipotentiaries had deceived them, and concluded the articles of peace before they had been duly considered by the people; and nothing but murmurs were to be heard from the one end of the kingdom to the other.

His Britannic majesty, who had been, during the summer, on a visit to his electoral dominions, where he established the famous university of Gottingen, returned to England in the latter end of October; and on the twenty-ninth of November both houses of parliament met at Westminster. His majesty, in his speech, informed them, that he had taken the most effectual methods to promote the interest of

his people, consistent with the state of public affairs; and that as most of the contending parties seemed averse to carrying on the war any longer, so he doubted not but peace would now be established on the most solid and lasting foundation. He added, that now the war was over, the public expence would be much lessened; and therefore, all he desired of them was, that they would grant such supplies as should, from a proper estimate, appear necessary to support the dignity of the crown, by enabling him to fulfil those engagements, which, in consequence of the late treaty of peace he had entered into.

In answer to this speech both houses presented very loyal and affectionate addresses, though not without some opposition from the commons. Some of the members in the opposition condemned the conduct of the ministry in giving plenary powers to the deputies to conclude a peace before the arrival of thirty-seven thousand Russians, who were on their march to join the allied army. They insisted, that an enquiry should be set on foot to make those at the helm of public affairs, give an account in what manner the public money had been so lavishly squandered away; but the power of the ministerial party bore down all opposition.

The conduct of Mr. Pelham, brother to the duke of Newcastle, was severely censured; but Mr. Pitt, since earl of Chatham, and Mr. Murray, now lord Mansfield, spoke so forcibly in his favour, that eight millions were granted for the service of the current year; a most amazing sum, when we consider that the war was over; but a proof of the intense riches of the nation, and the obligations that British sovereigns are under, to live on good terms with their subjects.

## B O O K XV.

### From the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the death of George II.

A. D. 1749. **I**N consequence of the late treaty, the French were put in peaceable possession of Cape Breton; and the ministry resolved to cultivate the province of Nova Scotia, in the northern part of America. This scheme was chiefly promoted and encouraged by the earl of Halifax, first lord of trade and plantations; and his majesty, ever attentive to the welfare of his subjects, countenanced it with his royal approbation. Accordingly, many artificers and husbandmen were sent thither in order to clear the grounds, and make way for a proper settlement; and it must be acknowledged that the British nation left nothing undone in order to promote so patriotic a scheme. A town was built by the mere force of industry, which is now a flourishing port, and named Halifax, from the title of the peer, who first projected it. Many people have settled in its neighbourhood, and, upon the whole, it may be looked upon as one of the most valuable acquisitions to Great Britain.

The remainder of the transactions during this year, were not of a very important nature. Some domestic disturbances happened in consequence of the late peace; for many of the foldiers and seamen having been discharged, and not knowing in what manner to procure a subsistence, committed street robberies, for which many of them were executed.

The parliament met on the sixteenth of November, and the king, in his speech to both houses, informed them, that it was with the utmost pleasure he

could now behold peace in Europe, by which the public credit was again re-established, and commerce, the support of the nation, was likely to flourish. To this speech both houses returned the most loyal and affectionate addresses, after which they entered upon public business, and granted his majesty such a supply, as was able to defray all the expences of government. Some of the students of Oxford having been guilty of uttering expressions of a treasonable nature, were tried in the court of King's bench, and two of them were obliged to walk with papers on their breasts through Westminster-hall.

A. D. 1750. One thing of great importance that engaged the attention of this parliament was the herring fishery; and a bill being brought in for that purpose, it passed into a law, and a society was formed for carrying it into execution, at the head of which was his royal highness Frederick, prince of Wales. Another act passed this session for encouragement of Weavers in the sail-cloth trade, an article of the utmost importance to the British nation. Upon the whole, few sessions ever passed more acts for the general encouragement of commerce and manufactures; but indeed nothing could be more necessary, as the nation had been almost ruined by an expensive and destructive war.

On the twelfth of April the king went, in the usual manner, to the house of peers, where, in a speech from the throne, he thanked the commons for that attention which they had paid to the interests of the



the nation, and for the supplies granted to support the government.

Some things of a domestic nature took place this year, which must not be passed over in silence. On the eighth of February, a shock of an earthquake was felt in London, by which some chimnies were thrown down, and the Thames was very much agitated. The consternation of the people on this occasion is even beyond description. But what was still more, on the eighth of March, about half past five in the morning, such a violent shock was felt, that many of the people ran from their beds naked, being afraid that their houses would tumble upon them. This shock was not confined to London, for it was felt in some other parts, particularly in Essex, Kent, and Surrey: and a wild enthusiastic, driven mad by zeal, foretold, that on the eighth of April, a third shock of an earthquake would lay all London in ruins. One would have thought that such a prediction would have been treated with the utmost contempt; especially, as it is declared in Holy writ, that such things are known to God only; but notwithstanding, so infatuated were thousands of people, that they actually believed the impostor, and waited for the accomplishment of his prediction, as if he had been a messenger sent from heaven.

The goal distemper, which, in its consequences, generally proves as fatal as the plague, broke out during the session at the Old Bailey, in the month of April this year. Sir Samuel Pennant, lord-mayor of London, Sir Daniel Lambert, one of the aldermen, Sir Thomas Abney, one of the judges of the court of Common-Pleas, baron Clarke of the exchequer, seven gentlemen of the law, several of the jury, besides a great number of those who were present to hear the trials lost their lives. Indeed it cannot be ascertained how many persons died; but certain it is, that the city was greatly alarmed, and every one was afraid of the infection.

During the summer of this year his majesty went to visit his electoral dominions, and during his residence there, he signed a treaty with the emperor of Morocco; by which, all the British captives in his dominions were set at liberty. Few other things worth notice happened this year either at home or abroad; for the people were enjoying the sweets of peace after the toils of war.

The prince and princess of Wales, with their eldest daughter the princess Augusta, during this summer, went on a tour to the west and south of England; where they were received, and treated with that respect due to their high station and amiable characters.

While his majesty was abroad, he endeavoured to get the archduke Joseph, son of the emperor, elected king of the Romans; but the scheme met with such opposition, that for the present it was obliged to be laid aside.

A. D. 1751. On the seventeenth of January, the parliament met, and the king, in his speech, informed them, that he had concluded two treaties, one with the king of Spain, and the other with some of the German princes, the contents of which should be laid before them. He recommended to both houses unanimity in their councils: and concluded, by desiring them not to forget the state of the nation, but above all things provide for its internal safety. To this speech loyal addresses were presented by both houses, and received by his majesty in the most gracious manner.

The first thing that engaged the attention of the commons, was a violent dispute between lord Trentham, and Sir George Vandeput, relating to a seat in parliament. Lord Trentham having accepted the place of a lord of the admiralty, his seat became vacant, and a writ was issued for the election of a new member to represent the city of Westminster.

Lord Trentham was supported by the ministry, who looked upon Sir George Vandeput as one set up by the popular party. A poll being demanded and

taken, the high-bailiff declared the majority to be in favour of lord Trentham; but that not being satisfactory to the opposite party, they proceeded to a scrutiny. Still the majority seemed to be in favour of lord Trentham, and the high-bailiff returned him duly elected; upon which he took the oaths and his seat in the house. At this measure, the friends of Sir George were so much enraged, that they presented a petition to the house, complaining of the conduct of the high-bailiff; to which lord Trentham presented an answer; setting forth, that the friends of Sir George had, in the whole of their conduct, acted utterly inconsistent with the constitution, and instead of supporting the freedom of election, had intimidated all those who came to poll; unless they happened to be of their own party; and that they had gone so far as to threaten the high-bailiff.

That a proper enquiry might be made into these allegations, the high-bailiff was summoned to the bar of the house, where he gave information, that the honourable Mr. Murray, brother to the lord Elibank, Mr. Crowle, a counsellor at law, and one Gibson, an upholster, had obstructed him in the discharge of his duty. Crowle was obliged to kneel down at the bar of the house, and receive a reprimand on his knees from the speaker; and Gibson was committed to Newgate. With respect to Mr. Murray, the charge against him was very heavy; for it appeared, from undoubted evidence, that he had raised a most outrageous mob, and called out to them to knock the dog on the head; by which he meant the high-bailiff.

Accordingly he was committed a close prisoner to Newgate, and then brought to the bar of the house to receive judgment; but when he came, he refused to kneel; at which the house was so much enraged, that he was recommitted to the same prison, and forbid the use of pens, ink, or paper, nor was any one permitted to converse with him, unless they first received an order from the speaker. In that manner he remained in prison till the end of the session, and the power of parliament being then dissolved, he was set at liberty amidst the acclamations of the people.

During this session of parliament his royal highness Frederick, prince of Wales, was seized with a fever, which put an end to his valuable life, on the twentieth day of March, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His royal highness left, besides his present majesty, four sons and three daughters, and soon after his death was born the princess Carolina Matilda, now queen of Denmark. The day after the prince's death his body was opened, and it was found that there was an abscess upon his lungs, which had burst and occasioned his death. His remains were deposited in the chapel of Henry VII. the duke of Somerset walking as chief mourner, attended by several other noblemen.

With respect to the character of this prince, we must consider it both in a public and private light. In public, he seemed to have nothing so much at heart as the good of the people; and he often attended the debates in the house of peers, in order to acquire a perfect knowledge of the constitution. The people in general had formed the most sanguine hopes, that one day they would be happy under his government; and there is great reason to believe, that had he ascended the throne, he would have cultivated the arts of peace in a manner superior to all those who had gone before him. In his private life, he was an affectionate husband, a tender parent, an indulgent master, and a sincere friend. All the time he could spare from public business, was spent in superintending the education of his children; so that it may justly be said of him, "He joined in one, the prince, the father, the husband, and the friend." But all the hopes of the public were blasted, and sunk in the nature of all sublunary things.

The death of the prince, for some time, put an end to party disputes, and his eldest son, our present



sovereign, was created prince of Wales; while the princely-dowager of Wales, his mother, was to act as regent in his stead, if his majesty should happen to die before he arrived at years of maturity.

On the twenty-second day of May, his majesty went to the house of peers, and gave his royal assent to the bill for abolishing the old, and establishing the new stile; which has been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the merchants in general, who, before that time, were often led into confusion concerning the dates of their bills and letters. On the twenty-fifth of June, his majesty prorogued the parliament; and, in his speech, informed them, that as a general dissoluteness of manners had taken place among the people, it was their duty to do all in their power to enforce the execution of those laws which had been made against immorality and profaneness.

On the eleventh of October, this year, the prince of Orange died, in the forty-first year of his age; and that event was succeeded by the death of the queen of Denmark, youngest daughter of his majesty, who expired on the nineteenth of December.

With respect to the affairs on the continent, the French seemed intent on prosecuting their design of enlarging their conquests in North-America, and in spurring up the Indians to murder our traders on the borders of Virginia. Spain was intent on putting their navy on a proper footing; and, for that purpose, several of the men who, in consequence of the peace, had been discharged from our dock-yards, were inveigled over to that country, where they built several ships of war, on the same model as the English. Nothing could be more inconsistent with sound policy, than to suffer those useful men to leave the kingdom; and it was the duty of the ministry, when they discharged them, to provide for them some other employments, instead of leaving them to starve.

On the fourteenth day of November, the parliament met; and the king, in a speech from the throne, informed them, that he had concluded a treaty with the king of Poland, who was now become his most faithful ally; and that, with respect to the death of the prince of Orange, it would make no alteration in the state of public affairs. He told them, that the states-general were firm in the interest of Great-Britain: and concluded by recommending to their notice the shocking condition in which the nation was involved by a spirit of licentiousness that seemed to have diffused itself through all ranks of people; so that nothing but the grossest immorality and profaneness were to be met with. Both houses presented loyal and affectionate addresses to his majesty; and Mr. Muncy, who had given so much disturbance during the former sessions, made his escape out of the kingdom; while the publisher of a pamphlet, intitled his case, was prosecuted at common law, and, after a long hearing, was most honourably acquitted by the jury.

A.D. 1752. The commons having granted the necessary supplies, amounting in the whole to four millions, other business of a very important nature was entered upon, and many useful acts passed for the regulation of the internal policy of the nation. One act was made to punish such as kept disorderly houses; and another, by which all pawnbrokers were obliged to take out licences: that the people in the highlands might be brought under a proper subjection to the government, some of the forfeited estates were reduced into one consolidated fund, and the profits arising from them appropriated towards erecting charity-schools, that the children of those concerned in the rebellion might be brought up in the principles of the protestant religion. Working-schools were at the same time established, by which many poor children were usefully employed; and posterity will have reason to bless those who first proposed making an act that will, in the end, be attended with the most beneficial consequences.

Another act passed during this session of parliament, for preventing the horrid crime of murder:

wherein it was ordained, that every criminal convicted of having wilfully, and of malice, killed another, should be executed on the next day except one after the sentence was pronounced: but if it should happen that judgment was pronounced on Friday, then execution was not to take place till Monday, because of the Sunday intervening. The body of the malefactor was to be either delivered to the surgeons, to be dissected and anatomized, or it was to be hung in chains on a gibbet; but it was not, on any account whatever, to be buried. The commons passed a resolution, that, for the future, all their daily journals should be annually published, and the care of the publication was left to Mr. Hardinge, the chief clerk, which gave great satisfaction to the subjects in general: and on the twenty-sixth day of March, the king went to Westminster, and prorogued both houses of parliament.

Most of the powers of Europe were, during this year, very busy in promoting such schemes as seemed consistent either with their interest or ambition. Some trifling disputes arose between the king of Prussia and the court of Great-Britain, but these were adjusted in the most amicable manner. In Corsica, nothing was to be seen, but disorders of the worst sort; for the Genoese, who pretended to the right of sovereignty over that island, had imposed such grievous taxes on the people, that they became mad by oppression. In Germany, a second attempt was made to elect the archduke Joseph king of the Romans; but it was so violently opposed by the king of Prussia, that the whole dropped for the present, contrary to the inclination of his Britannic majesty, who had exerted himself very much on the occasion. In America, the French were carrying on their plots in such a barefaced manner, that it was not consistent with the honour or interest of Britain to remain an idle spectator. Nor were the French less assiduous in executing their projects in the East-Indies, where they spurred up the natives to make incursions into our settlements, by which many of our traders were much injured. In the West-Indies, the same schemes were carried on; so that the people of this country began to see that the French had only made peace in order to declare war as soon as they could, consistent with the nature of their circumstances.

On the fifteenth of September this year, a most dreadful hurricane happened in South-Carolina, by which many of the inhabitants were killed, and several houses in Charles-Town destroyed. This reduced the people to great distress; but the generosity of the inhabitants of Great-Britain was so warm in their favour, that all their losses were made up, and the colony left in a more flourishing condition than ever. Nothing more of any importance happened this year; for, during the greatest part of the summer, his Britannic majesty had been at Hanover.

A.D. 1753. The public business during this year was, for the most part, of a parliamentary nature. The sessions was opened on the eleventh of January, and both houses presented very loyal addresses to his majesty. Two millions were granted for the service of the current year; and, upon the most strict enquiry, it appeared that the national debt amounted to the enormous sum of seventy-four millions, three hundred and sixty-eight thousand, four hundred and fifty-one pounds fifteen shillings. Several excellent acts passed during this session, particularly one for bringing to justice all those concerned in plundering such ships as should happen, by stress of weather, to be driven on the English coast. The inhabitants residing near the sea, particularly in Cornwall, had been long guilty of that infamous practice; and those who ought to have been considered as objects of compassion, were robbed, and stripped naked.

But that which principally attracted the notice both of the public and the legislature, was a bill brought in for the general naturalization of the Jews. It was much countenanced by the ministry, and all the towns where manufactures are carried on in an extensive



extensive manner: and having originated in the house of lords, it passed with very little opposition. No sooner was it known that the bill had passed the upper house, than the nation seemed in one continued scene of clamour and opposition. It was represented as an attempt to undermine the christian religion, and set aside the order of God. The lord-mayor of London, with the aldermen and common-council, presented petitions against it, and so did the merchants; but notwithstanding, it passed the lower house by a great majority. It is not consistent with the dignity of history to intermeddle with political disputes any farther than to relate the circumstances that gave rise to them. Those who supported this bill thought that great riches would be brought into the nation; and that the Jews, by buying up the goods manufactured by our artificers, would extend our commerce throughout the world. On the other hand, the popular party said, that the Jews had been fugitives and vagabonds ever since the reign of the emperor Vespasian; that it was the order of God they should be so for rejecting the Messiah, and the terms of salvation offered in the gospel. They added farther, that they were to continue so till they acknowledged the Lord of glory, and therefore it was the highest presumption in us to grant them any indulgence. Indeed, the legislative power, as well as the ministry, were sensible of this; for next session the act was repealed, and the people, in consequence thereof, looked upon themselves as released from a state of bondage.

The next bill in which the whole nation looked upon itself as concerned, was that to prevent clandestine marriages. It is certain, that every man and woman, at a proper age, have a right to enter into the marriage state, consistent with their own inclinations: but in all civil societies, it has been found necessary to lay such restrictions on this institution, as may prevent its being abused. Thus, it is natural to suppose, that every man who enters into the marriage state, is not only capable, but also under an obligation, to provide, in a proper manner, consistent with his circumstances, for his wife and children. It is a duty he owes to the community; and therefore those not qualified for such an important trust, will be ready to leave their wives to starve, while the education of their innocent children will be neglected. Marriages, too often contracted in private, and to answer sinister purposes, left no room for a public proof, if any dispute arose concerning them; and many innocent children, in consequence thereof, had been ruined. It may farther be added, that in many societies it is found necessary to make natural rights give way to some political institutions, which may be only of a temporary nature.

On the other hand, it was argued by those who opposed the bill, that all mankind are, by nature, free; and that nothing can constitute a real marriage beyond the consent of the parties: that all agreements, even of the most trifling nature, were founded on consent; and if so, then marriage, the cement and support of human society, ought to rest upon the same principle: that those who did not enter into the marriage state by voluntary consent, could never take that care of their tender and helpless offspring, which, by all the laws of society, was incumbent upon them.

It is necessary to observe, that neither the ministry nor the opposition could be charged with this bill: it did not originate from either in particular, but from a combination of both. In a word, the reason for bringing in the bill was that of young heirs and heiresses having inadvertently placed their affections on others below their station, by which they were often reduced to ruin. It is extremely natural for men who have procured titles, and acquired riches, to endeavour to preserve the one untainted, and the other undiminished; and the warmer passions becoming extinct in the mind, a sort of nominal prudence takes place that can never be agreeable to

youth. Such were the reasons assigned, or rather made use of, in framing this bill; and it not only passed both houses by a great majority, but also became a law, in consequence of the royal assent. It is certain, that it has both its advantages and disadvantages, but the end designed by it has not taken place. No provision is made in the act against foreign marriages; and therefore nothing is more common than to hear of minors going over to the continent, to indulge their inclinations; nor has Scotland, where the protestant religion is professed, been so much as mentioned. The act, like all others of a public nature, occasioned much speculation, and was either approved of or condemned according to the different sentiments of the people. It is certain, that it might have been framed in a much better manner; but, upon the whole, we may see that nothing is more difficult than the reducing of natural principles to civil institutions, founded upon the caprice of men who, in general, are guided by their passions, instead of reason.

This year was remarkable for an institution which had been long wanting in Britain, and of the utmost importance to the republic of letters. The vast collection of natural curiosities belonging to Sir Hans Sloane, were purchased by the government, and deposited in the noble structure called Montague House, in Great Russell-street, near Bloomsbury. But, that the honour of the nation might be fully established, and a place opened for men of learning to study, without being at any expence, the collection of manuscripts belonging to the earl of Oxford were likewise purchased; and these, with the king's library, and the valuable collection made by Sir John and Sir Robert Cotton, were brought to the same place, which is now called the British Museum, and is open for the reception and use of the public in general. Nothing could have done greater honour to the nation than this instance of their good sense and unbounded liberality. The most curious records in the nation, and copies of such books as are not to be found any where else, are now left free for the inspection of every one. The great officers of state, amounting to twenty-one in number, are appointed official governors of this royal foundation. Two are appointed by the Oxford family, two by the descendants of Sir Hans Sloane, and the same number by those who are heirs to Sir John and Sir Robert Cotton. These, amounting to twenty-seven in number, are to chuse fifteen more, so as to make the whole body of governors forty-two. But although their number is so large, yet no person can be presented to an office in the house, but by an order signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, and the speaker of the house of commons.

The parliament continued sitting till the seventeenth of June, when his majesty went to the house of peers, and informed them, that nothing had happened, so far as he had been able to procure intelligence, that could in the least disturb the public peace: and then both houses were prorogued.

With respect to foreign affairs, the French were every where busy in preparing to break through the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as an opportunity should offer. They had been spitting up some of the nabobs, or subordinate princes in the East-Indies, to take up arms against the English; and although many of their attempts had been rendered abortive, yet they did not desist from them; so that at last, as will appear in the sequel, it became a national concern. It was much the same in America, where they had instigated the natives of Canada, and some other provinces, to take up arms against the British settlers in Nova Scotia, in order to reduce that province, which had been established at so much expence, to the condition of a French colony.

On the fifteenth of November, both houses of parliament met; and the king, in his speech, informed them, that he was on the best of terms with his allies: but many of the commons were not satisfied



fied with this declaration, so that violent debates arose before an address could be presented. But still the ministry carried their point; and such bills as had passed having received the royal assent, the parliament was dissolved, and writs issued for the election of a new one.

A. D. 1754. During the recess of parliament, Mr. Pelham, brother to the duke of Newcastle, died, and was succeeded in that important office, of first lord of the treasury, by his brother, at that time one of the secretaries of state. He was a man of great abilities, beloved by the people, and honoured by his sovereign with many marks of his royal favour. He was a real friend to the Hanover family; and, during a course of many years, he had supported the interests of government in the house of commons, without ever proposing any thing that, in the end, could become prejudicial to the people.

Throughout the whole nation, the election for members to serve in parliament went in favour of the ministry, who had acquired such an ascendancy, that every thing gave way to them. Few disturbances happened; and the writs being returned, the duke of Cumberland, in commission, with some other noblemen, opened the session, Mr. Onslow being chosen speaker of the house of commons. The lord-chancellor Hardwick, now raised to the dignity of an earl, informed the members, that his majesty had called them together, in order to consult on some things of the utmost importance, which would be laid before them in proper time; and doubted not but they would do every thing to support the honour of the crown, and secure the interest of the nation. But nothing of any importance was done: for the parliament, which met on the tenth of May, was prorogued on the fifth of June; so that all business which naturally came under their consideration was suspended till the month of November following:

The depredations made by the French on the properties of our subjects in North-America, had occasioned several remonstrances to be made to the court of Versailles; but no satisfactory answers were received, every one being evasive and uncertain. This induced our ministry to send an express order to Mr. Dinwiddie, one of the North-American governors, to drive the French out of his province, and to erect forts, to prevent their future incursions. In consequence of these orders, some skirmishes happened: and as it seemed reasonable to believe that the French intended to commence hostilities, the earl of Albemarle, our ambassador at Paris, was ordered to remonstrate upon it to the French ministry, as a breach of the faith of treaties, and inconsistent with the law of nations. The earl obeyed his orders; but, instead of receiving a satisfactory answer, the French began gradually to pull off the mask, and new reinforcements were sent to America, in the same manner as if war had been declared between both nations. From which we may learn, that no confidence is to be put in such perfidious people at any time.

During this year, the queen-mother of Spain lost all her influence at court, by the disgrace of her favourite, the marquis de la Ensenada, who was succeeded by Mr. Wall, the son of an Irish papist, who followed the fortune of James II. at the revolution. The king of Portugal, who had received many favours from the English, began to act in the most ungrateful manner. He imposed some severe taxes upon the British merchants in the factory at Lisbon, and even went so far as to cause some of them to be imprisoned.

In Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, as well as Germany, every thing remained in a state of tranquillity, although nothing had been left undone by the court of France to draw some of the above powers over to their measures. In America, the French continued to carry on their encroachments in a bolder manner than ever. Great complaints were exhibited against them, and the people in general wished for

the meeting of the parliament, which took place on the fourteenth day of November.

His majesty, in his speech, informed them, that he had done every thing to preserve the public peace of Europe, and that no material alteration had taken place since their last session. He recommended to them to take into their consideration the affairs of America, but took no notice of the encroachments made by the French on our settlements. This was considered, by the more discerning of the people, as one of the greatest master-strokes of policy; for the minority in the house were gaining ground; and it was expected, had his majesty discovered the real state of American affairs, violent opposition would have been made to the address, which is always expected at the beginning of each session.

The address being presented, the commons voted that the sum of four millions, seventy-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven pounds, should be granted for the service of the current year. Subsidies were also granted to several foreign princes, particularly the elector of Bavaria, who was to have a body of forces ready, in case his majesty's dominions in Germany should be attacked by the French, or any other of the European powers. These vigorous resolutions of the house of commons alarmed the French to the highest degree; but as they had all along acted in the most insincere manner, so, on the present occasion, they directed their ambassador, the duke de Mirepoix, to amuse our ministry with pretences, that they had not the most distant view of disturbing such of our subjects as were settled in America. These declarations were, however, of too fallacious a nature to have any effect with the people of England. The eyes of our ministry were now opened, and nothing seemed so necessary as that of supporting the interest and honour of the nation.

A. D. 1755. A proclamation was issued on the twenty-third day of January, offering a bounty to such seamen as were willing to enter into his majesty's service. Press-warrants were sent to the principal sea-port towns: all artificers in our dock-yards, as well as seamen, were prohibited, under severe penalties, from entering into foreign service: and all such as were abroad, were commanded to return. Things were now grown to such an height, that the designs of the French could be no longer concealed; and therefore the king sent a message to the parliament by Sir Thomas Robinson, informing them, that the encroachments made on our settlements in America rendered it necessary for him to augment both his navy and army, and he doubted not but his faithful subjects would stand by him with their lives and fortunes. Affectionate and loyal addresses were presented by both houses: and although the French boasted much of the superior power of their fleets in Brest and Toulon, yet the British subjects paid little regard to it. The ministry prohibited the Irish from supplying the French with provisions, which was one of the best measures that could have been taken, and was applauded by the people in general.

Great dispatch was made by our ministry to fit out the fleet; and towards the latter end of April, admiral Boscawen sailed from Portsmouth with ten ships of the line, and six frigates, in which were six thousand soldiers and marines. About the same time, sailed from Brest the French fleet, under the command of admiral Macnamara, an Irish gentleman; but he had secret instructions to dispatch his vice-admiral in his room, while he himself, with five ships of the line, cruized near the straits of Gibraltar, with no other view than to try whether he could not oblige our admiral to divide his fleet, which had been reinforced by a squadron under the command of admiral Holborne. Mr. Pitt, at that time secretary at war, procured an act which will ever do honour to his memory, namely, to advance six months pay to the seamen, and not suffer them to sell their tickets to rapacious usurers, who often bought them at the rate of fifty per cent. discount, to the dishonour of the nation.

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The public business being dispatched, his majesty went to the house of peers and told them, he adhered, in the most sacred manner, to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but as the French had, in the most barefaced manner, broken through every article of it, he could not, consistent with the honour of his crown, and the duty he owed to his people, suffer them to proceed any further without the most vigorous opposition. He added, that he never would declare war but upon the most justifiable terms; and concluded, by assuring them, that he trusted for success in the Divine Providence, which was ever ready to assist those who acted justly. He then prorogued the parliament, and having made choice of a proper regency to conduct the public affairs, set out to visit his electoral dominions. While he was there he learned, that the French king had entered into a secret treaty with the court of Vienna; and to prevent any evil consequences that might result therefrom, he engaged to take into his pay a large body of Hessian troops; and, at the same time, concluded a treaty offensive and defensive, with the empress of Russia.

While his majesty was, in concert with his ministry, contriving such schemes as were most likely to be of service to the nation in general, the French were continuing their depredations on our settlements, and the inhabitants of the American colonies were quarrelling with their governors. This induced all them who wished well to our interests in America, to look down, in the most unfavourable manner, on the unprosperous state of the public affairs. Unanimity was wished for; but few expected it. Admiral Boscawen, who was now off Louisbourg, attacked part of the French fleet, and actually dispersed them, which gave some gleam of hope to the people of England, who promised themselves great things from the superior abilities of that commander. Two of the French ships were taken and sent to Halifax in Nova Scotia, where they were afterwards condemned as lawful prizes.

A trifling expedition was made in the month of June this year, on the frontiers of the colony established by the French in Canada; but no other consequences resulted from it than that of keeping up the spirits of the people. On the other hand, during the same month, general Braddock marched, at the head of two thousand regulars, in order to attack fort Du Quesne; but met with so many obstacles, that his little army was much reduced: for the colonists, who had long quarrelled with their governors, refused to send him such waggons and provisions as were necessary for his assistance. However, under all these difficulties, he arrived, on the eighth of July, within ten miles of fort Du Quesne; and the French, having, by their spies, received intelligence of all his motions, advanced to meet him, and encamped in a very advantageous situation. Prudence is equally necessary in a general as resolution; and he ought to know when to act on the offensive or the defensive; but that quality was wanting in Braddock. Sir Peter Halket, the second in command, advised him to cultivate the friendship of the Indians, and send some of them as an advanced guard; because they were much better acquainted with the country than the regulars, who had never been in those parts before. But nothing could prevail with the general, nor would he suffer a council of war to be held; so that, regardless of danger, he marched forward, as if he had been sure of victory. The French, who had taken every necessary precaution, came out of their entrenchments to meet him; while the Indians in their interest, whom they had concealed in a wood, burst out upon the English, and galled them in flank, while the regulars attacked their front. The general behaved with great courage; but after having five horses killed under him, he received a mortal wound, of which he died. Soon after Sir Peter Halket and his son were both killed; and in general many of the officers shared the same fate; for the French had given orders to the Indians to aim at them, while the

regulars were engaged. This was a fatal stroke to the English, and attended with the most dreadful consequences to those who lived in the back settlements; for the Indians in the interest of the French, poured upon them in great numbers, and committed the most horrid barbarities.

It was the general opinion, that it would be too late to take the field during the remainder of the season; and therefore, instead of attacking Crown-Point, it was resolved, that during the winter, the forces should be employed in keeping up a communication between that place and Albany. General Shirley took upon him the command of one part of the troops, but his conduct was much censured; while that of general Johnson, who commanded the other part, was equally applauded. The ministry were sensible of his vast abilities, and therefore he was created a baronet; and, at the same time, received a present of five thousand pounds.

In Europe, the ministers of the different courts were employed in attempting to deceive each other; while those who spent their time in the study of politics, attempted, in vain, to discover their real intentions.

As the French could not, with common decency, conceal their real intentions any longer, they endeavoured to persuade the Spaniards that it was their duty to prevent the British navy from becoming formidable in America; but Mr. Wall, their chief minister, was a sincere friend to the English, and consequently did every thing to frustrate the designs of the French. They had pretended that we were the aggressors in North America; and when the king of Spain offered to become a mediator between the contending parties, he was given to understand, that no suspension of arms could be agreed upon as had been demanded by the French, till reparation had been made to our colonists for the injuries they had suffered. This induced the French ministry to intrigue with the German princes, and brought over to their interest the elector of Cologne, who promised to give them leave to form magazines in his territories. From this circumstance, the people of England were convinced that the designs of the French was to attack Hanover, and for that purpose they entered into a confederacy with the court of Vienna, with a design of distressing the king of Prussia. Nothing was left undone by his Britannic majesty to secure his electoral dominions; and for that purpose he formed several alliances with the German princes. A second treaty was also entered into between our sovereign, and the empress of Russia; but it did not take effect. News arrived that admiral Boscawen had obtained some considerable advantages over the French; and much about the same time, Sir Edward Hawke sailed from Portsmouth with eighteen ships of the line, in order to intercept the French fleet; but they had the good fortune to escape and get safe into Brest. Four men of war were dispatched from Portsmouth, under the command of commodore Frankland, to protect our sugar plantations from the enemy, and likewise to exercise plenary powers in committing hostilities wherever it should seem necessary, or where he should happen to meet with opposition.

Orders were sent to all our naval officers to seize such of the French ships as they could lay hold of; and the duke de Mirepoix, who was not able to deceive our ministry any longer, set out on his return home without taking leave.

The king, who had been in Hanover, during the greatest part of the summer, returned to England on the fifteenth of September, and on the thirteenth of November, both houses of parliament met; when the king, in his speech from the throne, informed them that he had taken every necessary precaution to secure the peace of Europe, and to protect his subjects in America from the insults of the French; but although he had done every thing to convince the world of his pacific disposition, yet there seemed no



appearance of an accommodation. That he wished for peace, but never would submit to it upon dishonourable terms; and therefore had concluded several treaties with the princes on the continent, in order to be ready to assist him in case of war being declared.

Great debates arose in both houses concerning the addresses that should be presented to his majesty on the subject of his speech; for many lords and gentlemen disapproved of his having concluded treaties, without previously asking their advice. However, after a most violent contest, the addresses were presented, which occasioned several resignations; particularly, that of Mr. Pitt, pay-master of the forces, who was succeeded by the earl of Darlington and Mr. Hay, while Sir George Lyttleton was appointed chancellor of the exchequer in the room of Mr. Legge. When the public business came on before the house of commons, every thing went in favour of the ministry; and the treaties concluded by his majesty were approved of by a very great majority. Subsidies were granted to the empress of Russia, the elector of Bavaria, and the prince of Hesse-Cassel; but the son of the latter, for reasons unknown, renounced the protestant religion, which gave great offence to all the other princes of that persuasion, especially to his Britannic majesty, who had bestowed upon him his daughter in marriage.

On the first of November this year, a most dreadful calamity happened at Lisbon, which laid great part of that city in ruins. The inquisition having condemned several protestants and others, whom they considered as disaffected to the Romish church, All-Saints day was appointed for their execution, or as they call it, the celebration of an act of faith. Many of the ignorant people from the country, had assembled at Lisbon, to be witnesses of this horrid spectacle; but as protestants, if found among the mob, are sure to be treated with every mark of indignity, so the gentlemen of the English factory retired quietly to their apartments. During the morning the sky had continued serene and clear, a cloud was not to be seen; but about ten o'clock in the forenoon, a most dreadful shock of an earthquake was felt, and the water in the river Tagus rose above ten feet perpendicular. On the altars of the several churches, tapers had been lighted to celebrate the horrid solemnity, and the violence of the concussion having thrown them down, they set fire to the other materials, and in a few minutes the whole city seemed to be on a blaze. In many parts the earth opened, as if ready to devour the superstitious inhabitants, and according to the most moderate computation, no less than eight thousand persons of both sexes perished. The survivors were obliged to take shelter in the adjacent fields, where they could not procure the necessaries of life, and many of them perished with cold and hunger. Our ambassador at the court of Madrid having transmitted an account of this calamity to our ministry, his majesty, touched with the circumstances of the unhappy sufferers, went to the parliament house, and informed the members; who, to their everlasting honour, ordered that one hundred thousand pounds should be sent to relieve their immediate wants. The king of Portugal was so sensible of this instance of British generosity, that he wrote a most grateful and affecting letter to our sovereign, promising that on every occasion, for the future, he would take care to provide for the interest of our subjects when they came to settle in his dominions.

A rumour now took place, and was actually propagated throughout the kingdom, that the French intended to invade this nation; upon which all hopes of peace were given up, though the French still submitted to all the indignities which our navy offered them. It seems they wanted a pretence for entering into a new war, and nothing seemed more likely to give colour to such a measure, as that of our men of war seizing the ships belonging to their merchants.

The Esperance man of war, a French ship of

eighty guns, having been sent from Rochfort to Brest, was met by captain Stephens in the Orford, of seventy guns, and after a desperate engagement, that lasted three hours, the Frenchman, with above three hundred sailors on board, was taken and carried into Plymouth, so that notwithstanding war was not formally declared, yet the hostilities committed, shewed that it could not be far distant.

A.D. 1756. This year opened with parliamentary business of the most important nature; for it was ordered that all the old regiments, both of dragoons and foot, should be augmented, and that ten new regiments of foot, besides several troops of light horse, should be immediately raised. For defraying the whole public expence, the parliament granted the sum of seven millions, two hundred and ninety-eight thousand, five hundred and fifteen pounds. Many excellent laws passed this session of parliament, and in general, the members were unanimous; so that few arguments were used in opposition, to what was proposed by the ministry. War was now apparently inevitable; but while the court of Great Britain was deliberating on the most proper methods to be used in prosecuting it, an incident took place that surprized all Europe, and gave a new and most unexpected turn to the face of public affairs.

The king of Prussia, who had spent several years in cultivating the arts of peace, discovered such profound knowledge in the art of politics, that no treaty of the most secret nature could be long concealed from him. By his secret emissaries, in different countries, he learned that the empress of Russia, in conjunction with the French and the empress queen of Hungary, had entered into a league offensive and defensive, and that Silesia was not only to be retaken and annexed to the house of Austria, but likewise all the hereditary dominions of the king of Prussia were to be divided among the conquerors; and this treaty was acceded to by Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland. As we had agreed to bring some Russian troops into the empire of Germany, in order to defend the electorate of Hanover, the Prussian monarch published a manifesto, wherein he declared that he was ready to take the field, at the head of his whole army, to oppose the entrance of any forces that should presume to come into the empire. This was a most mortifying stroke to our sovereign, who imagined that his electoral dominions would be seized by the French; and therefore it was proposed by our ministry that nothing could contribute more towards securing Hanover, than that of entering into a treaty with the king of Prussia. Proposals of the like nature had been made to him by the French; but he had already such proofs of their perfidy, that he paid no regard to any thing advanced by them. Accordingly, it was agreed upon between him and the court of Great Britain, that in consequence of the war having broke out in North America, there was reason to fear that it might extend further, both the contracting powers should exert themselves to the utmost, in order to prevent any foreign troops from coming into the empire, or to pass through it, that the public peace might be maintained.

On the twenty-third of March his majesty went to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for, he informed them, there was great reason to fear that the French intended to invade this kingdom, because of the vast naval preparations making by them along the coast. He proposed that six thousand Hessian troops should be immediately taken into the pay of Great Britain, and that they should be sent over to this kingdom to prevent the designs of the enemy. But what was very remarkable, was his majesty's not having taken the least notice, that general Blakeney, governor of Fort St. Philip, and Sir Benjamin Keene, our ambassador at the court of Madrid, had both sent letters to the secretary of state, informing him, that the French were fitting out a large squadron



at Toulon, and that there was not the least doubt but they intended to attack the island of Minorca, and the general requested that proper assistance should be sent him.

What could induce the ministry to act in such a manner, will remain a secret for ever, so far as we are able to learn; but certain it is, nothing could be more unjustifiable, and the consequences proved fatal to the nation. Those who wished well to the nation, censured their conduct in the severest manner, but still the ministerial influence prevailed, and bore down all opposition. Such as were real patriots moved, that the militia might be raised to defend the nation, and that no mercenary troops should be hired; but the ministry, as if they had intended to exasperate the people to the utmost, made a motion in the lower house, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, desiring that he would take into British pay twelve battalions of his electoral troops, and that they should be brought over to this kingdom. Great opposition was made to this motion, but the ministry carried their point; in consequence of which, the nation was, in a manner, filled with foreign troops, and the people discontented. The vulgar rabble, who were ever fired with indignation at the arrival of foreigners, wanted an opportunity to quarrel with these poor men, who could not be supposed to have any connection with public affairs; but their behaviour was so inoffensive, that even their most inveterate enemies could not find fault with them.

The British ministry, who, for some time, appeared to act as men whose eyes had been shut, began to see the necessity they were under of protecting the island of Minorca; and accordingly it was resolved that a fleet should be sent into the Mediterranean, under the command of admiral Byng, son of lord Torrington, who procured a peerage by his vast knowledge of naval affairs. The abilities of Mr. Byng had never been called in question: he had served in several expeditions, and had made himself agreeable, both to the officers and seamen. No person could be found endowed with more sensibility, and humanity seemed to be his darling passion. Along with him, as second in command, was Mr. West, a man of great abilities, and much esteemed both for his courage and prudence. It will scarcely be credited in future ages, that our ministry acted only upon principles of ignorance; for discerning persons will ascribe their conduct to something of a criminal nature.

The fleet did not sail from Spithead till the seventh of April; and during their voyage to Gibraltar, which lasted till the second of May, many of the seamen were taken sick, and, consequently, the fleet much weakened. He had only one battalion of land forces on board; and when he got into the harbour of Gibraltar, general Fowke, who commanded the garrison, refused to give him any of his men, alledging, as an excuse, that he had not sufficient to defend the place, in case an attack should be made. He learned farther, that M. de la Galissoniere, the French admiral, had sailed from Toulon with a large fleet of the line, besides transports, on board of which he had no less than fifteen thousand land forces, which he had landed in Minorca, and taken possession of every thing except the fort of St. Philip.

This fleet, of which our ministry had received repeated accounts, sailed from Toulon on the tenth of April, just three days after Mr. Byng sailed from Portsmouth; and the inequality of the voyages being so great, there is no wonder that they got there before our fleet could so much as enter into the Mediterranean. General Blakeney, who had notice of the approach of the French, took care to provide for the security of Fort St. Philip, as far as was possible, considering what a small number of men he had then under his command. It was in vain for him to attempt to defend the rest of the island, and consequently, the French forces landed, without opposition, at a place called Ciudadalla, on the western part of the

island, and prepared to attack Fort St. Philip. The duke de Richlieu was at the head of this expedition; and when he landed, he found that he had neglected to bring horses with him to draw the heavy artillery over roads that had been, in a manner, rendered impassable by order of general Blakeney. This circumstance obliged him to re-embark his heavy artillery, and land it at Mahon, near St. Philip's, where he intended to erect his batteries. In the mean time, the general sent a messenger to the French marshal, demanding to know why he had landed in the island of Minorca in a hostile manner; and received for answer, that he acted in conformity with the practice of the English, who had taken some of their men of war without making a public declaration of their intentions.

On the eleventh of May, the entrenchments were opened; and marshal Richlieu sent his compliments to general Blakeney, offering him what conditions he pleased to accept of; but the governor told the messenger, that it would be soon enough to treat of terms when they came so near each other as to be able to shake hands. Accordingly, the royal standard was placed upon the castle, as a signal that the garrison would defend it to the last extremity. But here our attention is called off to objects partly different, and partly connected with it.

Admiral Byng, while at Gibraltar, sent an express to the lords of the admiralty, informing them, that he had been sent on an expedition at an improper season; that he had not force sufficient to oppose the French; and that there was great reason to fear that all his attempts would be rendered abortive. This message from the admiral gave great offence to the ministry, who were conscious that they had acted inconsistent with their duty; and therefore they caused a report to be propagated, that Byng would never face the French. This increased the public clamour; and on the nineteenth of May, the English fleet came to an anchor off the island of Minorca. Captain Hervey was dispatched with a letter to general Blakeney, to inform him of the arrival of the fleet, and to know in what part of the island he would have the recruits landed; but before he had got out of sight of the admiral's ship, the French fleet appeared, and seemed to be very strong; but the admiral made the necessary dispositions for attacking them.

During the night, nothing of importance happened; and when the morning appeared, there was such a thick fog, that the fleets lost sight of each other; but about noon the sky clearing up, the line of battle was formed, and admiral West bore down upon the French. Had West been properly seconded, there is reason to believe that the enemy would have been defeated; but admiral Byng, although in every respect a brave officer, yet, on the present occasion, laid his conduct open to much censure. It seems that the admiral was distracted in his opinion, whether to retreat or advance; for when the captain of his own ship desired him to bear down upon the enemy, he peremptorily refused, lest he should fall into the same error as admiral Matthews had done some years before. No sign of cowardice was discovered in the whole of Mr. Byng's conduct, but he acted in such an absurd manner, that the ships most fit for action did not come up; so that the enemy, who had rather acted on the defensive, had an opportunity of sailing away.

During four days that the English fleet remained waiting for the return of the French, several councils of war were held, in which it was at last agreed, that they should set sail for Gibraltar, not having forces sufficient to protect Fort St. Philip. This was one of the most imprudent steps that could have been taken; for had they remained but one day longer, they would have intercepted a large fleet, laden with provisions and military stores, for the use of the French army in Minorca. It was above a month before the fleet arrived at Gibraltar; and news of their miscarriage being published, admiral Hawke, assisted by admiral Saunders, was sent into the Mediterranean,



terranean, with orders to supersede admiral Byng, who, with general Fowke, the deputy-governor of Gibraltar, were put under an arrest, and sent prisoners to England in the Antelope man of war, in order to be tried by two different court-martials.

In the mean time, the French carried on the siege of Fort St. Philip with great vigour, while the garrison made a most gallant defence. The French army amounted to upwards of twenty thousand men, with sixty-two large battering cannon, and twenty-one mortars, which kept playing incessantly on the fort. On the fifteenth of June, general Blakeney ordered a most furious attack to be made on the enemy, by which they were, for some time, driven back, and many of their batteries were demolished.

The soldiers in the garrison did not exceed two thousand five hundred in number; and the French general being well supplied with every thing necessary for carrying on the siege, destroyed most of the out-works, and then made a breach in the wall.

On the twenty-seventh, the duke de Richlieu put himself at the head of a large detachment, and attacked the place sword in hand, which was gallantly defended by the English, who disputed every inch of the ground with them. Several of the mines were sprung, and such execution was done upon the enemy, that great part of the glacis was covered with dead bodies. But notwithstanding, the French continued the attack, and made themselves masters of two strong redoubts: and colonel Jefferies, the second in command under general Blakeney, was suddenly surrounded, and, with one hundred men, taken prisoners, just at the instant that he was on the point of retaking one of the redoubts. Major Cunningham, another brave officer, was so desperately wounded, that he could not do his duty: so that the governor was deprived of the assistance of two men whose courage and prudence had rendered them very conspicuous. The duke de Richlieu then ordered a parley to be beat, under pretence of burying the dead; but no sooner had the governor granted his request, than he made use of the time in fortifying the redoubts he had taken, by which he became master of all the subterraneous passages, so as to be able to blow up the fort. The general finding it, in a manner, impossible to hold out against such a numerous army, which was daily encroaching upon him, called a council of war, in which it was resolved that the place could not hold out any longer, but that proposals must be made to the French to enter upon articles of capitulation.

The duke de Richlieu was so sensible of the bravery of the English general, that he offered them what terms they pleased; and accordingly they were permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and to remain in the island till ships came from Gibraltar to take them on board, which was not till the seventh of July. In this manner was Britain deprived of the island of Minorca, a place of the utmost importance during a war, because it affords provisions and harbours of safety for all such vessels as happen to go from England to the Mediterranean. The importance of it was not known till it was lost; and had we been at war with any of the Italian states, we could scarce have had an opportunity of sending a fleet beyond Gibraltar.

In the beginning of this year, the earl of Loudon had been sent to America, to take upon him the command of the army destined to act in that quarter of the world; but so negligent had the ministry been in fitting him out in proper time, that before he landed, he found the French general Montcalm in the field, at the head of a considerable army. In the mean time, Oswego, a strong fort situated on the lake Ontario, in Canada, was taken by the French, and all the men found in it sent prisoners to Montreal. The loss of this important place was owing entirely to the delays made by our ministry, and the altercations that took place between our generals and the colonists. Fort Granville fell into the hands of the

French at the same time, which struck such a damp into the minds of the people, both in the mother-country and on the continent of America, that nothing was to be heard but murmurs, while the conduct of our officers was severely censured.

In the East-Indies, the French had been very active in spurring up the natives against our settlements, particularly in Bengal, where the new nabob, Surajah Dowla, took the field, and laid siege to the town of Calcutta. The governor, Mr. Drake, being a Quaker, refused to fight; so that the command devolved upon Mr. Holwell, who resolved to hold it out to the last extremity. But the enemy's army was almost innumerable, and the place but poorly fortified. Add to this, that the ships belonging to the company had fallen down the river, which the nabob knew, and resolved to avail himself of that circumstance. He would not hearken to any terms of capitulation, although Mr. Holwell proposed them to him, but, by mere force of numbers, rushing into the place, cruelly ordered the governor, with one hundred and forty-five men, to be confined in a dungeon, where one hundred and twenty-three perished before morning for want of fresh air. This was one of the most horrid transactions that we meet with in history; it was directly opposite to the laws of war, and contrary to the principles upon which civil government is founded. The governor, Mr. Holwell, with such others as survived, were sent prisoners to the nabob's capital, far up the country, where they were treated with great cruelty. On the other hand, admiral Watson defeated, and took prisoner, Angria, a famous pirate, who reigned like a sovereign on the coast of Malabar; and in his castle was found the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. This was a valuable acquisition. But we must now return to take a view of the state of public affairs in Europe.

War had been hitherto carried on, without any public declaration thereof, either by the French or English: but as it seemed no way necessary to keep the mask on any longer, England declared war, by proclamation, on the eighteenth of May, which was answered by another at Paris, in the most formal manner, on the eleventh of June following.

The city of London, followed by many corporations throughout the kingdom, presented most loyal addresses to his majesty upon the declaration of war, and promised to support him with their lives and fortunes: so that our aged sovereign had the pleasure to find that he reigned as an object of love in the hearts of his subjects.

In the mean time, the empress of Russia, highly exasperated that we should have entered into a treaty with the king of Prussia without consulting her, ordered her army to be augmented considerably; and, at the same time, in order to conceal her real intentions, ordered her ministers at foreign courts to publish manifestos, intimating, that she had nothing in view but that of protecting her own dominions. The empress-queen of Hungary proceeded in the same manner; so that the flames of civil war were now lighted up on the continent of Europe; while the king of Prussia, ever attentive to his own interest, and the security of his subjects, resolved to be beforehand with both, and prevent them from taking those advantages which they intended.

No prince could ever be more active, on this occasion, than the king of Prussia; for the moment he learned that the court of France had entered into an alliance with the empress-queen, he ordered his minister at the court of Dresden to demand leave for a body of his forces to pass through Saxony; but instead of receiving an answer, the elector ordered all his forces to be collected together, and encamped at Pirna, till such time as he could receive reinforcements of Austrians, to enable him to take the field. This so exasperated the king of Prussia, that he took the field at the head of a most formidable army, and obliged the elector of Saxony to depart to Poland,



to which nation he was conducted by a body of dragoons; while all the treasures and archives belonging to his hereditary dominions were seized; and his army made prisoners of war. Leipzig surrendered at the same time to the conqueror; and the people were obliged to provide, not only all sorts of necessaries for the Prussian army, but also to furnish them with money to carry on their conquests.

On the first of October, the king of Prussia came up with the Austrian army, and resolved to give them battle, having first shewn his generals the situation of the ground, and acquainted them with the steps that he intended to take. The Austrians having neglected to take possession of some rising grounds, the king of Prussia gave orders for his troops to advance, and attack the enemy's cavalry, who were posted in an adjoining plain. Indeed, the attack was made with so much fury, that the Austrian cavalry gave way, and fell back upon the infantry: upon which the Prussians advanced with such courage, that although sixty pieces of cannon played upon them, yet they made themselves masters of all the ditches and defiles. The Austrian army being thus put into confusion, they began to give way, which the king of Prussia observing, ordered the whole body of his infantry to advance, and wheel about to the left, where they attacked the suburbs of Lowoschütz, and reduced the whole to a heap of ashes. Count Brown, who commanded the Austrian army, was obliged to retreat in the best manner he could, leaving the honour of the victory to the Prussians, after an engagement that lasted from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon. The Prussian monarch was not, however, able to make his enterprize of any great advantage to himself; for the winter approaching, he was obliged to put his troops into quarters of cantonment at Dresden, and along the Elbe. Count Schwerin commanded another part of his army, which had penetrated into Bohemia; and they finding that provisions could not easily be procured, returned towards Silesia, and took up their quarters in the province of Glatz.

The discontents among the people of England were now increased to such an height, that it was found necessary to make some changes in the ministry. Accordingly, the duke of Devonshire was appointed first lord of the treasury, in room of the duke of Newcastle; Mr. Legge was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; earl Temple was made first lord of the Admiralty; and the seals, as secretary of state, were given to Mr. Pitt, one of the greatest statesmen that ever lived in Britain.

On the second of December, his majesty went to the house of peers; and the commons being sent for, he told them, that, under the protection of the divine providence, he doubted not but he should be able to frustrate all the schemes hatched against him by his perfidious enemies. He told them, that nothing could so much engage his attention, next to the mother country, as the preservation of America; and, for that reason, that the war should be prosecuted with the utmost vigour. He added, that nothing could contribute more towards distressing the enemy, than internal peace among his subjects; and therefore recommended to them unanimity in all their deliberations. The militia (he said) was one of the most favourite objects he had in view, with respect to the preservation of the nation; and therefore he told them, that it was their duty to put it upon the most respectable footing. He concluded by telling them, that no measure should be undertaken by him, but by the advice of his parliament, in whom he placed the utmost confidence. Both houses presented the most loyal and affectionate addresses, and then proceeded to the dispatch of public business.

A. D. 1757. The committee of supply granted his majesty the privilege of keeping on foot forty-nine thousand seven hundred soldiers, and fifty-five thousand seamen. The Hessians and Hanoverians were still kept in pay, but most cruelly used by the people: for one of them having committed a misde-

meanor, punishable in this country by the common law, his commander not knowing any difference between municipal and military law, ordered him to be tried by a court-martial. This part of the officer's conduct, although not justifiable, yet could not be attended with any dangerous consequences, especially as the man was a soldier, and a foreigner; but notwithstanding, the people were exasperated to such a degree of madness, that they would not suffer them to lodge in their houses: Distressed as these poor creatures were with cold, they never complained, but lay in the fields in tents till the month of January, when the legislative power, in the most compassionate manner, made proper provision for them.

The great dearth of corn, owing to the iniquitous practice of engrossing, reduced many persons, and indeed the nation in general, to great distress. Tumults happened in almost every part of the kingdom; which is not to be wondered at, when it is considered, that the people were starving in the midst of plenty. His majesty, touched with the sufferings of his people, recommended their distressed condition to parliament; and an act was passed to prohibit, for a limited time, the exportation of all sorts of grain.

As there was too much reason to fear that the French would invade this kingdom, and as it was necessary that great part of our regular forces should be employed abroad, so a bill was brought into parliament to establish a national militia, on an extensive and useful plan. This was such a constitutional measure, as gave pleasure to the nation in general; and yet some discontented persons exclaimed so loudly against it, that many of the people, particularly in Yorkshire, actually rose in a body, and demolished the house where the justices of the peace and deputy lieutenants had met to make choice of such as were to serve.

On the fifteenth of February, his majesty sent a message to the house of commons, to inform them, that the French were daily pouring such numbers of troops into Germany, that there was reason to fear they had some design on his electoral dominions. He therefore recommended Hanover to their protection, not doubting but his faithful commons would assist him to the utmost. In answer to this message, most loyal addresses were presented by both houses; and it was voted, that an annual subsidy should be paid to the king of Prussia, and that an army of observation should act on the borders of Hanover, under the command of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, to watch the motions of the French, and preserve that electorate from their making any encroachments upon it.

At the same time, great preparations were made for the naval service; and a design was formed to take from the French Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton. Sir Edward Hawke, with the admirals Saunders and Osborne, were sent to North-America with considerable fleets; and general Hopson, with lord Charles Hay, had under them six thousand two hundred land forces. Two squadrons were dispatched at the same time, one to the East, and the other to the West-Indies; so that every thing was done for the interest of the nation: but such of the former ministry as had been discarded, made such opposition to these measures, that Mr. Pitt, and the honourable Mr. Legge, who had acted as the most steady and upright patriots against every thing that seemed to threaten any hurt to the nation, were commanded to resign. They did not, however, retire from public business, without receiving the approbation of their fellow subjects; for most of the cities and corporations presented them with addresses, and their freedom in gold boxes.

Distress and discontent, during the first part of this year, reigned in every part of the nation. Bread was so dear, that the poor could scarce purchase it. And although admiral Byng, whose conduct had given such offence, had been shot at Portsmouth, yet the people in general looked upon him as rather unfor-



fortunate than criminal. They considered him as one who had been sacrificed to screen the ministry from censure; and although a parliamentary enquiry was made into their conduct, yet they contrived to act in such a manner, that the whole came to nothing. The only good effects attending the execution of the admiral was, the riviving a true spirit of courage among our officers, both by sea and land. From this circumstance they saw and were convinced, that no station, let it be ever so dignified, could screen them from punishment; and that the only way to true honour and real glory, was to discharge their duty faithfully.

His majesty finding the public clamour extremely high, made another change in his ministry; and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were reinstated in their former employments, to the inexpressible pleasure of the nation in general. The parliament was prorogued on the fourth of July, when his majesty thanked the commons for the generous supply granted for the support of the war, and recommended to them to carry with them, to their respective counties, a spirit of unanimity, as the most sure means of procuring the favour of divine providence.

In France, a circumstance had nearly happened that might have changed the face of public affairs; namely, an attempt to murder the king. Francis Damien, a native of French Flanders, was the person who undertook the performance of this action. He had lived some years as a footman in different families in Paris, but had been turned away for an obstinate temper, and a certain gloominess that made him disagreeable to all those with whom he had any connections. It does not appear that he had any accomplices, nor could the torture itself make him discover what were his motives. On the fifth of January, about six in the evening, as the king was getting into his coach to go to Trianon, on a visit to his daughter, the unhappy wretch, having concealed a large clasp knife under his cloak, slipped thro' the guards and made a stroke at the king with his knife. The point pierced between the fourth and fifth ribs, but it was not mortal; and the assassin, who seemed not to be any ways concerned, was immediately seized and committed to prison. He was soon after brought to his trial, according to the laws of France, and executed in such a horrid manner, as is even shocking to relate. Incisions were made in his flesh with red hot pincers, and melted lead poured into them. In that manner the poor wretch was tortured several hours, and then torn in pieces by four horses, after which his quarters were reduced to ashes.

The French, in the spring of this year, had sent two armies to Germany; the one, consisting of eighty thousand men, under the command of marshal d'Etrees, an officer of the most undaunted courage, and under him were marshal de Contades, and the count de St. Germain, who had been from their most early infancy, accustomed to arms. The other army consisted only of twenty-five thousand men, because it was to be joined by a body of Austrians; but the grand army was to attack Hanover. In Bohemia, one hundred thousand Austrians had taken the field; an equal number of Russians were marching through Poland; while the Swedes, crossing the Baltic, attacked the most important places in Pomerania. Surrounded on all sides with enemies, the king of Prussia, instead of being discouraged, seemed rather to encrease every day in all those arts of heroism that constitute the character of an able general.

In the beginning of the year he marched from Dresden, across two bridges thrown over the Elbe, attended by field-marshal Keith, and several other generals of approved abilities. They marched in three bodies or divisions; nor did the Austrians so much as know that he had taken the field till he had advanced a considerable way into Bohemia. He ordered the prince of Bevern to march as if he had intended to attack Egria, with a small detachment of the army, upon which count Brown, the Austrian

general, sent Arenberg, with a detachment, to oppose him. This was just what the king of Prussia wished for; and laying hold of that circumstance, wheeled to the right, and cut off all communication between the grand army of the Austrians and the detachment under general Arenberg. This was such a master-piece of generalship as is scarce to be met with in history; but the Austrians did not understand it. They imagined that the king intended to retreat; and consequently were drawn off their guard and led into a snare.

On the fifth of April the prince of Bevern, having passed some of the most dangerous defiles, gained a complete victory over the detachment of the Austrian army, and so opened the whole country for the rest of the Prussian forces. In the mean time the king kept marching along the Elbe, to observe the motions of count Brown; and drove the Austrians from their strong camp at Budin.

On the sixth of May, the different detachments of the Austrians being collected together, instead of attacking the Prussians, encamped on the banks of the Moldau, near Prague. There the king of Prussia, as if no enterprize had been too great for his abilities, attempted to flank count Brown, who had no other means left but that of wheeling to the right, to save his army. Every difficulty gave way to the Prussians; one defile was taken after another; but in one of their attacks on an advanced body of the Austrians, field-marshal Schwerin, a brave officer, was killed at the age of eighty-two, crowned with military glory, and sincerely regretted by his sovereign, who had long been convinced, that he was one of the bravest generals that ever commanded an army.

This brought on a general engagement, and the Prussians, with the most amazing courage, broke through the right wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of several batteries; while a body of cavalry broke the front line, and put the whole into such confusion, that above six thousand were killed; among whom were several generals, besides marshal Brown, the commander in chief. The Prussians drove the Austrians into the city of Prague, and in four days the trenches were opened and lines of circumvallation drawn. It could not be supposed that such a vast army as that of the Austrians would be able to subsist long in a city that had not provisions sufficient for the inhabitants; and therefore prince Charles of Lorraine resolved to cut his way through the Prussian lines, at the head of twelve thousand men. The time agreed upon for putting this scheme in execution was the middle of the night; but in the mean time, one of the Austrian soldiers having deserted, gave an account of the whole to the king of Prussia, who took care to be upon his guard, so that the prince, with his party, was defeated, and obliged once more to take refuge in the city. The heavy artillery belonging to the Prussians being now arrived, a most dreadful cannonade began, and great part of the city was reduced to a heap of rubbish. Provisions were become so scarce, that they were obliged to eat horses flesh; and the Prussians, who had hitherto acted as men whom no opposition could resist, began to imagine that the whole Austrian army would be made prisoners, and the dominions of the empress queen of Hungary be divided among them. Vienna itself was in danger of being besieged; for every place lay open to their victorious arms; but a circumstance took place that gave a general turn to public affairs, and convinced his Prussian majesty that he had a weak side as well as others.

Leopold, count Daun, who had served many years in the army of the empress queen without ever rising higher than the rank of a major-general, was appointed to take upon him the command of the army. Like the Roman Fabius, he was cautious, that he never acted offensively till, in human probability, he had a prospect of succeeding; and then he prosecuted his measures with the utmost perseverance. Calm and



and deliberate; he viewed victory as uncertain; and on every occasion, took care to secure a retreat. He did not, like some generals, despise the enemy he had to engage with; but knowing that the most trifling circumstance was able to turn the fortune of the day, he resolved never to enter upon any thing with rashness, but rather to preserve his army for a more proper opportunity, when an ungarded moment might secure victory, save the territories of his sovereign, and disappoint all the schemes formed by those who were flushed with hopes, in consequence of recent successes.

Such were the qualities of this brave general; whom the Austrian ministry pitched upon as the most proper person to retrieve their losses, and save the army, which was then in the utmost distress in the city of Prague. He collected together the fugitives that had run away after the late battle, and having received fresh supplies, he formed a camp at Rolin, near Prague. A communication was opened with that city, so that the garrison was daily supplied with provisions. This was a most gallant stroke to the king of Prussia, who was tired out with the continuance of the siege, and therefore resolved to attack count Daun in his camp, where he was strongly entrenched. This was one of the most imprudent actions that could have been committed; and marshal Keith, who saw what would be the consequence thereof, remonstrated to the king against it. He told him, that no measure was so proper as that of carrying on the siege, and waiting for count Daun, who, if he presumed to attack the Prussian army in their lines, would undoubtedly be defeated; whereas, on the other hand, an attempt upon him in his camp would be attended with two dangers, namely, a defeat, and an opportunity for the Austrian army to escape out of Prague. But nothing could prevail with the king; he looked on his troops as invincible; and in consequence thereof, on the thirteenth of June, he left his camp before Prague, and joined the prince of Bevern, who had advanced to a place called Milkowitz.

The Austrians under count Daun, were encamped in the most advantageous manner, on three rising grounds, so that it seemed almost impossible to dislodge them; but the Prussian monarch, relying on the courage and valour of his troops, began the attack about three in the afternoon, and by the most invincible courage, they made themselves masters of two of the rising grounds. The third encampment, however, baffled all their attempts; and it being utterly impracticable to bring up the horse, they were obliged to give way, which threw the king into the most violent passions, especially when he recollected that he had acted contrary to the opinion of marshal Keith.

Great numbers of men were killed on both sides, and the Prussian monarch was obliged to raise the siege of Prague, and retreat in the best manner he could. The Austrians attempted to harass him, but his men behaved with such bravery, that they lost but few of their numbers; and count Daun entered the city of Prague in triumph. The Prussian monarch was so sensible of his error, that in a letter to marshal Keith, he took the whole blame upon himself, and declared that no troops could ever have acted with greater bravery than the Austrians.

Nothing, however, could damp his spirits, his usual bravery gave life to all his actions; and altho' guilty of an error very common in war, he resolved to profit by mistakes, and rise superior to misfortune. He was surrounded by enemies on every side, his resources for carrying on the war were to be drawn from his own dominions, which were then on the point of being invaded by the Russians; but he resolved to act with more prudence for the future, and make caution a concomitant of courage.

The king of Great Britain was so equitable in all his proceedings, that although obliged to defend Hanover, yet left he should give the least offence to

any of the German princes, he ordered a manifesto to be published, wherein was pointed out the designs of the French, and the necessity his majesty was under to protect his electoral dominions. As soon as this manifesto was published, the duke of Cumberland assembled the army of observation, and marching from Hanover, crossed the Weser near Retburg, which he took from the French, and there established his head quarters.

His royal highness had disposed of his troops in the most admirable manner; for they stretched out in one line of different detachments, under the command of the most experienced generals; but they had not been long at Retburg, when the duke learned that the French army was marching from the Lower Rhine, and that their design was to cut off his communication with the Weser. The French, whose numbers were double to that of the allies, continued marching forward, and his royal highness was obliged to repass the Weser, as he had not strength sufficient to venture on an engagement. The river Weser is on each side surrounded with high banks, and certain it is, that the duke, notwithstanding the inferiority of the numbers, might have made a violent opposition to the French, and disputed their passage inch by inch; but instead of that, they were suffered to cross on temporary bridges without the loss of a single man. They then seized the important pass of Stadt Oldendorf, which opened a passage into Hanover, and that electorate was laid under very heavy contributions.

On the evening of the fourth of July, the duke ordered in all his detached parties, and drew up in order of battle, but the soldiers were obliged to rest all night on their arms. About five next morning, the French cannon began to play upon that wing of the army that was composed of Hessians; and altho' they were cut down in whole ranks, yet they continued firm and immovable. About eight in the morning the small arms began to fire, and certain it is, the allied army behaved with as much bravery as ever was displayed in a field of battle, for they were not so much as put into the least disorder.

The only fault committed by the allies was the suffering the grenadiers, who composed the center, and were drawn up in a wood, to desile off in order to strengthen the right wing; for by that movement the French were enabled to penetrate so far, that one of the Hanoverian batteries fell into their hands. The hereditary prince of Brunswick behaved, on this occasion, with the most singular bravery; for putting himself at the head of a body of grenadiers, retook the battery with their bayonets fixed, although the French party, whom they drove from it, were double their number.

The French, however, were in possession of two rising grounds, on which they had erected strong batteries; and as it would have been next to impossible to have taken them, the duke, after doing all that could be performed by an able general, found himself under the necessity of founding a retreat. This was one of the most obstinate engagements during the whole of the last war, for it lasted full three days, and the French lost four times as many men as the allies, while the retreat made by the latter was so well conducted, that the enemy were afraid to pursue.

The allied army marched to Nienburg, where they encamped; while the French took Hameln, and demolished the fortifications. The duke de Richlieu was, by the intrigues of madame Pompadour, sent to supersede all the other French generals in Germany; and in the beginning of August he sent a detachment, under the duke de Chevereuse, to take possession of the city of Hanover. The garrison were permitted to go where they pleased, and the regency, finding it impossible to oppose superior numbers, ordered the citizens to remain quiet till such time as things should happen to take a different turn.



The duke of Cumberland continued retreating towards the dutchy of Verden, and from thence to Stade, where the most valuable of the records had been deposited; and on the glacis of that city he formed a camp. His royal highness drew up his lines in the best manner consistent with the situation of the ground: but the greatest abilities are of little, or, indeed, no service, when opposed by such numbers as the French army under the duke de Richlieu consisted of.

The allies, under the duke, now found themselves almost inclosed by the enemy, and under an absolute necessity of either being compelled to surrender prisoners of war, or fight with unequal numbers, under every disadvantage. In this distressed situation, the king of Denmark interposed as a mediator, and a convention was signed by the generals on both sides, in consequence of which, no less than forty thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, &c. were obliged to lay down their arms, and go into quarters of cantonment. This treaty was signed at a place called Closter Seven, and gave great offence to his late majesty; for by it the dominions of his Prussian majesty were left exposed to the French, who would not neglect to avail themselves of such a circumstance. A declaration was published at London on the sixteenth of September, wherein his majesty disclaimed all knowledge of any thing relating to the convention at Closter Seven, and that he had not given the duke power to conclude it; so that he would still act in concert with the king of Prussia.

Whatever the impartial reader may think, must be left to himself; yet surely the duke of Cumberland had not force sufficient to oppose the French; and undoubtedly, had he engaged, he would have been defeated. On the other hand, in consequence of the convention, the king of Prussia's territories were exposed to the French, who penetrated into them, and committed the most horrid barbarities; exacting contributions of a most exorbitant nature, and putting those exactions in force by military execution.

In the mean time, the Russians, who had entered Ducal Prussia, continued their march, under the generals Apraxin and Fermor, and spread such desolation wherever they came, as had seldom happened since the Roman empire was over-run by the Goths and Vandals. Pomerania, especially that part of it belonging to the king of Prussia, was ravaged and depopulated by the Swedes. Count Daun had penetrated into Silesia: the French, under the prince de Soubise, were advancing towards Saxony; and the whole dominions of the king of Prussia were given up for lost. But nothing could discourage that prince, nor damp the bravery of his spirits. The barbarities committed by the Russians were such, that the king of Prussia resolved to attack them first, and this brought on a general engagement on the thirtieth of August. The Russians, on this occasion, behaved with great intrepidity; whole ranks, and even lines, were cut down: but notwithstanding, they knew not what it was to retreat. The victory was disputed by both, but the loss of men was greatest on the part of the Russians.

Rising superior to every misfortune, and soaring above impending danger, his Prussian majesty having left some men to guard the passes which lead towards Bohemia, marched in order to meet the combined armies of France and the Empire, under the princes de Soubise and Saxe-Hilburghausen, and came up with them at Rosbach on the morning of the fifth of November, when the Prussians obtained a complete victory, with the loss of only a few men. An orator, speaking of the conduct of the Prussians on this memorable day, has the following words: "Religion marched in the van with indignant look; Liberty flew along the ranks, and enflamed the zeal of the warriors; while the omnipotent Jehovah thundered through the embattled squadrons, and their enemies lay vanquished at their feet." Here the king of Prussia, and all his army, behaved with such courage,

and made the dispositions with such prudence, that the enemy were cut off in vast numbers, and the greatest part of their baggage and ammunition was taken, besides many prisoners.

On the twelfth of November, the king set out to assist the prince of Bevern, who was then in Silesia; and in his way thither, a party of four thousand soldiers, who had been prisoners among the Austrians, and had made their escape, joined him; and meeting with several parties of hussars and croats, they dispersed them, and seized the provisions they were escorting to the army.

At last the king came up with the Austrian army near Schweidnitz, and a most bloody battle ensued, in which the Prussians obtained a complete victory, though dearly bought. The Austrians, after doing every thing that brave men could perform, were obliged to retreat, and take shelter under the walls of Breslaw, which had lately fallen into their hands.

Future ages will read with admiration an account of a prince defeating a large army on the fifth of November, and on the fifth of December repeating the same, though great part of his army was composed of young recruits, who had never before seen an engagement. The king immediately pursued the Austrians, and undertook the siege of Breslaw, which surrendered in a few days, and thirteen thousand men were made prisoners of war. The military chest, containing the ammunition, was taken at the same time; and the king, in compassion to his army, who had performed wonders, ordered them into quarters of cantonment during the rest of the winter.

In the mean time, the Hanoverians, who had been confined from action by a treaty of neutrality, were so cruelly oppressed by the French, that they resolved to shake off the yoke of slavery; and the king of Britain sent a commission to prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, to put himself at the head of the army in that electorate. Hostilities being thus commenced, the French, by order of the duke de Richlieu, committed greater cruelties than ever in Hanover; and the empress-queen ordered a manifesto to be published, complaining of the conduct of the court of London, in having violated the treaty of Closter-Seven. This, however, was not regarded; and that haughty woman, whose mind boiled with resentment, ordered the two towns of Ostend and Newport to be put into the hands of the French, in order to distress the trade of England. All these measures were countenanced by the Dutch, who acted as the most mercenary wretches, being hireling to all parties, without ever taking the least part in the war.

With respect to the naval transactions during this year, the English cruisers and privateers made several captures: but although they distressed the enemy, yet they acquired but little advantage to themselves. In the West-Indies, captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, accompanied by some other ships, cruized off the bay of Cape François, although a large squadron of French men of war were lying at the same place. The French admiral not knowing how to justify his conduct if he remained inactive, resolved to attack the English, and, for that purpose, sailed out of the harbour. Captain Forrest, who watched all his motions, no sooner saw him hoist his sails, than he prepared to meet him, and shortened sail, in order to give the enemy time to come up. About noon the French fleet, consisting of four ships of the line and three frigates, formed into one line; and the English captain ordered the *Dreadnought* and the *Edinburgh* to attack them. The engagement began with great fury, but the bravery of the English bore down all opposition; and towards the evening, the French were obliged to retreat with considerable loss.

The English, who could not, consistent with their own safety, pursue the enemy, kept all night under sail in the bay; and next morning seized a large fleet of French merchant ships, which were carried into Jamaica, and there sold as legal prizes.



On the first of December, the parliament met; and his majesty, in his speech, informed them, that although things had turned out contrary to his expectations and the justice of his cause, yet he was determined in his own mind to prosecute the war with vigour, for which purpose he depended on divine providence and the assistance of his faithful commons. He expatiated largely on the late successes which the king of Prussia had obtained over his enemies in Germany; and took notice to the commons, that the eyes of all Europe were turned towards them, as the persons who, in all human probability, were most likely to establish the public tranquillity. He concluded by recommending to them the necessity they were under to support the king of Prussia, whose victories in Germany would weaken the power of the French; and the most dutiful and loyal addresses were presented.

A. D. 1758. As soon as the holidays were over, the commons took into consideration the state of the kingdom in general; and made several laws, laying a tax on some branches of luxury, particularly on silver plate, which was charged sixpence each ounce. Several licences were obliged to be taken out for vending such things as seemed not, in their own nature, necessary: and, upon the whole, the commons granted the supplies in the most liberal manner.

The regular payment of wages due to seamen was, during this session, established into a law, which has been of infinite service to that useful body of men: and the laws relating to the militia being found defective, a new bill was brought in, by which they were explained and amended.

On the twentieth of June, after several acts had passed, and every thing been done for the security of the nation, the parliament was prorogued by commission; and the commons were given to understand, that their conduct, during the whole of the session, had given his majesty the utmost satisfaction.

The subjects of Great-Britain were unanimous in applauding the conduct of Mr. Pitt, who had the principal share in the management of public business; and it must be acknowledged, that no minister ever acted with greater courage, wisdom, or perseverance. He was a true judge of merit under every character, and in every station; and such accomplished men were made choice of by him to command the army and the navy, that the British glory rose to the highest pitch of grandeur. Such was the internal state of Britain at the close of this session of parliament; so that, consistent with the order of things, we must take a view of what was transacting on the continent.

The king of Prussia had made such excellent use of the successes that had attended his arms during the remainder of the last year, that the Russians were obliged to disperse themselves in Poland for want of subsistence; and the Swedes, who had over-run Pomerania, were so much harassed by the Prussian soldiers, who drove them from one place to another, that they were obliged to take shelter in Stralsund. The Austrians, who had been driven out of Silesia, took refuge in Bohemia; and although the Prussian monarch had armies, to the amount of three hundred thousand men, to contend with, yet the same magnanimity which had distinguished every part of his conduct, shone now more conspicuous than ever. The French were meditating schemes for annexing Hanover to their own dominions; and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had no reason to expect any favours from such perfidious enemies, yet entered into a treaty with Lewis XV. wherein he promised to withdraw his troops from assisting the Hanoverians, and employ them in the service of France. This was one of the most ungrateful proposals that, perhaps, ever had been made; and it conveys to us a very mean idea of the fidelity of German princes. The landgrave had been long supported by the English; he had entered into a treaty of the most solemn nature with our sovereign; but here, like a mean, mercenary wretch, he recedes from all his engagements, and turns his back upon

his most generous benefactor. Nor was it much better with the duke of Brunswick, who, although under many obligations to us, promised to act in concert with the French; but all his schemes were defeated by the conduct of his brother prince Ferdinand, who commanded the allied army; and that of his son, the hereditary prince, who acted under his uncle.

The French, who had made themselves masters of Bremen, and some other places belonging to the German empire, were soon driven from them by a detachment under the prince of Holstein Gottorp; while the duke de Richieu, who had behaved in the most cruel manner to the Hanoverians, was superseded, and the command of the army given to the count de Clermont. This new general, as soon as he had reviewed the army, found it in a most wretched condition, in consequence of the relaxation of discipline, the severity of the season, and the almost total want of all the common necessaries of life. He knew, that, under such circumstances, it would be an act of madness to attempt any thing against prince Ferdinand; and therefore thought it most prudent to retreat towards the Rhine, while the hereditary prince of Brunswick harassed his rear, and seized the greatest part of the baggage.

The duke de Randau, the French governor at Hanover, who had done every thing to restrain the licentiousness of the soldiers, and in all things discharged his duty as a man of honour and humanity, ordered all the magazine of provisions to be distributed among the poor; and, upon the whole, left behind him such an amiable character, as shines far more conspicuous than all the blandishments of military honours.

The prince of Brunswick made every disposition that could be thought of for dislodging the French from such places as they were still in possession of in the electorate of Hanover; and the garrison of Hoya, a strong town on the Weser, was taken, and all the military stores fell into the hands of the allies. Minden was taken at the same time, and the French now found that they were losing ground every day.

The count de Clermont having crossed the Rhine, cantoned his forces along the banks of that river; while prince Ferdinand of Brunswick took possession of Munster, from whence his detached parties issued with such rapidity, that they beat up the quarters of the French, and drove them from all their advanced posts. This was shocking news to the haughty French king, whose armies had been hitherto conducted by men raised to office through the intrigues of his mistress; but now it was found necessary to change both men and measures. The duke de Belleisle was placed at the head of the war department; and, like a real lover of his country, he boldly represented to his sovereign, that the conduct of his generals in Germany had been so inconsistent with the duty they owed to the public, that they deserved the highest censures. He, at the same time, sent letters to the colonels of regiments, commanding them, in his majesty's name, not to expose any commissions to sale, but to bestow them according to merit and seniority, because such only are qualified to serve in the army, and conduct the business of war, who have acquired knowledge by experience.

On the twenty-third of June, both armies met at a place called Crevelt, and a most obstinate engagement ensued, when the French were obliged to give way, but their retreat was covered by their dragoons, who behaved with the greatest courage imaginable. This victory, which cost the allies many of their best forces, was yet far from being decisive: for although several towns surrendered to them, among which was the city of Dusseldorp, yet the enemy took refuge under the walls of Cologne; and just about the same time, the marshal de Contades was sent to take upon him the command of the French army. Prince Ferdinand had proposed, in a council of war, to make an irruption into the Netherlands, and so draw the French out of Germany, that they might not have



an opportunity of disturbing the king of Prussia, while their own territories were in danger of being invaded. General Imhoff, a Hanoverian officer, attacked a party of the enemy, and drove them from a wood; but the prince de Soubise had made himself master of the important town of Gottingen, by which prince Ferdinand, whose army had suffered much by the overflowing of the Rhine, was in danger of having his forces divided. Prince Xaverius was sent with a body of forces to assist the prince de Soubise, while prince Ferdinand, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, dispatched general Oberg, with ten thousand men, to join a detachment of Hessians who were on their march to assist the allied army; for the French had acted in such an insincere manner with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, that he had determined not to have any farther connections with them. Both armies continued on the defensive, as if their sole intention had been to watch the motions of each other; but on the tenth of October, about four in the afternoon, a severe cannonading began; and notwithstanding the allies, for some time, seemed to gain the advantage, yet they were at last obliged to give way, but retreated in good order. General Oberg lost his magazine of provision and ammunition; but prince Ferdinand having been joined by a body of British troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough, who died soon after, the French reaped but little benefit from the victory.

In the beginning of this year the king of Prussia besieged the town of Schweidnitz, and carried on the attack with such vigour, that the garrison was obliged to surrender prisoners of war. He likewise detached a strong party who took the town of Trawentaw, by which a passage was opened for his troops to march into Bohemia or Moldavia. Accordingly, he marched to the city of Olmutz, the capital of the latter, in which was a strong garrison; but the king besieged it in form.

Count Daun, who knew the importance of the place, marched to its relief; and meeting with a large convoy of provisions, he seized the whole, by which the king of Prussia was obliged to raise the siege. His superior knowledge and presence of mind enabled him to make an exceeding good retreat; and although count Daun watched all his motions, yet he was afraid to attack him; and marshal Keith brought off all the heavy artillery. The Austrian detached parties gave way as fast as he approached, one of them was surrounded and taken; and the king, who seemed to rise superior to misfortune, resolved to transfer the seat of war to Bohemia.

The empress of Russia entered into a new confederacy with the courts of Vienna and Versailles, and in consequence thereof her army was ordered to take the field, under the generals Fermor and Brown. Koningberg, the capital of Prussia, was taken without any resistance; and the Cossacks and Calmacks, a set of inhuman barbarians who followed the army, ravaged the neighbouring country, murdering the people without distinction of age or sex.

The Prussian general Dohna, watched their motions; but no sooner had the king heard that they were approaching towards the frontiers of Silesia, than he began his march from Bohemia, in order to give them battle. The Russians had now advanced to the neighbourhood of Frankfort; and on the ninth of August the king arrived at Landshut, where he crossed the Oder, and next day the army were allowed to rest. The Prussian monarch resolved to attack them immediately, and for that purpose marched past their left flank, and drew up his army in order of battle in an extended plain, for the Russians were in possession of the rising grounds.

This brought on a most bloody engagement, in which above twenty thousand Russians were killed, till at last night parted them, and the Prussians continued under arms. Next morning the battle began afresh; for the Russians were so numerous that they remained

in an immoveable state, notwithstanding their loss. The victory was claimed by both sides, although neither had obtained one; but both behaved with the most undaunted courage. Befet, as the king was, with enemies on every side, he still continued to act with vigour; and finding that count Daun intended to attack his brother, prince Henry, he marched to his assistance with twenty-four battalions, and arrived at Torgau on the fifth of September. Several skirmishes happened between the advanced parties on both sides; and the king, whose army had been much weakened, was obliged to remain on the defensive. Count Daun, who always acted in the most cautious manner, found that the Prussians had neglected to fortify the village of Hochkirchin, he began his march in the middle of the night of the fourteenth of October, and attacked that wing of the Prussian army which was under the command of marshal Keith.

This was an unexpected stroke, and although the Prussians did every thing in their power to repair the loss, yet they were, after a most obstinate engagement, forced to give way; and the brave marshal Keith, with prince Francis of Brunswick, were killed, and the prince of Anhalt taken prisoner. The king lost above three thousand men; but he retreated in good order, and continued ten days endeavouring to bring the count to a fresh engagement. Of all the generals during the war count Daun seems to have been the most properly qualified for making use of detached parties, and harassing an enemy in a retreat. Whenever he found that the king had decamped, he was sure to harass his rear.

Prince Henry of Prussia was reduced to great straits in Saxony, while the marshal Laudohn was sent to harass the king in Lusatia. Dresden was the great object the Austrians had in view, because in consequence of its being taken from the Prussians an opening would be made into Brandenburg. This they knew would distress the king more than any thing they could undertake; but it was not to be executed so easily as they imagined.

Count Schmettau, who commanded in Dresden, declared that if the Austrians should attack the city, he would reduce the whole to a heap of ashes; and although the magistrates begged on their knees that he would desist from such a measure, yet he remained inflexible, and actually laid combustibles into the houses. He began with the suburbs, where most of the Saxon nobility and gentry resided, and in a few hours the whole was in one continued blaze. Count Daun beheld, with astonishment, the conflagration, and being afraid that the general would serve the interior part of the city in the same manner, he desisted, in some measure; while the king of Prussia relieved the town of Neiss, and then resolved to return to Saxony. This obliged count Daun to retire towards Bohemia; and the Russians, who had penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, in order to besiege some fort that would afford them winter quarters, were obliged to return to Poland. They did not, however, fail to ruin Ducal Prussia, where they robbed and murdered the inhabitants in the most horrid manner, so that the whole country was a scene of blood and misery.

The British navy during the whole course of this year, had been very successful both in America and Europe. Captain Forrest, with the captains Langdon and Suckling, attacked a French squadron at Cape François, and disabled several of them; after which he proceeded to the bay of Hispaniola, and in his way thither took a squadron of nine ships, all richly laden, which greatly distressed the French, and brought a considerable sum of money into the nation. Admiral Boscawen sailed from Portsmouth in the month of February for the North American seas, and Sir Edward Hawke was sent to the bay of Biscay. On the coast of Spain, admiral Osborn, assisted by captain Gardiner, a brave officer, attacked a French fleet of the largest ships of war, and took two of the largest belonging to their whole navy. Sir Edward Hawke intercepted a large fleet laden with stores



and provisions for North America; and in a few days after, he took a fleet of their merchant ships, by which their commerce was greatly distressed. These successes were of so rapid a nature, that the people began to look upon their naval officers as the ornaments of their country, and to place the utmost confidence in them.

On the sixth of June a descent was made on the coast of France by the duke of Marlborough, who commanded the land forces, and he was supported by commodore Howe; who, with the great guns on board his squadron, kept the French in continual fear. The duke, having destroyed the shipping at St. Servan, was informed that the enemy were marching to cut off his retreat, was obliged to re-embark the forces, and then the fleet sailed towards Havre-de-grace, in order to make a second attempt to land; but the wind blowing from the shore, obliged them to sail towards Cherbourg, where the duke attempted to land the forces, but still the wind was against them, so that they were once more obliged to stand out for sea, till a more favourable opportunity should offer. On the second of August the fleet weighed anchor a second time, and set sail for France, under the command of general Bligh and commodore Howe; having on board his royal highness prince Edward, afterwards duke of York, who went as a volunteer, it being the design of his royal grandfather to bring him up in the knowledge of naval affairs.

The French, who had been so often alarmed during this summer by the appearance of our fleets on their coasts, had thrown up an entrenchment on the land side of Cherbourg; but the British forces landed without much opposition. The fire of our bomb-ketches silenced a small battery which the enemy had erected, while the grenadiers, with the other forces, were enabled to march from the landing-place up to the town; but in their way thither, they were met by a party of the enemy, who attempted to oppose them. This, however, they were not able to do, for the English guards drove them up a hill, where they remained till night, and then made their escape. A camp was then formed at the village of Erville near Cherbourg, and the next morning the general, finding that the enemy had fled, marched into the important town of Cherbourg without the least opposition; for the magistrates had ordered the gates to be set open. A manifesto was ordered to be stuck up in every public place, promising protection to all those who should not be found in arms; and the people in general behaved with great decency to the soldiers; who, in return, used them much better than in common on such occasions.

The French had laid out great sums of money in making a basin for the shipping; and although not finished, was looked upon as one of the greatest curiosities in Europe, and would have been of the utmost importance to the French navy. This basin the general caused to be destroyed; and while the engineers were employed in blowing it up, the light horse scoured the adjacent country to the distance of four miles, where they found that the enemy were daily increasing in numbers. Some of the advanced parties continued to skirmish with each other, but few of our men were killed, only that captain Lindsay, a brave young officer, was mortally wounded, and died soon after. All the stores in the town were put on board our fleet, three thousand pounds in money was exacted of the inhabitants, and the general ordered that the troops should be re-embarked; having first thrown up a trench to defend such as embarked last, in case they should be attacked by the enemy. The fleet returned to the coast of England, and again set sail for the coast of France, where they took above twenty ships, and destroyed such batteries and magazines as they found erected along the shore.

St. Malo, a strong town on the French shore, and extremely popular, was next attacked, on one side by our troops, and from the sea by our ships of war;

but the weather proving tempestuous, they were obliged to desist, and come to an anchor in St. Cas bay. There the general landed his troops, in order to spread an alarm among the people; that the French king might be obliged to recal his forces from Germany. Undoubtedly the scheme was well planned; but the events of war are uncertain. A camp had been marked out by captain Clarke, the quartermaster general; but on the eighth of September the army began to march, and in the evening halted near the river Equernon.

In the mean time the enemy, who had posted some regulars and militia on the opposite banks of the river, were so much intimidated that they retreated; and the British army having crossed the river, continued their march to Martignon, a small village, where they discovered a detached body of the enemy, who retired and spread the alarm among the people. One small party attempted to harass the flank of our army, but finding it impracticable, they made a signal to surrender; but the British forces, mistaking their meaning, fired and killed an officer with some of the men.

The second regiment of foot guards was sent to bring up the provisions, and colonel Cunningham, the chief engineer, was ordered to secure the beach, lest there should be a necessity for a retreat. The general now learned that some regiments had left the garrison of Brest, and were marching to oppose him; as he did not know but others might be sent to assist them, he sent notice to lord Howe, who commanded the fleet, to have the transports ready for the re-embarkation of the troops.

The army, consisting of six thousand five hundred men, began to march on the eleventh, in one column, and were drawn up in such a manner as to be able to attack the enemy on any side. But after two-thirds of the army was embarked, the enemy's horse appeared in sight, on a rising ground; and about noon they were joined by a large body of foot, collected from different garrisons. The English vessels fired upon them; while the French erected a battery, which they played with such fury upon the remainder of the troops that were embarking, that several of them, particularly the guards, were killed.

General Drury, with twelve hundred men, drew up on the beach, near the village of St. Cas, while the enemy, to avoid the fire from our ships, marched into a hollow way that covered them; and there the English foot prepared to attack them. A proposal had been made to the general, to cover the beach with an entrenchment; but it was done in an improper place, and he discovered his error when it was too late. General Drury, who exerted himself to the utmost, drove the enemy twice back; but as they were continually receiving fresh reinforcements, he was obliged to retreat, and march towards the boats. The French batteries played upon their rear, and some of their bombs destroyed several of the boats, while the English ships could not fire, lest they should have destroyed some of our men. General Drury, with some other officers, were killed; and several were drowned in attempting to get into the boats. Commodore Howe, who had succeeded to the title of lord in consequence of the death of his brother, behaved with great bravery on this fatal occasion, for he exposed himself to the fire of the enemy, and by his example animated the private men. Notwithstanding this scheme miscarried in its execution, yet other advantages were obtained that served to counter-balance it.

One Mr. Cumming, a quaker, who had been several voyages to the coast of Africa, made himself acquainted with every thing worth notice; and being a man of great abilities and deep penetration, observed the extensive trade carried on by the French, and made himself acquainted with the Moorish king of Legibelli, whose dominions lay along the coast where the greatest part of the trade was carried on. Gum Senega, an article much used in the manufactures of



of Great Britain, had been many years wholly engrossed by the French; who sold it to the Dutch, and they to us, at a most exorbitant price. But this was not all; for Mr. Cumming took notice that many other valuable articles and branches of trade were carried on, such as elephants teeth, gold dust, cotton, ambergrease, and several others, all of which were of the utmost importance to Great Britain, and might, if conducted with spirit, become a real national good.

Mr. Cumming lost no time in making himself acquainted with every thing worthy of notice, and ingratiated himself so far into the good graces of the prince, that he made him a friend to the English, and promised him great advantages in consequence of trading with them. But what contributed most towards promoting the design, was the conduct of the French, who had exasperated the prince against them; and he was extremely desirous to have them driven from the river Senegal, where most of their territories had been established. He desired that the king of Great Britain would send a few ships of war for that purpose; promising, at the same time, to assist them with what land forces he could raise.

The difficulties that Mr. Cumming had to engage with were great indeed; but the love he had for his country, made every thing seem trifling. The ministry considered the whole as a Don Quixote like scheme, that would be attended with great loss without any solid advantages arising from it; but Mr. Cumming represented the practicability and utility of it in such strong colours, that they granted a small squadron of ships under the command of captain Marsh, with five companies of marines under the command of major Mason, and a small number of artillery, under the direction of captain Walker; but Mr. Cumming was to superintend the whole.

This small armament sailed from Portsmouth in March, and put into the Island of Teneriffe, in order to procure fresh water. There the squadron remained till Mr. Cumming sailed in the Swan sloop to Portenderrick, with a letter to the prince written in the Arabic language. In this letter, to which the king of Great Britain had put his seal, Mr. Cumming was appointed to act as ambassador, and conduct the whole of the British trade that should be carried on in that country. Upon his arrival, he found the prince of the place engaged in war with one of the neighbouring nations, and that he was then at a very great distance. But Amir, the prince's minister, sent word to his sovereign that Mr. Cumming was arrived, and that he could raise three hundred men to assist him, upon condition of their being properly reinforced from the chief army. This would have disconcerted persons of less fortitude than Mr. Cumming; but the greater the difficulties he had to encounter with, the more active was he in endeavouring to surmount them. Having sent notice to captain Marsh to proceed on his voyage, that brave officer weighed anchor, and got to the mouth of the river Senegal, where he learned that the Indian forces promised him were not so much as raised. Next day he took a large Dutch ship laden with gum, and the captain told him, that the French had erected several batteries along the side of the river, and that they were determined to dispute the passage with the English. This, however, no way intimidated the captain; who made the proper preparations for landing, although the enemy kept firing upon them. This brought on a general engagement, which lasted several hours; and two of the English transports running aground, the marines got on shore, where they were joined by those who had landed before them. They threw up an intrenchment to protect them from the fire of the enemy, till such time as they could get the stores landed.

Next day two deputies from the French governor arrived, and offered terms of capitulation; upon which it was agreed, that all the Europeans belonging to the French should be safely conducted to

France in an English vessel, and that none of their private property should be taken from them: that every thing of a public nature should be delivered up to the English; and that the inhabitants, who chused to remain in Fort Louis, should be under the protection of the English government.

These terms being agreed on, captain Walker and captain Campbell were sent up the river to take possession of the forts; but when they came to the first place appointed for their landing, the enemy neither took notice of them, nor hung out the flag of truce. This surprized them much; and as they did not know what their intention might be, they sailed back to the squadron, and then went on shore to their entrenchments. There they were informed that the negroes were in arms at Fort Louis, because they had not been included in the treaty, and the governor refused to abide by the capitulation, unless the director-general of the French factory should be permitted to remain, to see that every thing was executed according to agreement. This request was immediately complied with, and then the fort was delivered up to major Mason, who found in it great quantities of merchandise, besides provisions and military stores. The inhabitants of the place cheerfully swore allegiance to the king of Britain. The prince Legibelli sent an ambassador from his camp to congratulate Mr. Cumming on his success, and all the neighbouring princes entered into treaties with him. In the whole of this important expedition, the English did not lose a single man, and, by prudence and courage, obtained possession of a very valuable place.

Mr. Cumming knew that the valuable settlement at Fort Louis could not be maintained by the English, unless they were in possession of Goree, about one hundred miles distant, where the French had large magazines, and where they kept all their slaves before they sent them to the West-Indies. An attempt was made upon it, but the English had not force sufficient to take it. News having been transmitted to England, commodore Keppel was sent with six ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, with seven hundred land forces on board. On the twenty-eighth of December, they came to an anchor off Goree, and next morning prepared to attack the place. The French, who had erected batteries along the shore, played briskly upon our men of war, particularly the Prince Edward, which had her main bowsprit shot away, but the Nassau made up to her assistance. The commodore, who was in the Torbay, paid the utmost attention to every thing; and so terrible was the fire from his ship, that the whole seemed one continued blaze.

Many thousands of negroes came down to see the engagement, and were filled with surprize at the bravery of the English seamen, whose courage increased with their danger. The fire from the English ships soon obliged the governor to strike the flag; and then a lieutenant, with the commodore's secretary, were sent on shore, where they were met by the governor's secretary, who asked them what terms the commodore was willing to grant. This surprized them, because they imagined that the garrison were ready to surrender prisoners of war; and then they asked him, whether the flag was not struck? He answered, that it was not, but only for a parley; upon which they parted in disgust. The engagement was begun again with greater fury than ever; but in less than an hour, the governor, as a signal to surrender, dropped the flag and the regimental colours, and then a party of marines took possession of the island.

Things of great importance were, at this time, carrying on in America. In May, general Amherst, with a body of troops, and general Boscawen, sailed from Halifax in Nova Scotia; and on the second of June, landed about seven miles west of Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton. The French had taken great care to fortify the place in the strongest manner, and the mouth of the harbour had batteries erected



at it. The garrison was numerous, and a chain of forts had been erected along the coast, where it was expected the English would land.

General Wolfe, the second in command, in order to give them an example to imitate, leaped into the water, and got first on shore. He then attacked, and drove the French from one of their batteries: upon which Mr. Drucour ordered in his detached parties, and prepared to make the most vigorous defence. The English land forces, under the command of general Wolfe, took possession of that part of the harbour, near its entrance, called the Light-house Point; while the admiral set fire to some ships in the harbour, and burnt two of them to the water-edge. The enemy had only two ships of the line and a frigate now remaining, and these were taken in a few days; so that the harbour being thus laid open, the siege was begun, and carried on in the most regular manner. It was impossible for the governor to hold out against the combined force of the army and navy; so that he resolved to capitulate, and the whole garrison were made prisoners of war. The whole loss of the English amounted to about four hundred; and thus, by the utmost efforts of courage, the whole island of Cape Breton became subject to the English. In Louisbourg our army found a vast quantity of military stores; and such of the inhabitants as did not chuse to live under the English government, were sent over to France, but the prisoners were transported to England. The island of St. John, in the gulph of St. Laurence, was taken, about the same time, by lord Rollo, and in the governor's house were found several scalps of Englishmen who had been murdered by the Indians.

It is impossible to express the joy that filled the nation upon the arrival of the news of this important event: it gave inexpressible pleasure to all ranks of people; and eleven pair of French colours that had been taken were brought to his majesty at Kensington, who ordered them to be escorted, under a strong guard, to the cathedral of St. Paul, where they were hung up as trophies of the victory.

Captain Tyrrel, in the Buckingham man of war, was sent to protect our commerce in the West-Indies; and in the bay of Martinico he demolished a French fort, with several merchant ships that had on board very valuable cargoes, and a considerable number of privateers. Captain Tyrrel was seldom disengaged from action, and few men in his station ever acquired greater honour. Happening to fall in with the Weasel sloop of war, commanded by lieutenant Bowles, between Montserrat and Guadalupe, they discovered a fleet of nineteen vessels, under the convoy of a man of war named the Florissant, and two large frigates. But, notwithstanding superiority of numbers, Tyrrel, who was a stranger to fear, immediately hoisted sail, and gave chase. The two frigates were soon rendered unfit for action: upon which captain Tyrrel attacked the man of war, and poured a whole broadside into her. A most desperate and bloody engagement ensued, in which captain Tyrrel lost three of his fingers, and was otherwise so much wounded, that he was obliged to give up the command to Mr. Marshal, his first lieutenant, who fought bravely till he was killed; and then the command devolved upon the second lieutenant, who fought so desperately, that the Florissant was obliged to strike; but the sea running high before the Buckingham could board her, she again hoisted her colours, and made her escape. This was reckoned one of the most glorious actions during the war, and will ever redound to the honour of Tyrrel, who lost only twenty men, while the French lost one hundred and eighty, besides above three hundred wounded; so that it was with the utmost difficulty that they could keep the ship above water till they got into the harbour of Martinico.

Things had not been, during this year, so successfully carried on in the East-Indies, though no blame could be thrown upon our commanders, who exerted themselves to the utmost. Admiral Pocock

being joined by commodore Stephens, with several ships of the line, they set sail from the bay of Madras, in order to intercept the French fleet, which they expected to come up with near the bay of St. David's.

On the twenty-ninth of March, the admiral came up with the French fleet, consisting of nine ships of the line, and resolved to give them battle. The engagement lasted several hours; and about five in the evening, the French admiral got before the wind, and the English admiral gave the signal for a general chase; but night coming on, he was obliged to desist. In the morning the pursuit was continued; but several of the ships were so much disabled, and the wind was so much in favour of the French, that the English were obliged to come to an anchor in the bay of Madras. There he learned that one of the French ships had been so much damaged, that they had been obliged to run her a-ground; and that they had not been able to land any forces at St. David's. Three of the English captains, who had not been active enough in obeying the admiral's signals, were tried by a court-martial, and broke; for it was in consequence of their conduct that the French fleet escaped, which otherwise would have been totally destroyed.

The next object the admiral had in view was the reduction of Pondicherry: and having repaired his ships, he set sail for that place on the tenth of May. He arrived in the bay opposite to that fort on the thirtieth of May, where he got sight of the French fleet, but could not come up with them; which obliged him to return to Madras, in order to consult on the most proper methods to be used, and likewise to get a supply of fresh provisions, of which the fleet was in great want.

Having consulted with the governor, and got every thing ready, the admiral weighed anchor on the twenty-fifth of July, and in two days got sight of the French fleet, consisting of eight ships and a frigate. They were steering towards Pondicherry; and admiral Pocock made the signal for a general chase, but could not come up with them till the third of August, when a general engagement ensued. The French admiral found it impossible to resist the bravery of the English; and therefore, in a few minutes, he gave way, while the English pursued till night, when they were parted, and by that means the French got into the road of Pondicherry. In this engagement the English had a considerable number wounded, among whom were commodore Stephens and captain Martin; but they had not above forty killed.

On the fourteenth of September, colonel Draper, on board the company's ship Pitt, arrived at Madras, having under his command some companies of his own regiment: and in the beginning of December, the French forces encamped near a place called Choultry. The English cannonaded them a whole day, and next morning they seemed as if going to draw up in order of battle. Colonel Draper, with colonel Lawrence, being afraid that they might cut off their retreat, took possession of the Black Town, and the French marched up to attack it; but one of their regiments was surprised by colonel Draper, and almost cut off. Had the colonel been properly supported, he would, in all probability, have defeated the enemy; but his numbers were so small, that he was obliged to retreat.

The parliament of Great-Britain met on the twenty-third day of November, and was opened by a commission from his majesty. The lord-keeper informed them, that his majesty had ordered the lords commissioners to lay before them all papers relating to the state of the nation: that the great success which had attended his majesty's arms, both by sea and land, could not fail of reducing the enemy to such distress, that they would be ready to propose terms of peace. He added, that his good brother, the king of Prussia, had exerted himself to the utmost, altho' opposed by very numerous armies. He sincerely lamented, that the state of public affairs had laid such



burthens on his people; but he doubted not that his faithful commons would consider such burthens as absolutely necessary, in order to support the dignity of the crown and the interest of the nation. He concluded by telling them, that he was so well convinced of their affection, both to his person and government, that he thought it altogether needless to use many words to persuade them, and therefore left the whole to their own discretion. No disputes arose concerning the speech, for both houses presented the most loyal addresses, and both seemed to strive which should be most forward in shewing their regard for their country.

A. D. 1759. This year opened with a proclamation, offering an additional bounty to such seamen as were willing to enter into his majesty's service; and the conduct of administration, in this instance, was followed by most of the cities and towns in the nation. All parties were reconciled, and patriotism diffused itself throughout every part of the kingdom. The ministry planned their schemes with such judgment, as will ever do honour to their superior abilities; and our forces, both by land and sea, even performed wonders. The French navy was now reduced so much, that they resolved upon making one bold push; but as their whole finances were exhausted, they were obliged to oppress the subjects in the most cruel manner. Great preparations were made by them along the coasts of Normandy and Britany; forces were collected together, and several new ships were built. There was not the least doubt but they intended to invade England, for they had provided a great number of flat bottomed boats at Havre de Grace, and some other ports. A small squadron was to be fitted out at Dunkirk, and the command given to Mr. Thurot, a person of obscure birth, but possessed of such abilities as would have done honour to the highest station in the navy. It was supposed that this squadron was intended for making a descent on Scotland; but every thing was conducted with such secrecy, that the public were left merely to conjecture. Another squadron was to make a descent on Ireland; and the whole was to be escorted by M. de Conflans, who, with the duke de Aiguillon, was then at Brest, giving the necessary orders. The English ministry, who attended to the interests of the nation with the greatest integrity, took care to be beforehand with them. A squadron, under commodore Boys, was ordered to lie opposite the harbour of Dunkirk: the fleet in Brest was blocked up by admiral Hawke; and captain Duff watched Vannes, another of their ports: so that it seemed almost impossible for them to get their ships out of their harbours.

On the second of July, admiral Rodney came to an anchor before Havre de Grace, in order to prevent the flat-bottomed boats from joining the fleet, and so frustrate the whole scheme. Next day he attacked the town with two vessels, and threw such a number of bombs into it, that most of the magazines were destroyed. The bombardment continued fifty hours without intermission, and was so dreadful that the town was three times set on fire. The flat-bottomed boats were likewise set on fire, and continued burning six hours; so that it took several hundred men to extinguish it.

The consternation of the inhabitants was greater than can be imagined, many of them forsook their dwellings, while the military continued erecting batteries, and throwing up entrenchments; for they imagined that the admiral intended to land. The conduct of the admiral on this occasion struck such terror into the French ministry, that they became divided in their councils; for they found it almost impossible that ever they could make a descent on England, while our navy did their duty.

In the mean time, the brave admiral Boscawen was sent into the Mediterranean, to block up the harbour of Toulon, where the French had a fleet under the command of M. de la Clue. Three English men of war were sent to burn two of the French ships that

guarded the mouth of the harbour; but a calm coming on, the enemy took the advantage, and fired so briskly, that the English vessels were greatly damaged, and the admiral was obliged to return to Gibraltar. The French seized that opportunity of getting out of the harbour, thinking to get through the gut of Gibraltar without being seen by the English. Admiral Boscawen ordered one of his ships to cruise, and to keep a good look-out, that he might have timely notice of their arrival. Accordingly, on the seventeenth of August, the cruising vessels brought notice to the admiral, that the French fleet were steering along the coast of Barbary, seeming as if they intended to pass the gut, and so get into the ocean. The whole fleet were immediately ordered to weigh anchor, and get under sail; and next day, about two in the afternoon, they came up with the French, but it was some time longer before they could engage, because of the wind dying away. The English admiral came up with M. de la Clue, in a large French first-rate called the Ocean, about four in the afternoon, and the engagement began in the most furious manner; the French, according to their usual custom, aiming all their fire at the sails and rigging. By this method of fighting, the Namur, admiral Boscawen's ship, was so much damaged, that he was obliged to hoist his flag on board the Newark; and soon after the Ceptaur, a ship of seventy-four guns, struck to the English.

The French admiral stood in for the land, which admiral Boscawen seeing, ordered the America and Intrepid to go and destroy his ship; but the French admiral saved them the trouble: for having one of his legs broke, he got on shore, and then the ship struck. Admiral Boscawen ordered her, as she was little better than a wreck, to be set on fire; while he burnt another, and two were brought off with very little damage; so that the English obtained this important victory with the loss of only fifty-six men.

This was a most fatal blow to the French, for besides the loss of four capital ships, their two fleets were prevented from joining; but still they carried on their preparations at Brest, like broken gamesters, who, when they have borrowed a trifle, will venture all upon it. A large body of land forces, with the Irish brigades, were kept in readiness in order to embark on board the transports; and a train of artillery was to be sent along with them. Thurot had made his escape out of the harbour of Dunkirk, in order to sail round the coast of Scotland, to divide our fleet, by obliging some of them to sail that way; but all their projects were defeated by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke.

That brave admiral continued to block up the harbour of Brest, with a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line; while another squadron under the command of commodore Duff, cruised along the coast to keep the people in continual alarm, and to prevent any of their privateers putting out to sea. The French ministry were out of all patience, because of their fleet in Brest lying inactive; and therefore in the month of November, positive orders were sent to M. de Conflans to make an attempt to get out.

A great storm arising on the coast, the English fleet were driven out to sea, and on the tenth of November they came to an anchor in Torbay road. This gave the French admiral an opportunity of making out of the harbour, his design being to attack and destroy the small squadron under the command of commodore Duff, and so prevent his junction with the grand fleet. In the mean time, the weather being more favourable, Sir Edward Hawke set sail for his former station, and dispatched the Coventry and Maidstone frigates a-head of the squadron to give proper signals of the approach of the enemy. About ten in the morning of the twentieth of November the Maidstone gave the signal, upon which Sir Edward ordered all the ships to draw near and form a-breast. The enemy were just at that instant in pursuit of Duff's squadron; but seeing the Eng-



lish fleet, they hoisted all the sail they could, by which Duff had an opportunity of joining the admiral. Sir Edward ordered seven of the ships to give them chase; and, in the mean time, that no opportunity should be lost, he bore down upon them with the rest of the fleet, keeping all the ships formed in the line of battle.

Future ages will read, with admiration, the conduct of the English admiral on this memorable occasion. The coast was full of rocks and shallows, the wind was blowing towards the shore; he had few pilots to give him proper directions, and the enemy had a great number of land forces on board. But no fear of danger could make him neglect that duty he owed to his country; he knew that our enemies were forming schemes to make the British as abject slaves as themselves; and therefore he was determined either to conquer or perish in the attempt. The two fleets came up together near the island of Bellisle, about half an hour after two in the afternoon, and the engagement began between the van of the English and the rear of the French. The admiral in the mean time continued in pursuit of the van, and came up with the French admiral's ship into which he poured a broad-side. A large French ship named the *Thesee*, came up to the assistance of admiral Conflans ship the *Soliel*; but the Royal George, on board of which was admiral Hawke, sunk her in an instant, and every person on board perished, affording a most shocking spectacle to those who saw it.

The weather was very tempestuous, notwithstanding which the battle was carried on with great fury. The *Superb*, a large French ship, was sunk soon after the *Thesee*, and the *Formidable* struck her colours. The *Heros*, another of the French ships, submitted, and came to an anchor about four in the afternoon; but the sea continued running so high, that the boats could not get up to man her. The night coming on, the shattered remains of the French fleet made their escape, except the *Soliel*, in which was the admiral; but when morning came, he discovered that he had lain all night at anchor in the midst of the English, and therefore slipped his cable to make his escape. Sir Edward Hawke ordered the *Effex* to pursue her; but unfortunately she happened to stick on a sand bank; so that the *Vengeance*, *Portland*, and *Chatham*, were ordered upon the same service. The French admiral seeing no methods to be used in order to save his ship, got into what boats he had, and then set her on fire; while the English did the same to two large ships which they had driven upon the sand banks.

Seven large ships of the French squadron were still riding at anchor, which the English admiral seeing, ordered the fleet to weigh; but the weather being very tempestuous, he was a second time obliged to come to an anchor. The French, seeing nothing less than immediate destruction before them, threw overboard all their ammunition, guns, and stores, and then took shelter in the mouth of the river Vilaine, where they were protected by several batteries erected for the purpose.

This was one of the most important victories ever obtained over the French, during the whole course of the war; for it disconcerted their whole scheme laid for the invasion of England, while their navy was almost reduced to a wreck. Nor did the brave Sir Edward Hawke leave the French coast till his sovereign recalled him, in order to confer upon him such honours as his merits entitled him to.

In the mean time the English were equally successful in other parts of the globe; for in the West Indies they took the valuable island of Guadaloupe, and the whole exterior parts of Canada on the south of the river St. Laurence were also subdued.

The next great object of national importance was the reduction of the island of Martinico; and for that purpose a fleet sailed from St. Helens under the command of commodore Hughes, consisting of eight sail of the line, besides several frigates and

bomb-ketches, with transports, having on board some land forces, under the command of the generals Hopson and Barrington. At Barbadoes they were joined by commodore Moore, who took upon him the command of the whole squadron; and having provided the fleet with every thing necessary for the undertaking, they set sail on the thirteenth of January. On the sixteenth of the same month the attack was made on Fort Negro, about three miles from the capital, and next day the marines landed, in order to drive the enemy from their entrenchments; but on climbing up the rock they found them all gone. Immediately, upon a signal given, a body of seamen from each ship landed, and hoisted the English flag upon the parapet; while the *Woolwich*, *Roebuck*, and *Winchester*, attacked a fort near the entrance of the harbour. This battery was soon silenced, and a large magazine blown up, while the three ships kept up a constant fire, in order to cover the flat-bottomed boats. The scheme of landing the marines at one part of the island, and the rest of the forces at another, was of considerable advantage; for the enemy being afraid that they should be enclosed between two fires, shut themselves up in Port Royal, the citadel, and suffered the English troops to land without opposition.

When general Hopson had advanced a few miles up the country, he found it impracticable to proceed farther, unless the commodore would send to his assistance some of the heavy artillery, and at the same time attack the fort from the bay. Accordingly he sent to acquaint the commodore, who immediately landed the heavy artillery, which were drawn up to the general by the seamen instead of horses, while the squadron came to an anchor. The general called a council of war, to enquire whether it was practicable to attack the fort of Port Royal; but the majority being of a contrary opinion, the forces were re-embarked, with a view of landing at St. Pierre; and the fleet, with the transports, set sail for that part of the island; but the attempt miscarried, though it succeeded some time after.

In North America, many of the English groaned under the most cruel oppression; for the French had in the most infamous manner, stirred up most of the Indian nations to destroy those who lived on the borders of our settlements. The barbarities committed by these savages were the most horrid that could be imagined; and compassion for the distressed induced our ministry to employ agents to enter into a treaty with the Indians. For this purpose a congress was held at Easton, near one hundred miles from Philadelphia; wherein it was agreed, that fifteen Indian nations should become the allies of Great Britain, and that they and our army should mutually defend each other.

This was one of the wisest measures that could have been thought of; for no sooner was it concluded, than the Indians agreed to go along without forces, and attack the French in such of their settlements as were not then conquered in Canada. The army, employed in this important service, was divided into three parts; the first of which, under the command of general Amherst, crossed Lake George, without meeting with any opposition.

The first place he approached was the important pass of Ticonderago; but the French abandoned it, and fled towards Canada. General Amherst ordered such parts of the fortifications as the French had destroyed, to be rebuilt, and put the place in a much better condition than ever it had been in before; and there he learned that the French had abandoned Crown Point, so that nothing but victory attended the British arms. The general sent a party of men to take possession of it, and to fortify it in the strongest manner; because, in consequence of doing so, the Indians in the French interest, would be prevented from coming down in scalping parties to commit the most horrid barbarities.

A party of French, who had not been able to keep up



up with the main body, retired to an island in Lake Champlain; and as there was reason to fear that they would plunder the neighbouring inhabitants on the continent, general Amherst ordered a sloop of sixteen guns to be built, and gave the command thereof to captain Loring; but the season was so far advanced, and the weather so very tempestuous, he could not proceed on the Lake, and the general returned to Crown Point.

While general Amherst was at Crown Point he received intelligence that Sir William Johnson, who commanded a party of Indians, had been joined by general Prideaux, and that they were on their march towards Niagara. There they attacked the French fort; but general Prideaux was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a shell, while he was taking a view of the trenches. Sir William Johnson took the command upon him till the arrival of general Gage, and then the siege was carried on with great vigour. The French were so much alarmed with the apprehension of losing a fort that would open a new way for the English, that they sent a body of twelve hundred regulars, under the command of M. de Aubry, to assist those that were in the garrison.

Sir William Johnson having intelligence that they were approaching the place, resolved to give them battle; and therefore, leaving a small party to conduct the siege, he came up with them near the borders of a wood, and a desperate engagement ensued. In less than an hour, victory declared in favour of the English, and the French general, with the greatest part of his men, were killed; for the Indians, who had concealed themselves in the wood, galled them in the severest manner. Seventeen officers were taken prisoners, a list of which Sir William sent to the French governor of the fort, requesting him to surrender, as it would be in vain to attempt holding out any longer. The governor, conscious that he could not defend himself much longer, agreed to capitulate, and the articles being drawn, the garrison were suffered to march out with all the honours of war. They were then sent to Newark, in order to embark for France; and as for the women, with the sick and wounded, they were treated in the most humane and compassionate manner.

But the great object still in view by the English was the complete conquest of Canada; for although they had ravaged most of the country, yet the towns still held out for the French. It was an attempt of the most hazardous nature, but nothing seemed too difficult for our troops, who had carried conquest before them through every country where they happened to engage.

The fleet destined to execute this enterprize, sailed from Portsmouth in February under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes; but when they had got within sight of Cape Breton, they were obliged to steer away towards Halifax, the harbour being frozen over. In the mean time, admiral Durell was detached, with a small squadron, to the river St. Laurence; there to cruise, and prevent the garrison of Quebec from receiving stores.

Admiral Saunders, having taken in fresh provisions, and embarked the land forces, sailed up the river St. Laurence. The commander in chief of the forces was general Wolfe, and under him were the generals Monckton, Townsend, and Murray, young gentlemen of approved abilities, and brought up to all the hardships of a military life. About the latter end of June the forces were landed on the isle of Orleans, a little below Quebec; where the general caused a manifesto to be published, intimating, that the king of Great Britain, his sovereign, had fitted out a fleet and an army to reduce all the French settlements in North America; but that no injury should be done to the peaceable inhabitants, who should be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and to follow their secular employments.

No declaration made by one who came in an hostile manner, could be more replete with sentiments of

humanity; but the Romish priests had so prepossessed the people against the English, that they looked upon our army as a body of heathens devoted to destruction. Such of the straggling parties of our forces as happened to leave the main army, were murdered by these most wretched bigots. Upon which the brave general Wolfe sent a letter to the French commander, requesting that he would issue orders to the Canadians and Indians to desist from such practices, as were contrary to the laws of war, and a disgrace to humanity. He added, that unless his request was complied with, he should find himself under the disagreeable necessity of making reprisals, and treating all those who fell into his hands in the same manner as the British subjects had been treated by the Indians. M. de Montcalm, the French general, though a brave soldier, yet having received positive orders from his court not to shew any mercy to the English, refused to return any answer to general Wolfe's letter; upon which, contrary to his natural sentiments of humanity, he was obliged, though very unwillingly, to suffer the soldiers to commit some very irregular actions.

The situation of Quebec made it easy for the French to fortify it in the strongest manner, and the garrison was well supplied with all sorts of provisions. At the same time, M. de Montcalm had under his command a large body of regulars, so that the taking of the place seemed next to impossible: but the confidence which the general had in his troops, and his martial genius, which seemed superior to every thing, induced him to begin the hazardous enterprize, bidding defiance to all dangers, for the sake of military glory, and the love of his country.

Point Levi, near Quebec, was fortified with a train of artillery; and as the taking of that place was of great importance, general Wolfe ordered general Monckton to advance towards it in the night with four battalions, and next morning it was taken. The English erected a battery upon it; upon which the French general sent a body of sixteen hundred men to dislodge them, but they fell into such confusion, that they fired on each other, while the English played off their artillery with so much success, that great part of the town was reduced to ashes.

In the mean time, the English fleet suffered considerably, in consequence of a dreadful storm, which drove the ships against each other, and several of the transports were dashed in pieces. The French general, who beheld this disaster, ordered some fire-ships to be sent in among the English transports; but the English admiral disconcerted his scheme, by ordering the seamen to board them; and then being towed to land, they were all set on fire. A second attempt of the like nature was made, but it was attended with the same consequences, for they were burnt like the others. General Wolfe found it necessary to make himself as well acquainted with the river St. Laurence as possible; and therefore colonel Charlton was ordered to land at a place called Point au Tremble, in order to make what discoveries he could, and, if possible, to bring off some prisoners, by which the designs of the enemy might be known. These orders the colonel obeyed, while general Townshend prevented the French from erecting a battery near the mouth of the river Montmorenci, where they intended to cannonade the English; and this was done by keeping up a continual fire.

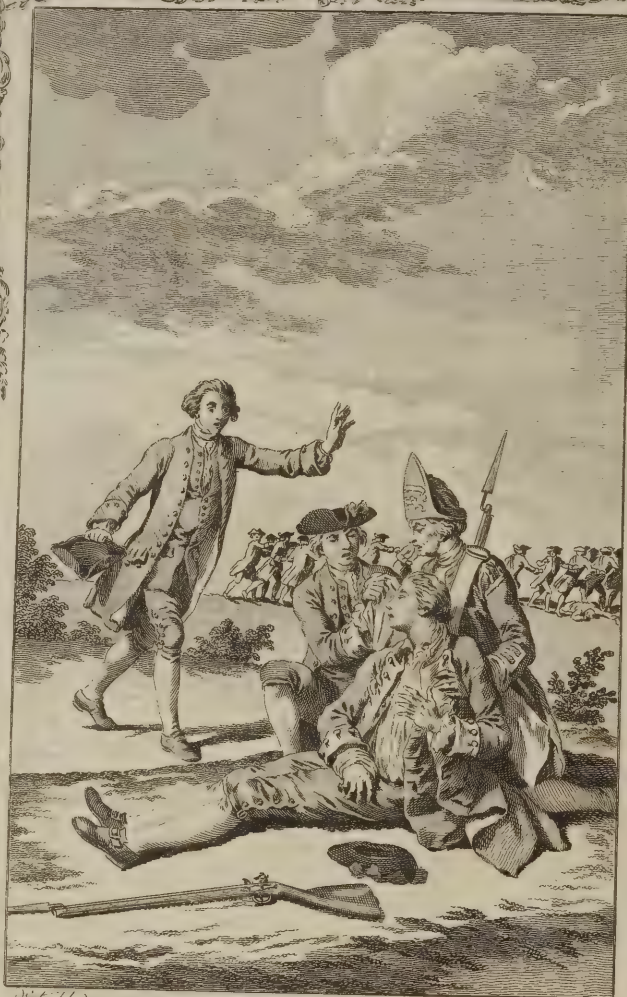
The water was too shallow for the men of war to come up to the beach; but, to remedy that misfortune, the admiral ordered two transports to be got ready, and to be run on shore, by which he proposed taking the advanced redoubt. By such means as these, the forces were landed; and the grenadiers were so impatient to dislodge the French from their entrenchments, that they ran on in the most irregular manner, without minding the orders they had received. The enemy kept up such a close fire, that the grenadiers were obliged to shelter themselves under the redoubt, which had been abandoned by the French; and the general finding the night coming on, ordered them







*Engraved for Sydney's History of England.*



*Watts del.*

*Groomer sculp.*

GENERAL WOLFE

*Expiring in the Arms of a Grenadier & Volunteer at the Siege of Quebec.*



them to retreat to the camp at Montmorenci; while the admiral, who was afraid lest the two transports which had been run ashore should fall into the hands of the enemy, ordered them to be set on fire. The retreat of the grenadiers discouraged the general so much, especially as five hundred men had been killed, besides a great number of officers, that he was determined to make one bold effort; and, for that purpose, general Murray was sent to a place called Chambaud, where he burnt a large magazine of provisions and ammunition belonging to the French. The fatigues which the brave general Wolfe had lately undergone, had such an effect on his constitution, that he was forced to keep his bed for several days; and, in the mean time, desired the other generals to make the most necessary dispositions for attacking the place, that the dispute might be finally terminated. It was their opinion, that it would be best to land such of the forces as were yet on board, about three miles above the town, and so bring on the enemy to a general engagement: but this measure being found impracticable, they were landed a little below the town, in the middle of the night: for although several of them had landed before, yet they had been obliged to re-embark. General Wolfe was one of the first that set foot on shore; and the general disembarkation was covered and protected by admiral Holmes, who kept hovering on the coast while the boats glided along. They had a rising ground to ascend, called Mount Abraham, and about the middle of it was a guard of French soldiers; but colonel How, with a party of highlanders, drove them from it, and made way for the army to ascend the hill. The French general had marked out a strong camp, and actually taken possession of it; but no sooner did he learn that the English had ascended the hill, than he resolved to give them battle.

In the mean time, general Wolfe seeing that the French were approaching to attack him, ordered the line to be formed, giving the command of the right to general Monckton, and that of the left to general Murray: the center was commanded by himself; and about nine in the morning the engagement began. Soon after the first or second firings were over, general Wolfe, who was stationed in the hottest part of the battle, received a wound in his wrist; but pulling a handkerchief out of his pocket, wrapped it round his hand, and continued to advance at the head of the grenadiers, without the least emotion, as if insensible of any thing but his duty.

The French met the English grenadiers with great fury. General Wolfe, in pushing forward, received a mortal wound in his breast, and, like Epaminondas, lost his valuable life at a time when victory had declared for him. The critical moment was now arrived; for the general being killed, no time was to be lost, lest the troops should have been dispirited; and general Townshend being the next in command, hastened to the center, where he soon found that a party of two thousand French were on the point of attacking him in the rear. These, however, were afraid to advance, thinking it more prudent to retire among the woods.

The French now gave way, after above eight hundred had been killed; and M. de Montcalm finding himself mortally wounded, just before he died, wrote a letter to general Townshend, recommending to his humanity and compassion the poor prisoners and the wounded. The next in command under him shared the same fate; for being mortally wounded, he was carried on board one of our ships of war, but expired within a few hours after.

The brave general Wolfe, of whom the nation had formed the greatest hopes, expired soon after the victory. Being told of the success of his forces, he said to those who attended him, "Then (thank God) I die contented." To do justice to all ranks of people, it must be acknowledged that the loss of this brave officer was sincerely lamented. He was only in his thirty-second year, but crowned with military

glory in such a manner, that his name will be transmitted to posterity with honour; while other young gentlemen in succeeding ages will be stimulated to emulate so shining a character. A noble monument has been erected for him in Westminster-abbey. But his actions will immortalize his name; when the most solid marble shall have crumbled into dust.

The generals and admirals being now in possession of every thing but the town, they thought it more prudent to accept of proposals to capitulate than to undergo the hardships of a siege; so that the garrison were suffered to march out with all the honours of war. By the articles of capitulation it was granted, that the people should enjoy the free use and exercise of the Romish religion, and all episcopal offices, in the same manner as when under the French government; till such time as the war was over; and that they should be treated in the same manner as if they had been originally subjects of Great-Britain. The English having taken possession of the gates, general Townshend gave the command of the town to general Murray, with a garrison of five thousand men; and set sail, with admiral Saunders, for Europe. General Monkton, who had been dangerously wounded in the battle, was sent to New-York, where he happily recovered.

In the East-Indies, the affairs of the English began to wear a favourable aspect: for the admirals Cornish and Pocock defeated a large squadron of men of war, and obliged them to take shelter in the island of Mauritius, to resist. The Dutch, ever selfish and mercenary, continued to supply the French with provisions; for they seldom pay the least regard to any thing besides money, the means used in procuring it being little attended to. Under pretence that our men of war had given them some affront, the Dutch governor of Batavia ordered some of our merchantmen to be seized; and captain Wilson, in the Calcutta Indiaman, having demanded satisfaction, the Dutch commodore threatened to sink him if he did not immediately retire. As captain Wilson knew that it would be very imprudent in him to engage with force so superior, he returned to Calcutta; and told colonel Clive in what manner he had been treated. There being two other East-Indiamen lying there at the same time, the colonel ordered them to attack the Dutch commodore. Accordingly a smart engagement ensued, in which two of the Dutch ships were obliged to bear away, a third was driven on shore, and four struck their flags. Colonel Coote, who had been sent in the beginning of this year from England, carried on the war with very great success on the coast of Coromandel; where he defeated general Lally, reduced several strong forts which the French had erected, and concluded the year with honour to himself, while the interest of the nation was promoted.

In Germany, the war was carried on with various success. The king of Prussia was so surrounded by enemies on all hands, that it was imagined he would be swallowed up; but perseverance enabled him to surmount every difficulty. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who commanded the allied army, had been considerably reinforced by fresh troops from England; and on the thirteenth of April, he came within sight of the French, commanded by marshal Broglie, at Bergen, a small village in the neighbourhood of Frankfurt. No general could have done more than prince Ferdinand in order to procure victory; but such was the situation of the French, that although he attacked them three different times, yet he was, in the end, obliged to retreat; but did it in such excellent order, that the French were not able to pursue him. This action was a severe stroke to the allied army, who were greatly distressed for want of provisions; while the French, who had taken the city of Göttingen, enjoyed them in great plenty, and were every day marching farther into the electorate of Hanover, exacting of the inhabitants heavy contributions.



It was now become, in a manner, absolutely necessary for the allies to venture on an engagement, otherwise the French would have once more made good their winter quarters in Hanover. The French general had made himself master of the city of Minden, and ordered a camp to be formed in its neighbourhood. On the other hand, prince Ferdinand, whose army lay encamped at Petershagen, acted with so much prudence, and displayed such military skill, that the French could not perceive, from his motions, whether he intended to advance or retreat.

He had received advice, that a large convoy of provisions was coming from Paderborn for the use of the French, and he designed, if possible, to prevent its joining the army. At the same time, he made as if he intended to divide his forces, and this led the French generals into a snare. The duke de Broglie marched, in order to attack general Wägenheim; but when he came to the top of an eminence, he was surprised to see the whole of prince Ferdinand's army drawn up in the order of battle.

It was now too late to think of retreating; for on one side was the river Weser, and on the other a deep morass, both strongly guarded by the allies; so that the French were in great danger of being surrounded. The engagement was begun by the French cavalry, who came upon the English infantry with great fury. Nothing could equal the courage of the English on this occasion; for although they were only assisted by a small party of the Hanoverian army, yet they cut in pieces two bodies of the French horse who had repeatedly attempted to break through them. The English regiments of Walgrave and Kingsley cut in pieces two French battalions who attempted to support the horse; upon which the center of the French army being broken, and the rest beginning to retreat, prince Ferdinand sent an express order to lord George Sackville, who commanded the English horse, to come up at full gallop; but a misunderstanding having, for some time, subsisted between the prince and lord George, the latter did not come up in time to share in the glory of the victory. Had the English cavalry come up in time, the French would have been totally routed; but, by this fatal misunderstanding, they made good their retreat in tolerable order, the English not being able to harass their rear without the assistance of the horse. As the glory of this victory was chiefly owing to the courage and bravery of the English, so the prince did not neglect to acknowledge it, and only regretted that the marquis of Granby had not commanded the horse.

Great rejoicings were made in England when the news of this important victory arrived: but the spirits of the people were damped when they considered that the conduct of their own general had prevented it from being decisive. Lord George Sackville, whose conduct exposed him to great censure, left the army, and returned to England, where he was, by his majesty's orders, stripped of all his employments, and the command of the British forces conferred on the brave marquis of Granby, a young nobleman, who, to the most extensive benevolence, joined the most undaunted courage, and was obeyed by the soldiers from motives of love rather than fear.

The French were so much incensed at their loss of this memorable battle, that the marshal de Belleisle, who was at the head of the war department, lost the whole of his reputation, while the duke de Broglie and the marshal de Contades mutually upbraided each other. Broglie, who had gone to Paris in order to vindicate his own character, took care to represent that of M. de Contades in such an odious light, that the latter was recalled, and the former invested with the chief command, partly by the intrigues of madam Pompadour, and partly by the antipathy his sovereign had conceived against him.

When Broglie returned to the camp, the season was too far advanced for action; but notwithstanding, he resolved to attack prince Ferdinand's lines, who was well prepared to receive him. In that, however, he

miscarried, and was obliged to return to his camp, leaving the prince at full liberty to secure all his cantonments, while the army went into winter-quarters.

The hereditary prince of Brunswick, whose military glory was now beginning to shine in the most conspicuous light, had been detached, at the head of a party, into Saxony, in order to second the operations of the king of Prussia; and, during the time he was there, he behaved not only with courage, but also displayed such consummate knowledge as surprised all Europe.

On the fourteenth of November, both houses of parliament met at Westminster, by commission; and the lord-keeper informed the members, that his majesty had called them together in order that all public affairs should be laid before them; that their advice should be taken in every thing of importance; and that they might bestow some marks of their favour on those generals and admirals who, during the summer, had distinguished themselves with so much honour. He added, that nothing could give him greater pleasure than to see the public tranquillity restored; but that he would never make peace on terms which were dishonourable. He rejoiced to find that his beloved subjects lived in harmony under his government; and assured the commons, that although great sums of money had been granted for carrying on the war, yet none of them had been appropriated to private purposes, but the whole laid out in the uses for which they were designed. He concluded by recommending to them the general state of Europe, so far as the flames of war had been lighted; that all these nations had their eyes fixed upon them; and that he doubted not but they would contribute in the most liberal manner towards supporting the army and navy. Dutiful and loyal addresses were presented by both houses, and a perfect union took place between the ministry and the parliament.

Two of the royal family of Great-Britain died towards the close of this year. The princess of Orange, eldest daughter to his majesty king George II. died at the Hague, after a lingering illness that had confined her some months. She was a lady of extraordinary talents, and, as guardian for her son, she ruled with spirit and prudence. Besides the Latin, she was well acquainted with French, Spanish, Italian, and Low Dutch, and her leisure hours were spent in the company of learned men; so that, in most things, the princess was a striking image of her royal mother. The other branch of the royal family that paid the debt of nature, was the princess Elizabeth, second daughter of his royal highness Frederick prince of Wales, a young lady of an engaging aspect, and the most agreeable manners.

A. D. 1760. The first thing that engages our attention this year, is the proceedings of parliament, which were in all things satisfactory to the ministry. Seventy thousand men were allowed for the service of the royal navy, and three millions, six hundred and forty thousand pounds, were granted for maintaining them. It is unnecessary to mention all the particulars which were taken into consideration during this session of parliament; but certain it is, nothing was asked by the ministry that the commons refused. They granted a supply of fifteen millions, three thousand five hundred and sixty-three pounds, fifteen shillings and nine-pence halfpenny; more than could have been raised by any nation besides Britain; but however enormous, yet it was no more than what was necessary. The militia were this year raised in several counties, and put under proper regulations; so that there was no reason to fear that the internal peace of the kingdom would be disturbed.

The commons took into consideration the statute of the ninth of queen Anne, by which it is enacted, that no person shall be elected a knight of the shire, unless he is possessed of six hundred pounds per annum, or any one returned to serve as a burgess, unless he had three hundred. It seems that this act, however salutary, and calculated to promote the interest of the people,



people, by supporting the dignity of parliament, had been prostituted to the basest purposes; Methods had been found out to elude the force of it, and many persons had procured seats in the house of commons who were not qualified according to law.

To remedy an evil of so dangerous a nature, a bill was brought in, and passed both houses, by which it is enacted, that every person duly elected shall, previous to his taking the oaths, deliver in to the clerk a true estimate of his estate, and that shall be left to be inspected by any member who chuses, and the newly elected member shall swear to the truth of the contents.

Several other acts passed, particularly one for the regulation of the payment of prize-money due to seamen, which before had been left to the discretion of the commissioners of the navy. A bill was brought in, and passed, for regulating weights and measures, and proper provision was made for raising the sums granted to his majesty. After which, the parliament was prorogued by commission.

We have seen, in our account of last year's transactions, that, notwithstanding the vigilance of commodore Boys, yet M. de Thurot had made his escape out of the harbour of Dunkirk with five ships, having on board, besides seamen, above twelve hundred land forces. Proceeding to the northward, he entered the Baltic, and sailed to Gottenburgh, where having taken in fresh provisions, he returned, and anchored at Bergen, in Norway, for his design was to amuse the English, and, if possible, keep his real intentions hid from them.

The weather, as is usual in the northern seas, had been very stormy; and one of the ships in Thurot's squadron was separated from the rest, and obliged to return to France. With the four remaining ships, M. de Thurot sailed from Bergen on the fifth of December 1759; and having passed the Orkneys, he got among the western islands of Scotland, on one of which he landed on the sixteenth of January this year. There he procured some live cattle, with other sorts of fresh provisions, and then set sail for the north of Ireland. His design was to have got into the harbour of Derry; but a dreadful storm arising, another of his ships was driven off, and he never saw her afterwards, though it appears that she got safe back to France. At last they came to an anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus, and the same day the land forces were put on shore, but many of them were reduced to the most wretched condition by sickness and bad provisions.

The number of able men who bore arms amounted to little more than six hundred; and lieutenant Hall went off, with a party of men, to make proper observations on them, for as yet it was not known whether they were friends or enemies. Finding there was little doubt of their being French forces, he gave orders to his non-commissioned officers to take care that the enemy did not get round them to attack them in flank or rear; and then he returned to the town, and informed lieutenant-colonel Jennings.

The colonel ordered the gates and passes leading to the town to be blocked up and barricadoed with such materials as could be procured. In the mean time, the French came up to the gates, but were repulsed by a small number of Strobe's regiment, most of whom had not been three months in the service. It is probable that the place would not have been taken, had not there been a scarcity of ammunition; so that the parties at the gates were obliged to retreat, and take shelter in the castle. This gave the enemy an opportunity of getting in, and drawing up in the market-place, upon which it was found absolutely necessary to capitulate, and the garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war. It was stipulated, that no injury should be done to the town; but the magistrates having neglected, or rather being unable to furnish the French with fresh provisions, the town was put under military execution, and great excesses were committed.

An express having been sent to the duke of Bedford, at that time lord deputy of Ireland, he dispatched a messenger to captain Elliot at Kinsale, who immediately hoisted his flag on board the *Æolus*, having with him the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*; and on the twenty-sixth of February, he got sight of the enemy, who had embarked their land forces, in order to return to France. He came up with them near the Isle of Man, and a most desperate engagement ensued, which lasted an hour and a half; but at last the brave Thurot was killed, and his ships struck to captain Elliot.

In America, during the course of this year, the French spirited up some of the southern Indians against the English; and a company of these barbarians formed a scheme to murder Mr. Atkins, who superintended our commerce; and, to add to the atrociousness of the crime, it was intended to have been committed while Mr. Atkins was engaged in a conference with them. One of the Indians, in the most cowardly manner, laying hold of a tomahawk, struck Mr. Atkins on the head; but not having killed him, struck a second time, and missing his aim, wounded the clerk. It was necessary that an act of so atrocious a nature should not escape unnoticed; and therefore Mr. Atkins having dispatched an express to general Amherst, that officer detached twelve hundred men to South-Carolina, under the command of colonel Montgomery, now earl of Eglington, whose courage had shone conspicuously on many former occasions since the commencement of the war. In the month of June, he arrived at Charles-Town, and from thence proceeded to the Twelve Mile River, which he crossed about the latter end of that month. He encamped the forces on a rising ground, from whence he had a prospect of the country; and being determined to surprise the enemy, he left a sufficient number of men to take care of the tents; and with the rest marched through the woods, till he came to an Indian town called Little Keowee, where the Indians fired upon him; but the English soldiers rushing in, put every one of them to the sword. From thence the colonel marched to another Indian town, called Estatoe, consisting of about two hundred families; and they having abandoned their houses, he ordered every one of them to be set on fire, after having seized on all the provisions, and every thing of value.

The soldiers having found the body of an Englishman, who had been barbarously murdered by the Indians, it exasperated them to such a degree, that they resolved to set no bounds to their resentment. Accordingly, for some time, every prisoner taken by them was immediately put to death; and although humanity may blame their conduct in that affair, yet it was, in a manner, absolutely necessary, where they had to engage with savages, who paid no regard to the law of nations, and upon whose minds nothing less than terror would make any impression.

As it was not the intention of colonel Montgomery to spread desolation every where, he rather chose to enter into a treaty with them; and, for that purpose, an Indian, named Makullakulla, and more commonly known by the name of the Little Carpenter, was given to understand, that peace would be granted them on proper terms. The Little Carpenter was always a friend to the English, and disapproved of the conduct of his countrymen when they took up arms; so that no person was considered as more proper to negotiate an affair of such importance.

The Little Carpenter left nothing undone to persuade his countrymen, the Cherokees, to accommodate matters with the English; but not being able to persuade them to hearken to the voice of reason, the colonel continued his operations, and marched into the interior part of the country. As he was obliged to march through a wood, the Indians fired upon his men in so fierce a manner from behind the thickets, that captain Morrison was killed, and part of the army obliged to give way. This disaster, however



was soon overcome by the arrival of the grenadiers and light infantry, who pushed forwards till they came to a rising ground, from whence they discovered a body of the Indians encamped in the most secure manner. They attacked them with their bayonets at the head of their muskets, and having forced them to give way, pursued them into the woods; and then the colonel continued his march till he came to the Indian town Etchewee, from whence all the inhabitants had fled; so that there was plenty of provisions for the men, besides several things of value, for they were permitted to plunder.

In the latter end of July, colonel Montgomery, after having undergone many hardships, and lost about seventy men, arrived at fort Prince George, where the fatigued soldiers were permitted to refresh themselves several weeks. In the mean time, the Indians attacked Fort Loudon, on the confines of Virginia; and the garrison not being able to hold out, were obliged to capitulate on honourable terms. It is remarkable in the North-American savages, contrary to the practice of heathens in general, that they never pay any regard to the faith of treaties. Thus, when the garrison of Fort Loudon were on their march to Carolina, they were surprised by a body of the Cherokees, who massacred all the officers, except captain Stewart, and killed twenty-five of the private men, the rest being made prisoners, and sent into the heart of the country, where they were treated in the most cruel and inhuman manner, contrary to the articles of capitulation, by which it had been agreed that no hurt should be done to them.

The Little Carpenter, who seems to have been endowed with all those qualities which are necessary to constitute the character of a great man, generously laid down all he had in the world for the ransom of captain Stewart; and that officer having been conducted to Holston river, met with major Lewis, who had advanced so far at the head of a party of Virginians.

In North-America, during this year, the war was carried on with great vigour, and, at the same time, with equal success. The English were in possession of all Canada, except the town of Montreal, and some other forts on the river St. Laurence; and the chevalier de Levit, who commanded the French forces in those parts, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. General Murray, who had been left commander of that place, received notice of the approach of the enemy; and finding that they had landed, he ordered all the bridges to be broken down, and the roads rendered almost impassable. Next day the general began his march to meet them; but they retreated at his approach, upon which he returned to Quebec. Upon his retreat, the enemy, amounting to near twelve thousand, including the savages, having recovered their spirits, wheeled about, and marched towards Quebec: upon which general Murray, notwithstanding the inferiority of his numbers, resolved to give them battle. Accordingly he marched out, and a most bloody engagement ensued; but the French were so numerous, that general Murray was obliged to retreat, and take shelter within the walls of Quebec, which he determined to hold out to the last extremity. On the first of May, the enemy began to cannonade the place; but the garrison made such a vigorous defence, that several of the enemy's batteries were silenced, while the firing of the others continued to slacken gradually: but, notwithstanding, there is reason to believe that the garrison would have been obliged to surrender, had not lord Colville come to their assistance. That nobleman having sailed from Halifax, met with great opposition, by reason of the vast shoals of ice which blocked up the river, and the thick fogs, which, during that season, are very dangerous to the shipping. At last, through innumerable difficulties, he was enabled to send a vessel into the harbour of Quebec, to inform the general that the fleet was making way to assist him. On the fifteenth of May, commodore Swanton arrived with

the first division of the squadron; and next morning, in consequence of orders from the general, he attacked the French vessels which lay above the town, and destroyed several of them. This was a most mortifying stroke to the French army; and, in consequence thereof, they raised the siege, leaving behind them all their artillery and provisions. As soon as general Murray found that they had retreated, he drew out the garrison, in order to harass them in the rear; but they had crossed a river, so that it was not judged prudent to pursue them any farther.

During the whole of this year, general Amherst, commander in chief of the army in America, left nothing undone to support the honour and interest of his country; and all those officers and soldiers who fought under him, acted in such a manner, that many of the Indians were brought over to our interest, and became our allies.

While these affairs were transacting in America, the French and the allied army continued skirmishing with each other in Germany; and although no general could have behaved with greater courage, or displayed more shining qualities, than prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, yet the country had been so much exhausted, that his army was greatly distressed for want of provisions. The hereditary prince of Brunswick, burning for military glory, boldly attacked a large party of the French at Corbach, and would have totally defeated them, had not fresh reinforcements come up to their assistance. This obliged the prince to retreat, but within a few days afterwards, he engaged another party of the French, and, by the assistance of Elliot's light horse, five battalions were made prisoners of war. At the same time, their military chest fell into the hands of the allies, with all their arms and ammunition: and, what was most remarkable, this victory was wholly owing to the bravery of a new regiment of light horse, composed of young recruits who had never before seen an engagement.

Prince Ferdinand, who was much better acquainted with the country than any of the French generals, harassed their army in detached parties; and at last found himself under the necessity of coming to an engagement at a place called Warbourg, where the French were totally defeated; so that a communication was opened between Hanover, Westphalia, and the allied army.

In less than a week after this engagement, the hereditary prince set out on an expedition, with a chosen body of light troops; and, in the most courageous manner, beat up the French quarters, and drove them from Dymel with great slaughter.

In the eastern part of Germany, the king of Prussia was in the most distressed situation; but his brother prince Henry, one of the most accomplished generals of the age, acted with such prudence and circumspection, that he contributed, in a great measure, towards retarding the progress of the Russians, who, by this time, had made an irruption into the province of Silesia, and were spreading devastation wherever they came, without regard to age or sex, or any other distinction.

The Prussian monarch was every where engaged; for no sooner had he defeated one party of the enemy, than another started up; while count Daun, who watched all his motions, continued to harass his rear whenever his army struck their tents. This brought on a general engagement near Torgau, on the banks of the Elbe, which gave a new turn to the affairs of Europe, and was attended with consequences of the most important nature.

Marshal Daun was flushed with success; he looked upon the king of Prussia as one devoted to destruction, and imagined that one action more would totally ruin him. But nothing is more uncertain than the fate of generals and armies, nor are any in so much danger as those who look upon their enemy with contempt. The king of Prussia was now almost desperate; he had no where to turn himself, without meeting with one enemy or another to oppose him; his hereditary



hereditary dominions were in a manner ruined, his most important forts were taken from him, and therefore, with the same presence of mind that had supported him under all his difficulties, he ventured upon an engagement.

Marshal Daun had drawn up his army in the most excellent order; but notwithstanding that, the king of Prussia ventured to attack him on the third day of November, about two in the afternoon. The Austrians exerted themselves with great bravery; but the perseverance of the Prussians obliged them to give way, and count Daun found himself under the necessity of retreating towards Bohemia, after he had lost a great number of his men.

Thus the Prussians were left in possession of the field, and a communication was opened between their different parties, so that they could occasionally assist each other. Indeed, of all the victories gained by the king of Prussia, this was the most important; for had he been defeated, he would have been totally ruined. He was like one who had his way to work through walls, redoubts, and enchantments; but by his conduct on this ever memorable day, he set himself, as it were, at liberty, and even became greater than ever. His army received fresh supplies, provisions were brought to them in great plenty; and although many of his soldiers were only raw young fellows, yet the conduct of their sovereign operated so strongly on their minds, that nothing seemed too difficult for them.

While the public affairs were conducting in this manner, while the British arms were crowned with success in every part of the world where they were engaged, her triumphs were in some measure damped by the loss of that person whose presence gave life to them. The venerable George the second, who had been blessed with a longer life than any king of England since the Norman conquest, was on the morning of the twenty-fifth of October, seized with a fit in his palace at Kensington, and expired without either pangs or convulsions. His majesty had got up at his usual hour, and having drank a dish of chocolate, he enquired of the page concerning the weather, being anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails. He then signified his intention of walking in the garden; but had scarce uttered the words when he fell down, and before his daughter, the princess Amelia, could come to assist him, according to his desire, he died in the arms of his servants.

His majesty was in the seventy-seventh year of his age, well shaped, of a middling stature, and a bright countenance. In his natural temper as a man, he was apt to be passionate and hasty; but in his public conduct, no prince acted with more deliberation and coolness. In all his intentions he appears to have been sincere; for when he entered into any public treaty, nothing could induce him to recede from his engagements. The servants in his household, particularly those who were more immediately about his person, were seldom changed, they lived to have grey hairs like their royal master. From this circumstance we may infer, that whatever he was in his private character as a man of a passionate disposition, yet notwithstanding he must have been a good master. That he was a tender and an indulgent parent, is evident from the whole of his behaviour to his children; and to his royal consort, who, indeed, was an ornament to her sex. In public, with respect to party disputes, the king was, during the first years of his reign, strongly attached to a minister whose conversation he delighted in, and whose abilities he esteemed; but when he found it necessary, in order to silence the public clamour, to dismiss him from his service, he never afterwards gave himself much concern who were to be his ministers. He was perfectly acquainted with the interests of the several courts of Europe, and never took up arms till in a manner he was forced to it. By his conduct the dominions of the house of Austria were prevented from being dismembered, and many millions were expended for

that purpose; his majesty well knowing that the safety of Europe, and the interest of the protestant religion depended on preventing the French coming into Germany. But notwithstanding his zeal in favour of the Austrian family, yet he remained no longer their friend than they were the friends of the empire; from which we may conclude that he had a good heart, and a clear as well as a solid understanding.

All party distinctions were buried in oblivion at the time of his death; and those unfortunate young gentlemen, whose fathers had been concerned in the rebellion, were provided for either in the army or navy. Such as were disaffected to the government, blamed his majesty for a partial attachment to his German dominions, without considering that he never neglected to attend to the affairs of Britain. Born and educated in Hanover, it was natural for him to love that country. He lived in it till he was in the thirty-second year of his age, so that he never attained a perfect knowledge of the English language; a circumstance that has been much dwelt on by some late authors, who from thence infer, that he was not a friend to learning. Nothing, however, can be more false; for it is well known that he established the famous university of Gottingen, on the most extensive plan, and filled the chairs with professors of such abilities, that he lived to see it the most shining seminary in Europe. He ordered all the books that had been collected by the kings of England since the time of Henry VII. to be deposited in the British Museum, and there he ordered to be deposited all the manuscript letters written by any of our sovereigns, from the death of Edward III. to the death of queen Anne. Queen's College in Oxford, was in a manner almost rebuilt at his expense, and many new professorships were added both to the English and Scotch universities. Let history be ransacked from the most early ages, few princes will be found like George II. who could unite, in his own person, two virtues totally opposite, namely, that of being able to conduct the affairs of two different governments. In Hanover, though possessed of absolute unlimited power, yet he exerted that power in making his subjects happy, and was considered by them as an indulgent parent. In Britain, where his conduct was circumscribed by law, he acted like a wise magistrate, and never undertook any thing of importance, till he had first consulted his parliament, by whose advice he was constantly directed.

Upon the whole, if George II. was not so brilliant in what was commonly called wit, yet he had the most solid judgment, which, perhaps, is a thousand times superior. He grew up, as it were, to an advanced age in the love of his subjects both at home and abroad; every year made him more beloved than the last; and when he paid the debt of nature, one tear was shed for him; or, in other words, the whole nation mourned at once. He left a most glorious example to his successor, which it is hoped he will never deviate from; and, in general, his subjects were rich and happy.

With respect to the state of learning during this long reign, it continued advancing towards perfection. Many great men made their appearance in the literary world, and although they did not make such a shining figure as some have done in the present reign, yet they laid a foundation for the noblest improvements in every art or science. Simpson, Saunderson, and M'Laurin carried the knowledge of the mathematics to an height unknown before. Physic and natural history were cultivated by many learned gentlemen, among whom were Dr. Mead and Sir Hans Sloane, and the Doctors Warburton and Newton stood forth in defence of Divine Revelation. In a word, the reign of George II. produced many great men, some of whom are now bright ornaments to their country, while such as are dead, have left behind them the most illustrious examples.



## B O O K XVI.

From the death of George II.

## G E O R G E III.

A. D. 1760. **G**EORGE III. succeeded his grandfather in the twenty-third year of his age, after having received a liberal education. The privy-council was immediately assembled, when his majesty informed the members that he was determined to act on the same principles as his royal grandfather, and that he had no other intention but that of promoting the happiness of his people. His majesty then took the oaths to maintain the church of Scotland as by law established; and having signed two instruments for that purpose, one of them was deposited among the archives of the council, and the other transmitted to Edinburgh, to be recorded in the court of session. The next thing done by his majesty was to assemble both houses of parliament, not to transact any business but that of swearing in the members, whose oaths of allegiance were become absolved by the death of the late king. The duke of Rutland, being constituted high-steward, swore in all the commons; and the lord-keeper administered the oaths to the peers. It is almost impossible to conceive the satisfaction that the subjects, in general, expressed at the conduct of their young sovereign, and his many virtues made them almost forget the loss they had sustained by the death of his royal predecessor.

On the eighteenth of November, both houses of parliament met, and the king was conducted to the house amidst the acclamations of a brave and loyal people. In his speech he told them, that he was sensible of their loss in the death of his grandfather, but that it should be the whole study of his life to make them happy, by promoting their interests both at home and abroad. He solicited the assistance of all his subjects in general, as he was determined to act in such a manner as was consistent with his duty both to God and men. He rejoiced that he was born and educated in this island, and that the name of a Briton was to him superior to all others. The vast success that had attended our army and navy were both attended to, and his majesty requested that the commons would grant the necessary supplies.

Addressees from both houses, full of the most loyal expressions, were presented to his majesty, and the commons granted the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, to defray the expences of the civil list.

A. D. 1761. The first thing done by the parliament, after the holidays were over, was to pass an act in favour of insolvent debtors; who, in consequence of giving up all their effects, were to be discharged by the justices at the quarter-sessions. No act was ever brought into the house at a more seasonable juncture; for the prisons were filled with poor unfortunate creatures, whose wives and children were starving. This act, however, had in it a clause, attended with such consequences, that it was found necessary to repeal it. It was imagined that every creditor might compel a debtor to give up his effects, and if he concealed any of them, to the amount of twenty pounds, he was to suffer death as a felon. This clause was laid hold of by many of the lower sorts of tradesmen, who, in order to cheat their creditors, got one of their own relations to compel them to account; so that a door was opened for perjury,

and many persons were deprived of their property under the prostituted authority of an act of parliament. Indeed, the abuse became so glaring, that the city of London presented a petition to have it repealed; but it did not take place till the meeting of the new parliament.

The king sent a message to both houses, importing, that as nothing could contribute more towards promoting the interests of the people, than that of rendering the judges independent, so he desired they would grant him leave to advance their salaries, and that they should hold their places by patent for life; for by the act of settlement at the revolution, they were to expire within six months after the death of the king. In consequence of this message, the salaries of the nine puisne judges in England were advanced from fifteen hundred, to two thousand pounds and the three chiefs in proportion. In Scotland, the lord president, instead of one thousand pounds a year, was allowed thirteen hundred; the lords of session seven hundred instead of five; and the lords of justice, one thousand instead of seven hundred.

On the continent of Europe most of the powers engaged in the war, were desirous to propose preliminaries for a lasting peace; but in Germany, the armies continued to fight in detached parties. For this purpose several ambassadors were sent to different courts, and among the rest, M. de Bussy came over from Paris to London, in order to adjust matters concerning our disputes in America, and Mr. Stanley went on the same errand to Paris. Some months were spent in negotiations, without coming to any conclusion; when the French, by delusive promises, brought the king of Spain to concur with them in the prosecution of the war.

In the mean time the island of Bellisle was taken from the French by general Hodgson, and a squadron of ships of the line, commanded by commodore Keppel; but this conquest was not obtained without great difficulties, for the English lost near two thousand men.

In Germany, prince Ferdinand with the allied army penetrated into Thuringia, and drove the French from several of their advanced posts; but the duke de Broglie, having collected his army together, attacked the hereditary prince of Brunswick, and made above two thousand of his men prisoners of war.

In the East-Indies, colonel Coote, in conjunction with admiral Stevens, took the French town of Pondicherry, by which the French lost all their settlements on the coast of Coromandel. This was a sudden and most unexpected blow, which ruined the French commerce; for although they left nothing undone to stir up the mogul in their favour, yet the bravery of the English overcame all their attempts, and they were beaten in every quarter.

The British arms in America were still triumphant, so that our ministry had it in their power to make peace on what conditions they pleased; but we must now turn our thoughts to another subject.

In the month of July his majesty, having assembled the privy-council, declared to them his intention of marrying the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, a young lady possessed of every valuable accomplishment,





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accomplishment, and the admiration of all those who had the pleasure of being acquainted with her. The council were so well satisfied with his majesty's choice, that they not only commended it, but at the same time desired that he would make it public to all his subjects; and accordingly, a proclamation was inserted in the Gazette, intimating, that the obligation he was under to his people, induced him to fix his mind on a princess, whom he intended to make his consort; in order to promote the interest of the protestant religion consistent with the act of settlement.

The earl of Harcourt was then sent over ambassador extraordinary, to marry the princess by proxy, which being done, lord Anson was dispatched with the royal yachts, and a small squadron of ships to convey her to England. The ladies employed to attend the princess, were the dutchesses of Hamilton and Ancafer; and on the eighth of August the fleet set sail from Stade, amidst the acclamations of the people. The wind, having shifted to the south, the passage was very tedious, and most of the ladies on board were taken extremely ill; but the princess maintained such a flow of spirits and vivacity, that she charmed all those who approached her.

In the afternoon of the seventh of September, the squadron came to an anchor at Harwich, and the princess, with her retinue, being landed, she proceeded on her journey through Colchester, and lodged that night at Witham, a seat belonging to the earl of Abercorn. Vast crouds of people came to see her, and next day she was met at Rumford by the king's coaches, escorted by a party of the horse-guards. From Rumford she proceeded, through innumerable crouds of people, to Whitechapel; and without entering the city, turned up towards the New Road, and so on till she came to the gate of St. James's, where she was received by the duke of Devonshire, as lord-chamberlain of the household. She was then conducted by the duke of York to the king, who received her in the most affectionate manner; and at nine in the evening the nuptial ceremony was performed in the Chapel Royal, by Dr. Secker, archbishop of Canterbury. On the twenty-second of September their majesty's were crowned in the abbey church of Westminster, and addresses of congratulation were sent up from all the cities and corporations in the kingdom.

In the mean time the war was carried on with great fury between the allies and the French, for the latter were so impoverished, and all their funds so exhausted, that they knew not what to do, unless by one bold stroke they should force a way into Hanover. The duke de Broglie resolved to attack the advanced posts under the command of the marquis of Granby; but the prince of Brunswick had notice of his intentions, and took his measures accordingly. The allied army was drawn up with great judgment, and stretched in one continued line over several rising grounds; being flanked on one side by the river Aest, and on the other by a morass. Towards the evening of the sixteenth of July, the French began the attack; but the allies, who behaved with the greatest bravery, drove them back, and forced them to take shelter in the woods. In the mean time the allies, finding that the French intended to come to a general engagement, prepared to meet them; and next morning at three o'clock, both armies were drawn up. The firing continued about five hours, till the French, having taken possession of a rising ground on the flank of the British horse, began to erect a battery upon it; but the prince of Brunswick sent a fresh body of foot to dislodge them, and then they fell into confusion. Vast numbers of the French were killed; but prince Ferdinand had drawn up his men in so advantageous a situation, that he did not lose above five hundred.

This battle was fought near the village of Werle; and did great honour to the prince, as well as all the officers and soldiers in the allied army. It was not, however, decisive; for the French still seemed in-

exhaustable in numbers. They were continually receiving new reinforcements, so that the prince was obliged to exert himself to the utmost to oppose them.

The prince de Soubise was detached towards Munster, with a view of besieging that city; and as the prince of Brunswick was obliged to watch the motions of marshal Broglie, several smart skirmishes happened between the advanced parties; but the allies seemed, in general, to gain the advantage. The prince of Brunswick was so well acquainted with the country, and had formed such a proper judgment of the designs of the French, that he marched first towards Hesse, and then, by a movement to the left, wheeled about towards Paderborn, by which he was prepared to meet marshal Broglie whenever he thought proper to advance. The French, during this time, took several small towns, and committed great cruelties, besides demanding very heavy contributions. Prince Ferdinand found it absolutely necessary to keep his army together, lest they should have been weakened by separation; and although he could not act offensively, yet the situation of his camp was such, that it would have been dangerous for the enemy to attack him, especially as he was well supplied with provisions.

During the month of June this year, the island of Dominique, in the West-Indies, was taken from the French, by a party of English forces under the command of lord Rollo, and assisted by commodore Sir James Douglas, with four ships of the line. At first the inhabitants would have submitted, but M. de Longprie, the governor, stirred them up to hold out, under pretence that some ships would soon arrive to their assistance.

Lord Rollo, finding him obstinate, landed with a party of grenadiers, commanded by colonel Melville, and drove the enemy from their advanced posts, after which they proceeded to the head quarters of the governor, whom they took prisoner with all his officers. Next day the magistrates, and indeed all the inhabitants of the island, except the soldiers, took the oaths to our government. The forts that had been damaged were repaired, and every thing settled in a proper manner; after which lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas set sail for the island of Guadalupe.

The Spaniards had now, in some measure, pulled off the mask; and as their designs could be no longer concealed, Mr. Pitt proposed in council, that a fleet should be sent to intercept their fleet, that was coming from the West Indies, but this was opposed by the majority of members. This great minister, by whose wisdom and integrity the British arms had become successful in every part of the globe, was well convinced that his opinion was of too much importance to be slighted; and therefore he resigned all his employments. Certain it is, that no man was ever better qualified to conduct the affairs of government than Mr. Pitt. To a liberal education, he had joined an extensive reading; and his conduct in parliament convinced the British senate, that his memory was equal to his judgment and eloquence. His majesty was so sensible of the vast abilities of this great man, that he settled on him a pension of three thousand pounds per annum, for life, and for the life of his son; his lady being, at the same time, created a peeress in her own right.

On the third of November the new parliament assembled, and Mr. Onslow, who had been speaker thirty-three years, resigned on account of his great age and infirmities. The commons having elected Sir John Cust in his room, the king approved of their choice; and then going to the house, delivered a speech to the following import:

He told them, that the success of the British arms must give pleasure to all his faithful subjects; and as the enemy still refused to hearken to proper conditions of peace, he was determined to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour; and for that purpose

doubted



doubted not but the commons would assist him with the proper supplies. He told them, that the proper estimates should be laid before them, and that the utmost œconomy should be observed by himself. He concluded by recommending to them the making a suitable provision for the queen, who was, in every respect, an ornament to her sex: and, in answer to this speech, both houses presented most loyal addresses.

The earl of Bristol, who had been some time at the court of Spain, was ordered to demand why they committed depredations on our commercial navy; but the answers he received were no better than evasions. The earl finding that no dependence could be placed on what the Spanish ministry said, returned to England; and the count de Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador, left London, after having delivered a memorial to the secretary of state, wherein he attempted to justify the conduct of his court.

A. D. 1762. The first thing of national importance undertaken this year, was the granting of letters to our captains of ships, to make reprisals on the Spaniards; and in two days afterwards, namely, on the fourth of January, war was declared. On the nineteenth the king went to the house of peers, and laid before the parliament the whole of his proceedings in this affair; upon which they promised to assist him in the war to the utmost, being convinced that his designs were just.

A large fleet had failed from Portsmouth in October the preceding year, in order to attack such of the French settlements in the West-Indies as had not been subdued; and the whole fleet, with the transports, were ordered to rendezvous at Barbadoes. There they were joined by some transports from North-America, having on board a considerable number of land-forces, their design being to attempt the conquest of the valuable island of Martinico. This was one of the most important objects the ministry had in view; for, besides the intrinsic wealth of the island, it was the center of all the French trade and commerce in the West-Indies. The towns and harbours were strongly fortified; and the roads in the interior part of the island were guarded by militia, and defended by redoubts. The attempt was attended with every danger that could be imagined; for the climate was extremely hot; and the fresh water being scarce, there was reason to fear that both the seamen and soldiers would be thrown into fluxes, which would prove more detrimental to them than the force of the enemy.

The fleet was under the command of admiral Rodney; and general Monkton, who had so bravely distinguished himself in North-America, conducted the land-forces, amounting to eighteen battalions, but many of the companies were not full. On the eighth of January, they came to an anchor in the bay of St. Ann, near the eastern part of the island, where the men of war silenced some batteries which had been erected by the French; but the general being of opinion that it was not a proper place to land the forces, the colonels Grant and Haviland were sent, with two brigades, under a proper convoy, to the bay of Petiteanse, where they took a strong battery from the enemy. On the sixteenth, the whole army on board the transports being come up, the general landed them without opposition, but found the roads almost impassable. On the twenty-fourth, the general attacked a fort that guarded one of the passes leading to Port-Royal, and took it, after a most obstinate resistance, while colonel Grant stormed the advanced posts.

The British forces marched on with such rapidity, that, in two days, they were in possession of all the out-works which defended the citadel: upon which the governor, finding himself unable to hold out the place any longer, consented to capitulate. On the eighth of February, the English being in possession of the gates, the garrison, amounting to about eight hundred men, were suffered to march out with all the honours of war; but the governor-general of the

island, who resided at St. Pierre, declared that he would defend the place to the last extremity. This, however, was only a vain bravado; for the English, having made themselves masters of all the other parts of the island, prepared to attack that place, when deputies were sent to the general, offering to capitulate. By these means, not only the valuable island of Martinico became the property of Great-Britain, but, at the same time, it opened a way for the conquest of the smaller islands and settlements adjoining to it.

An important object now presented itself to the British ministry, namely, that of carrying the war against Spain into the West-Indies, from whence all their riches are derived. The Havannah, the center of their Indian commerce, was at that time strongly defended, and it was reckoned impossible to take it; but nothing was too difficult for the British forces to undertake. Nineteen ships of the line, with many smaller vessels, were fitted out, under the command of admiral Pocock; and about ten thousand land-forces, commanded by the earl of Albemarle.

Perhaps no expedition was ever attended with more dangerous consequences, nor any conducted with greater prudence. At first, the admiral intended to have landed on the south side of the island of Cuba, where it was supposed he might fall in with the Spanish galleons; but that opinion was over-ruled in a council of war, and the fleet continued on a course of seven hundred miles, in a very dangerous sea.

The admiral had no pilot to direct him; but being in possession of an excellent chart of those seas, taken by lord Anson, he depended on his own judgment, and dispatched a ship to make proper enquiries whether there was a probability of passing. On the return of the ship, the admiral ordered the fleet to weigh anchor, and hoist sail, continuing under way, in three divisions, consisting of the ships of the line, the frigates, and the transports. On the ninth of June, they got out of these dangerous seas, and came within sight of St. Jago, on the eastern extremity of the island of Cuba. St. Jago is the capital of Cuba; but although the courts of justice are held there, yet the Havannah is the seat of commerce, and, consequently, of the utmost importance. From St. Jago the fleet continued their voyage to the Havannah; but when they arrived there, they found they had more difficulties to encounter than they had as yet imagined.

The passage to the harbour is extremely narrow, and above half a mile in length, at the end of which is a large basin, in which a thousand ships may ride in safety. On the one side of the narrow passage is the Moro Castle, a strong fort built for the defence of the place, and to prevent any ships from coming in but such as have passports. To the westward of the harbour stands the town, strongly fortified with a parapet, redoubts and bastions; the whole being surrounded by a ditch, and cannon placed every where. Indeed, the difficulties they had to encounter seemed insurmountable; and the admiral, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, bore away, with a large part of the fleet, to the westward, where he made as if he would have landed; while commodore Keppel and captain Hervey landed the forces on the east of the harbour without the loss of a man, although the Spaniards had a considerable fleet then lying at anchor, which might have done them great damage.

The earl of Albemarle divided the army into eight brigades; one of which, under the command of general Elliot, was ordered to march up the country, in order to prevent any supplies being sent to the town, and to cover the siege in the rear. General Keppel and colonel Howe were ordered to make a diversion on the west of the town; while the general, with the main body of the forces, attacked the Moro Castle, that being the grand object in view, because it defended the entrance to the harbour.

Those who will compare the account of this famous siege with the retreat of Xenophon, or the passage of Hannibal over the Alps, will prefer the valour of the



the British troops to that of either the Greeks or Carthaginians. There was no fresh water to be had; and as the men were obliged to cut their way through woods, and drag the cannon along with them, so many of them died on the spot through the heat of the climate, and the fatigues they underwent in the service of their country. But courage and perseverance overcame all difficulties; for batteries were erected in the night on the rising grounds, to cover the approaches, and make way for the reduction of the place. To do justice to the Spaniards, it must be acknowledged that they defended the place with great bravery, and, for some time, the fire was, in a manner, equal on both sides. On the twenty-ninth of June, in the evening, they made a sally; but although they acted with great courage and resolution, they were obliged to retreat, with the loss of above three hundred men.

All the batteries being now opened, the admiral ordered the Cambridge, the Dragon, and the Marlborough, to sail up to the fort, under the command of captain Hervey; and then a most dreadful firing began. The Spanish artillery was well conducted, and it would seem that the best officers under their government had been at that time in the Havannah. As the Moro Castle was situated on a high rock, the ships could not, after seven hours firing, make the least impression on it.

In this attack, the English lost one hundred and fifty men; which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that, besides the Moro Castle, they had another battery playing upon them from an opposite fort, which galled them excessively; so that they were obliged to retire, otherwise they would have been destroyed. Among those killed in this hazardous attempt, was captain Goofrey, a brave officer, who had, on many former occasions, given the most signal proofs of his courage; but duty, and the love of glory, were the sole objects he had in view.

No sooner were the English men of war gone to rejoin the fleet, than the Spaniards turned their attention to the eastern part of the fort, and resolved to hold out to the last extremity; so that the English officers found the reduction of the place would be a work of time. Indeed, an unforeseen accident happened at this time, which tended, in a great measure, towards retarding their operations, namely, the destruction of a battery, which took fire by the explosion of a mortar. Sickness likewise rendered many of the men incapable of acting, and the few who remained in health were fatigued beyond description. Add to this, the want of fresh provisions, the heat of the climate, and the insupportable fatigues which both officers and men underwent, by which many gave themselves up to despair, and sunk under the load of their misery.

About this time, however, they received a very seasonable supply; for a fleet arrived from New-York, and another from Jamaica, having on board a large quantity of provisions, which gave new life and spirits both to the army and navy.

It was now evident that no time was to be lost, and that, unless an immediate attack was made, the men would become dispirited, and the whole enterprise sink into nothing. It was therefore agreed, that the miners should be employed; but they had a deep ditch to cross, so that it was with the utmost difficulty they got over it, and entrenched themselves under a rock, where they were not perceived by the enemy.

The governor of the Havannah, sensible that the English would make themselves masters of the Moro Castle, unless he could send fresh reinforcements to it, ordered twelve hundred men to be put on board the boats in the harbour, and to land and attack the English. Accordingly these men landed, and attacked our forces in three different places, but with so little success, that upwards of four hundred were left dead on the spot; some were drowned, and the rest, with

much difficulty, saved themselves, by getting into their boats.

On the thirtieth of July, the miners blew up a part of the wall, by which a breach was made; and although it was small, yet the engineers were of opinion that the army might attack it. The English troops now mounted the breach in such good order, that the enemy became intimidated, after above four hundred of them had been killed; among whom was the marquis de Gonsales, the second in command, a brave officer, who had exerted himself to the utmost during the siege, and died animating the soldiers to defend the place. The same fate happened to Don Lewis de Velasco, the commander in chief, who disdaining to ask quarters, collected as many men as yet remained, and making a stand with them, received a mortal wound while holding out his sword to the conquerors.

The English being now in possession of the fort, which had cost them the lives of many brave men, during a siege of forty-four days, turned the cannon against the town. Several batteries were, at the same time, erected on the rising grounds near the town; and the earl of Albemarle being willing to save as many lives as possible, sent a message to the governor, desiring him to surrender, as it would be in vain to hold out any longer; but the governor, though he returned a polite answer to the earl, yet refused to comply, declaring that he would hold it out to the last extremity.

Immediately the firing began on both sides; but in little more than six hours, all the artillery belonging to the enemy were silenced, and a flag of truce hung out, to the great joy both of the army and navy, who were in the utmost distress for want of provisions.

The garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war: and thus the whole island of Cuba was given up to Great-Britain on the fourteenth of August. The enemy lost their whole fleet that was in the harbour; a sum of money, amounting to three millions, was taken by the victors; and the commerce of Spain in the West-Indies was, for some time, totally ruined.

About this time, two English frigates took a rich Spanish ship near Cadiz; and having carried her into Gibraltar, found her cargo to consist of near twelve millions of money, besides many valuable articles of merchandize. These were mortifying strokes to the Spaniards, who had been led into a war without any apparent necessity, merely by the intrigues of the French, whose commerce had been totally ruined by the English cruizers. It was therefore resolved upon, in the court of Madrid, that the kingdom of Portugal, with whom we were in the strictest alliance, should be invaded; and a body of forces marched towards the frontiers, in order to distress the inhabitants.

The parliament met on the twenty-fifth day of November; and his majesty, going to the house of peers, opened the session, by telling them, that nothing was more desirable to him than a lasting peace, procured on such honourable terms as would secure the happiness of his people. For that purpose, he had once more condescended to renew the negotiation that had been broken off before; and he spoke of the conduct of his army and navy in the highest terms of applause. He took notice, that he had been obliged to send an armed force to support his good ally the king of Portugal, who was threatened by the whole Spanish army, in consequence of the intrigues of the French, who, notwithstanding their numerous losses, seemed still averse to peace. He concluded by telling the commons, that nothing gave him so much unhappiness as the consideration that his subjects were burdened with taxes; but then there was a necessity for it, otherwise it would have been impossible to have defeated the enemies schemes, and rendered their undertakings abortive.



At this time the duke of Bedford was sent over to France in consequence of the rage of party spirit at home, and preliminaries for a general peace were signed at Fontainebleau, and afterwards laid before the commons on the ninth of December. It was expected that these preliminaries would have been severely censured; but they were approved of without much opposition, which increased the public discontent more than ever.

On the twelfth of August, this year, the queen was delivered of a son, who was soon after created prince of Wales, and still lives admired by the people, who expect that he will one day sway the scepter of these kingdoms.

All Europe was now longing for peace; Spain had been brought into a snare, and Germany was drenched with blood; France was reduced to beggary, and the king of Prussia, who had weathered many storms, and still supported his ground against all his enemies, found his treasury exhausted, and his country in a manner depopulated. Britain alone was vigorous, for all opposition had given way to our arms; and therefore we had reason to expect peace upon whatever terms we thought proper to prescribe.

A. D. 1763. The first thing of any importance that took place during the beginning of this year was the treaty of peace concluded at Paris, on the tenth day of February. By this treaty there was to be a general release of prisoners not then exchanged, and they were to be sent home to their respective countries, at the expence of the sovereign who had them in custody. Canada, Nova-Scotia, and the island of Cape Breton, were ceded to Great Britain; and it was stipulated, that the inhabitants should enjoy the free exercise of the Roman catholic religion, in the same way as if they had been under the French government. All such of the inhabitants as did not chuse to live under the British government, were to have liberty to dispose of their estates, and to remove with their families to any part they thought proper; only that they were obliged, consistent with the principles of equity and common sense, to pay such debts as they had contracted.

The river Mississippi was to be the boundary between the British and French colonies in North America; and in the West-Indies, the king of Great Britain gave up to the French the conquered islands of Martinico and Guadalupe, with all the smaller ones depending on them. The island of Bellisle was given in exchange for Minorca; and the Grenades, with all the other islands depending on them, were ceded to Britain. All our conquests on the river of Senegal, were confirmed to us; and in the East Indies part of the French settlements were restored, and part were retained. The French were obliged to give up such places as they had taken possession of in Germany; and in consequence of the king of Spain's giving up all pretension to Florida, and ceding it to the English, the Havannah, with the whole island of Cuba, were to be restored. The king of Prussia was to remain in the same condition he was in before the commencement of the war; and the same was to take place with respect to the empress queen.

Such were the principal articles in this treaty of peace, and much has been said both for and against it. On the one hand, it has been asserted, that as we had, at a vast expence of blood and treasure, reduced the French nation to a state of beggary, so we ought, in order to keep them humble, to have retained all the conquests to ourselves; for by so doing, their commerce being effectually ruined, they would not have been able for many years to give us the least disturbance. On the other hand, it was urged, by such as were friends to the peace, that the advantage to Britain was very great, and that we had not only regained the island of Minorca, but that we had acquired the most extensive territories in North America and the West Indies, which, if cultivated in a proper manner, would turn out to the advantage of the mother-country. It was urged further, that had

we insisted on retaining all, we might have lost all. The body would have been too large for the head, and the inhabitants being mostly French, they would have been obliged to keep up a large standing army to enforce the execution of the laws, and promote good order among the people.

Such were the arguments used by the parties who took place at that time, and the reader is left to judge for himself, especially as the affair is too recent to be critically animadverted upon. Certain it is, that a great many arguments may be used on both sides; but the business of an historian is, to relate facts, and leave the public to draw from them what inferences they think proper.

On the nineteenth of April his majesty went to the house of peers, and in a speech from the throne, expressed the utmost satisfaction, that they had approved of the treaty of peace, and that, in consequence thereof the horrors of war were now at an end. He added, that notwithstanding the increase of his family, yet he would observe the strictest economy, and that his attention should be placed on promoting the happiness of his people.

As no men, whether soldiers or sailors, had ever behaved better than the English during this war, so the first object the legislative power had in view was to bestow upon them some marks of favour. Grants of lands were made to those who chose to settle in the conquered countries of North America; and by these prudent methods, many persons, who would otherwise have been an intolerable burthen to the nation, were decently provided for, and usefully employed. This was most certainly an act of great humanity, and it is hoped will, in the end, be of the utmost service to the mother-country; for the native French and civilized Indians in those countries, will become familiarized to the English government, the freedom of enquiry in religious matters will destroy the bigotry and superstition of the Roman catholics, and gradually vanish away, while commerce will be cultivated as long as a good understanding subsists between the mother-country and the colonies.

With respect to the affairs of the continent during this year, most nations who had been engaged in the war, were employed in healing their bleeding wounds, or, in other words, they were endeavouring to repair such losses as they had sustained.

The empress of Russia, who had succeeded her husband Peter II. was establishing schools and universities in her dominions, and learned men were invited from all parts of Europe to come and preside over them. Nor was she less attentive to commercial affairs; for she established factories at Astracan on the Volga, and Archangel on the White Sea. In Germany, the king of Prussia, ever attentive to the interests of his subjects, was employed in granting many immunities and privileges to the soldiers who had served him during the war, and in promoting agriculture. He had established a factory at Embden in Friedland; but Hanover laying between that province and his hereditary dominions, it could not be improved in a proper manner.

The Dutch continued in their old tract of avarice, the drudges of all nations, and not friends to any. France, Spain, and Portugal, underwent no material changes, and in Italy every thing was quiet. In England party disputes ran very high, as they had continued to do ever since Mr. Pitt had resigned the seals as secretary of state. A political paper having made its appearance, great offence was taken at it, and a general warrant was issued to take the author, printers and publishers, into custody. But the greatest blunder was, that no name was inserted in the body of the warrant, only that the messenger had verbal orders, to take the person of Mr. Wilkes, at that time member for Aylesbury, in Buckinghamshire. However iniquitous and even stupid this action was, yet it had been long practised by ministers of state, and began to be considered as law. But notwithstanding the practice seemed sanctified by long



long custom, yet no sooner did Mr. Wilkes find himself injured, than he moved the court of Common-Pleas for a writ of Habeas-Corpus. The writ being served on the deputy-governor of the Tower, where Mr. Wilkes was confined, he brought his prisoner to Westminster-hall, where council was heard both for and against the legality of the commitment. Notice was taken in court, that Mr. Wilkes had been confined a close prisoner, that his friends had been denied admittance to him, nor had he been so much as allowed the use of pen, ink or paper. Upon that the judges reprimanded the governor, and as they could not give judgment on that day, he was ordered back to the Tower, where his friends and lawyers were to have free access to him.

On the sixth of May, being again brought to the bar, the lord chief-justice delivered the opinion of the court; namely, that the prisoner must be discharged, and that as some illegal actions had been practised in the commitment, he was desired to bring his action at common law for a trespass, in order to recover damages.

A.D. 1764. This year naturally opens with the history of the then state of America; for although peace had been concluded, yet the French, ever restless, had stirred up several of the Indian nations to murder such of our people as resided on the back settlements. Many of the innocent people were most barbarously murdered; and complaints thereof having been transmitted to general Gage, he resolved to penetrate into those remote countries inhabited by two fierce nations, called the Delawares and Shawanese. In consequence of that spirited resolution, colonel Bouquet was sent from Fort Pitt, with a considerable number of forces; but it was so difficult to cross the rivers, and so dangerous to march thro' the woods, that he did not arrive at Tuscarawas, the place where the troops were to rendezvous.

No sooner had the savages seen a body of armed men in possession of their towns, than they were thrown into the utmost consternation; for their chiefs had made them believe that their woods were inaccessible; but now they found that they had been deceiving themselves. Knowing that it was not in their power to engage with our forces, they had recourse to negotiation; but the colonel was too well convinced of their want of sincerity, to put any trust or confidence in their promises. He insisted that all the prisoners should be delivered up, and that they must send deputies to Sir William Johnson to treat of a peace. Forty of their chief men were, at the same time, delivered up as hostages for the faithful performance of all the articles agreed on. These preliminaries being settled, colonel Bouquet had all the prisoners delivered up to him, amounting to near four hundred, who had been cruelly confined in a state of slavery.

The English ambassador at Paris represented to the French court, that some injury had been done to our new settlers in the conquered islands in the West Indies; upon which the French ministry referred the settlement of all disputes of that nature to our governor of Jamaica. At the same time, and for reasons of a similar nature, a remonstrance was presented to the court of Madrid, complaining that some of the Spanish subjects had driven the English logwood cutters from the bay of Honduras; upon which an order was sent by the king of Spain to the governor of Juçatan, commanding him, under the severest penalties, to see that justice was done to the English. This order had the desired effect; for such as had been dispossessed, were again re-instated, and all of them permitted to carry on the trade of logwood cutting without any molestation whatever. Upon the whole, it appears that the governor had acted without orders; for the king of Spain expressed great resentment at his conduct, declaring that he had no intention of infringing the articles of peace.

In Europe, during the former part of this year,

an event took place that has been attended with as fatal consequences as any thing we meet with, either in ancient or modern history.

Poland, with respect to territory, a large fertile nation, adhered to the feudal law in its utmost rigour. There the government was Aristocratical, for altho' they had a king, yet his power was so circumscribed that the government was, in every sense of the word, lodged in the hands of the nobles. No subjects can ever be happy under such a government, unless we could change the nature of man; for the Polish nobles, like the barons of old in England and Scotland, and indeed like all those barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire, had the power of life and death; they could put their tenants to death without being obliged to give an account of their conduct; so that many innocent persons were sacrificed to the caprice of a little tyrant, who considered himself as above law.

Augustus, elector of Saxony, had been king of Poland about thirty years; but dying, it was necessary to look out for one to succeed him; for in that country the king is chosen by the nobles and the clergy. It seldom ever happens that there is an election of a king of Poland, without the other powers interfering in it; each endeavours to establish some favourite of their own, and the consequences often prove fatal to the unhappy subjects. The two candidates were the elector of Saxony, son of the late king of Poland, whose interest was supported by Spain, France and Austria; and the other was the prince Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman of great fortune, universal learning, agreeable manners, and unspotted morals. His cause was strongly supported by the empress of Russia; and the king of Prussia; but most of the bishops and clergy were his enemies, because he had travelled over most protestant countries in Europe, and seemed much addicted to a free and rational enquiry into every disputed point in religion.

The prince, however, was elected, but not without great opposition; for the Roman catholic party entered a protest against the proceedings of the diet; and count Branitzki, who was at the head of the protesters, finding the danger he was in, raised a large body of forces in order to protect himself. He was assisted by some of the national troops, who had been rendered mad by the suggestions of the priests, and were now become real enthusiasts.

In the mean time a Russian army entered Poland, and on the third of July the protesters were defeated; and obliged to take refuge in Turkey. At the same time the king, who, in consequence of a custom of the country, had changed his name to that of Stanislaus, set himself about correcting such abuses as had crept into the government during the preceding reign; for so just were his notions of natural rights, and so enlarged was his mind by reading, study, and conversation, that like Agis, king of Sparta, he sought to lessen rather than enlarge the regal power.

In the East-Indies things began to have a very serious appearance, particularly with respect to the settlements of the English company. Mir Jaffer Aly Cawn, who had murdered his master and had been made nabob in his room, began his reign in the most cruel manner, by ordering all those who were related to the late prince to be murdered; and, at the same time, because he was threatened to be chastized by the English, entered into a league with several princes, who promised him their assistance.

This extravagance had reduced him to such a wretched state of poverty, that regardless of the obligations he was under to the English, he robbed several of their settlements, upon which the council at Calcutta, formed a design to dethrone him. It is evident, however, that the crimes with which they charged him, were such as did not come under their cognizance; for whatever injury he had done to his own subjects, yet it should be remembered, that he



was a prince who had no right to give an account of his conduct to any but the Great Mogul, who was his absolute sovereign.

The company, however, proceeded in the execution of their scheme; and the nabob trusting to their humanity, resigned the government, and went to reside at Calcutta, while Meer Cossim was placed on the throne in his room. This young prince, who was son-in-law to the former, was of a bold, enterprising disposition; and being impatient of restraint, resolved to throw off all dependence on the English. Accordingly he strengthened himself by every measure he could think of, and began to exert that authority of which he considered himself legally possessed. He knew that the English East-India Company acted from motives of avarice; and as they had been indulged with many privileges by his predecessors, he resolved to strip them of them, and circumscribe their power within narrower bounds. This alarmed the company; and Mr. Vansittart, the governor, having concluded a treaty with him on disadvantageous terms, the council at Calcutta were so much offended, that they entered a protest against it. They affirmed, that he had gone beyond the bounds of his commission, and had assumed to himself a power with which the company had never invested him; and therefore they refused to abide by the treaty.

The event of these things was, that war was declared by the nabob against the East-India company; and some of his forces surprized, and cruelly murdered a party of the English troops. Such as were taken prisoners they immediately put to death. But this barbarity did not long remain unpunished; for major Adams having marched against them, took Patna, a strong city; while the nabob, who found it impracticable to carry on the war, fled to the dominions of Sujah Dowla, a neighbouring nabob, who acted as grand vizier to the Great Mogul. But although that prince granted him an asylum in his territories, yet he refused to give him any farther assistance, lest he should have brought upon himself the resentment of the English.

Such was the general state of public affairs at the end of this year: and although the flames of civil war had been lighted up in Poland, yet there was little reason to imagine that Great-Britain would be concerned in it.

A. D. 1765. On the tenth of January, the parliament of Great-Britain was opened at Westminster by his majesty, who, in his speech, informed the members, that there was not the least reason to suspect that the peace of Europe would, in the least, be disturbed; for all the powers on the continent seemed intent on cultivating the friendship of Great-Britain, and adhering to the articles of the peace. To the commons his majesty recommended the cultivation of those provinces which had been taken during the war; and, above all things, to preserve among themselves harmony and unanimity, as the only means of promoting the public good. He concluded by telling the members of both houses, that every scheme proposed or undertaken by them for the happiness of his subjects, should receive his hearty concurrence; and that in all things where it was necessary to impose taxes, he desired them to make them as easy as possible; that the people might not be too much burthened.

Both houses presented loyal addresses: and the house of commons, in order to raise the supplies for the current year, resolved to put the Americans on the same footing as the inhabitants of Great-Britain, by obliging them to pay stamp-duties. Great opposition was made to this bill, but at last it passed, and received the royal assent. At the same time, surveyors were sent over to the new ceded islands in the West-Indies, to divide them into parishes, and make such other regulations as were necessary.

The only business of any importance that came before the parliament this session, besides the raising the supplies, was the consideration of a proposal made

by his majesty for establishing a regency, in case of his being taken off by death. The members of both houses were so sensible of the necessity of such a measure, that they presented addresses to his majesty; and an act passed, by which his majesty was enabled to appoint the queen, with the princes of the blood; and all the great officers of state jointly, regents during the minority of the prince; and that his majesty should further be allowed to add to the number of regents such persons as he thought proper, whose names should be left, in case of his death, sealed up in a deed, to be opened by the privy-council. This affair being settled, his majesty, being indisposed, on the eleventh of May prorogued the parliament, by commission, after such bills as had passed both houses received the royal assent.

On the fifteenth of August this year, Francis, emperor of Germany, died suddenly at Inspruck, whither he had gone to take leave of his second son, to whom he had given the duchy of Tuscany. Much blood and treasure had been expended by Great-Britain in raising this prince to the Imperial throne; and, in justice to him, it must be acknowledged, that although his consort took part with the French during the late war, and involved her husband in the quarrel, yet he was, in sentiments, to the last, a friend to England, and grateful for the kindness they had shewn him. Francis was succeeded by his son Joseph, who had been previously elected king of the Romans; a prince of great abilities, inflexible virtue, strict integrity, and honoured and beloved by his subjects.

While the French continued to support the Genoese against the oppressed Corsicans, other nations were employed in promoting agriculture and commerce, particularly Denmark, where great encouragement was given to all such as invented any new machine that could be of service to the public.

In the East-Indies, all the petty princes look upon the Europeans as invaders; and, perhaps, the conduct of some of them has given too much reason for the use of such an appellation. Whatever disputes these eastern princes have among themselves, yet no sooner is one of them oppressed by any of the Europeans, than his cause becomes that of the whole, and they are ready to join in support of their neighbour.

We have already seen how desperate the affairs of the nabob, Meer Cossim, were at the conclusion of the last year: and, much about the same time, died the brave major Adams, whose courage and conduct had long supported the affairs of the company. This event gave life to Meer Cossim, who having received a powerful reinforcement, took the field: but major Monro, who succeeded to the command in chief of the company's forces, a brave officer, who, from his youth, had been brought up to arms, marched out to attack him.

The Indian troops, as is usual on such occasions, were extremely numerous; but then they were but little acquainted with military discipline, and only fit to fight in detached parties, where they could have an opportunity of attacking the English by surprize. They were, however, strongly encamped, when major Monro came up with them on the twenty-second of October; so that not thinking it prudent to engage for the present, he halted within sight of them, but still out of the reach of their cannon. Next day, about nine in the morning, the major finding, that if he remained any longer inactive, the troops would be dispirited, resolved to form the line of battle, and attack the enemy in flank, for he could not do it in front, there being a deep morass before them. This movement had the desired effect; for, in about three hours, the enemy began to give way, and left on the field of battle six thousand killed, besides one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, with their military chest, arms and ammunition.

Such was the situation of affairs in the East-Indies, when major Monro was recalled; and Sir Robert Fletcher, an officer brought up in the company's service,



service, was appointed to command in his room. He took the field as soon as he arrived; and marched about one hundred and fifty miles up the river Ganges, where he attacked several of the enemy's forts, and made the garrisons prisoners of war.

In America, great disturbances happened on account of the stamp-act: for although the mother-country had expended great sums of money in supporting the colonies, yet the inhabitants refused to be taxed by any besides their own representatives in their provincial assemblies. Scurrilous papers were published in most of the capital towns, reflecting on the administration; and, in general, mobs and tumults took place every where. The gentlemen who had been sent over from England to act as officers of the stamp-duties, were seized by the populace, and obliged to swear that they would for ever renounce all connection with those employments to which they had been appointed. Such of the natives in Boston as were suspected to have countenanced the act, had their houses burnt down. The magistrates were treated in the most ignominious manner; and one gentleman, more obnoxious to them than the rest, was forced to deliver up all his papers, so as to give evidence against himself; a circumstance the more cruel, because he only acted in a public character.

It is not to be supposed that these riots were carried on altogether by the populace, for undoubtedly many persons of the highest rank in those parts secretly fomented the disturbances. This appeared evident soon after; for no sooner had these disaffected persons seen the success of the rioters, than they pulled off the mask, and joined with them.

In the mean time, the governors of the provinces convened the assemblies, and proposed that they should, by some public act, make good the loss of the sufferers; but this they refused to do, although they condemned the conduct of the rioters, and offered rewards for apprehending them. This behaviour of the assemblies was approved of by their constituents, the freeholders, who gave them directions to oppose every measure that should tend towards promoting the execution of the stamp-act, and to leave nothing undone in order to get it repealed; all which they promised to comply with, so that the governors knew not in what manner to act.

At last the assemblies went so far as to avow and acknowledge, that every thing done by the populace was consistent with that duty they owed to their country. That a general union might be formed between the colonies, committees were established to carry on a correspondence with the leading members, and support the common cause. Indeed, there was such harmony among all the members of the different assemblies, that their establishing committees was only a matter of form. The magistrates refused to act under a statute that seemed injurious to their country, and the gentlemen of the law refused to plead unless the act was repealed. All public business was now at a stand; the courts of law were shut; and the merchants were afraid to send their goods to America, lest they should be destroyed: so that trade seemed at an end; and the total extinction of commerce, the only support of the colonies, was on the point of being totally extinguished.

Such was the distracted state of our colonies in North-America, when, to the inexpressible regret of all those who wished well to their country, his royal highness William, duke of Cumberland, departed this life, at his house in Upper Grosvenor-street, on the last day of October, in the forty-fifth year of his age. This prince had been, from his most early youth, designed for the command of the army; and, while only a boy, he formed a company of noblemen and gentlemen's sons, who, along with himself, were trained up in military exercises. Being properly qualified, he accepted of an ensign's commission in the guards, and rose from one station to another, till at last he became the commander in chief. Ever attentive to the interests of his royal father's subjects,

he freely exposed his person in the most hazardous enterprises during the war in Germany and Flanders; and, at the battle of Dettingen, when only arrived to the rank of a colonel, he commanded his own regiment, and received a wound on the thigh while advancing upon the enemy. His prudence and valour in suppressing an unnatural rebellion, are well known to the nation in general, so that nothing need be said of it in this place. As a friend to merit in distress, he never neglected any opportunity of rewarding either officers or soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country. During the interval that took place between the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the breaking out of the war 1756, he constantly assisted in the privy-council; and when ordered to take upon him the command of the allied army in Hanover, he cheerfully obeyed, although he knew that the French forces were double his number. If his success was not equal to his wishes, it was owing to the inferiority of his army; and when he thought proper to resign all his public employments, he retired to a private station, and spent the remainder of his life in giving proper encouragement to industry. Upon the whole, his highness was a wise counsellor, an able general, and indulgent master; and, what is still more than any of these, he was a good man.

On the seventeenth of December, the parliament assembled; when his majesty informed them of the disturbances which had arisen in America; and recommended to them to take it into their serious consideration, by laying down some plan for supporting the dignity of government, without injuring the rights of the people. Addresses were presented by both houses; and the year closed with the death of prince Frederick William, his majesty's youngest brother, who had been long in a declining way; and at last departed this life at Carleton-house on the twenty-ninth of December, in the sixteenth year of his age.

A. D. 1766. This year opened with accounts from many parts of the world of people who had been long confined in chains of slavery, beginning to assert those rights which belonged to them as men. The Georgians, a body of people who inhabit a vast tract of land near the Caspian sea, and are members of the Greek church, had been long oppressed by the Turks; and as their women are extremely handsome, they were obliged to send some of the most beautiful to Constantinople every year, to replenish the seraglio of the Grand Signior, as well as those of the great officers of state.

This was certainly a most shameful and unnatural tax, and therefore these people resolved to shake it off. They were conducted in this undertaking by prince Heraclius, the descendant of one of their sovereigns, a brave commander, and he defeated the Turks in several engagements; but not being properly supported by the Russians, who were jealous of his power, he was obliged to drop the whole, and take shelter in the northern parts of Persia.

In Egypt, and in the island of Cyprus, several insurrections happened, in consequence of the cruelties exercised on the inhabitants by the Turkish bashaws, who seemed as if they had been sent to those countries, not to govern, but to destroy the people, by depriving them of the few privileges they had left. But an army of janisaries being sent against them, they were subdued, and once more obliged to submit to the yoke of slavery.

In Poland, where the protestants, and those of the Greek church, are called Dissidents, a scheme was gradually opening to deluge that fertile country in blood. The pope had sent a bull or order to the clergy, commanding them to procure an act, that no person should be suffered to live in Poland who did not believe and profess the Roman Catholic religion, although both Greeks and protestants had been, by the most solemn treaties, endowed with those privileges.



Remonstrances in favour of those dissidents had been presented by several courts, particularly that of Peterburgh; but no regard having been paid to them by the diet or senate of Poland, an army of Russians approached within a few miles of Warsaw. The Russian general published a declaration, which was supported by another from Mr. Wroughton, the English ambassador; but the diet, instead of complying, declared, that they would adhere to the pope's bull, which had been published in all the churches by order of the prince primate.

The king said all he could in favour of the dissidents; and when he found that he could not prevail, he left the diet, thinking thereby to dissolve it; but the prince primate, in virtue of his office as second president, continued sitting several days, till the debates ran so high, that all the members retired. In the mean time, the king, blessed with an open, enlarged mind, looked with abhorrence on all manner of persecution: and although he made no attempt to change the established religion of his country, yet he hated every thing that tended towards preventing a free inquiry into disputed points.

During the month of March this year, great disturbances happened in Spain, particularly in Madrid, Barcelona, and some other cities. The king of Spain had, from his early youth, been much addicted to French customs; and having introduced their dress into his court, he published an edict, commanding all his subjects to have their cloaths made in the same manner. Nothing is more inveterate than prejudice, or the long use of one fashion in dress; and as the Spaniards had been, time immemorial, accustomed to their long cloaks, they looked upon the order as an infringement of their liberty. A signal having been given, some thousands of men, all citizens, surrounded the palace, and were fired upon by the guards, who killed several of them. Their numbers, however, continued to increase, till towards evening, when a messenger was sent to demand their reasons for acting in such a manner; upon which they cried out, that they meant no harm to the king, but that they would have the blood of the marquis of Squillacci. That nobleman, by birth an Italian, had been long prime minister to the king, and to him the people ascribed all the innovations which had been made in their dress. The marquis was too sensible of his danger to remain any longer among a people who sought his life; and therefore, having obtained permission, he set out, with his lady and family, for Italy. His departure quieted the populace, who immediately dispersed; but the king was so much offended at the loss of his favourite, that he left Madrid, and resided, during the remainder of the year, in the Escorial, about thirty miles distant.

The English affairs in the East-Indies were in a flourishing state; for general Carnac, who commanded the company's forces, obtained a complete victory over the Murrattas, a fierce people, whom Sujah Dowla had brought into the field. Sujah Dowla, with a spirit which would have done honour to an ancient Roman, resolved to throw himself on the mercy of the conqueror; but first assisted his friends in making their escape, being regardless of himself, while they were safe. Accordingly, he surrendered to general Carnac, relying solely on his generosity.

During these transactions, lord Clive arrived at Bengal, in the quality of governor of all the company's forts and settlements, with an unlimited power to act in what manner he pleased. This was, perhaps, the most flourishing year for the East-India company, for they acquired an immense treasure; but that has proved fatal to this nation; for the riches in the East being brought into England, has extended luxury throughout every part of the nation. The rents of landed estates have been raised to support it, by which the prices of all the necessaries of life have increased so fast, that although no scarcity has

taken place, yet many of our industrious poor are reduced to the greatest hardship.

In England, the great object of national concern was the conduct of the Americans. On the fourteenth of January, his majesty went to the house of peers, where, in a long speech, he advised the members to hasten their proceedings, lest commerce should suffer, and the public credit should be injured. Petitions were, at the same time, presented to parliament by the merchants of London, and almost all the trading towns in the nation, setting forth, that the stamp-act had done great injury to the British manufactures; and humbly praying, that they would take the whole into their consideration, and grant such relief as, in their wisdom, should appear reasonable.

Great debates arose concerning the matter contained in these petitions, and two parties in the house of commons were extremely violent against each other. It is necessary to take notice, that this famous stamp-act had been strongly supported by Mr. Grenville, first lord of the treasury; but that gentleman having resigned all his employments the preceding year, the marquis of Rockingham was appointed in his room.

Mr. Grenville, with all his friends, stood up in defence of the act: they urged, that nothing could be more reasonable, than that those who were the natural subjects of Great-Britain, nourished by its manufactures, and protected by its armies and navies, should contribute towards the support of government, as well as those who live in the mother-country. They added, that it was beneath the dignity of government to repeal laws, in order to please a factious people: and concluded by remarking, that if once such an indulgence was granted, no laws would ever, for the future, become binding upon them; so that a step of such a nature would be an introduction to many evils, and, in the end, encourage the Americans to attempt to throw off all subjection to the British empire.

The same party dwelt long on the concessions which had been made by some of our princes to their subjects, and the fatal consequences which flowed from them. They said, that it had been acknowledged by the opposite party, that Britain had a legislative authority over the American colonies, and therefore, taxation being only a part of legislation, no man of common sense, acquainted with the first principles of logic, could stand up in defence of the conduct of those who had opposed the act.

On the other hand, the great principle contended for was, that all bodies corporate, established by charters, writs, or patents from the crown, were never taxed but in their own assemblies: that the counties palatine of Durham and Chester, which are held by prescription, had never been taxed but in their own assemblies, till they were, by statute, incorporated with the English parliament. Nay, they went farther, and insisted, that Wales, long after the reign of Edward I. was not taxed, nor did that practice commence till they were represented in parliament: that the duchy of Lancaster, although established by act of parliament, had never been taxed till it sent members; and the clergy, as a collective body, had continued to tax themselves in their own convocations till the reign of Charles II. when they voluntarily gave up that privilege, and submitted to be taxed with the other freeholders; that all the charters granted to the colonies are so many grants from the crown; and, considered in that light, all the rights and privileges of free-born subjects flowed down to them: that, in the interpretation of any dispute concerning rights, it was an invariable maxim in law to keep to that side where there were fewest doubts remaining. Thus it was evident, that the counties palatine, &c. had never been taxed till they were first represented; and as they held their privileges by grants from the crown, so the Americans were on the same



same footing, and ought to be considered in the same light.

Precedents were quoted from many passages in history, both ancient and modern; such as the conduct of the Tyrians to the Carthaginians, who emigrated from them, and from a small colony with a charter, they became a most flourishing commonwealth. That the colonies in America had been peopled by those oppressed British subjects, who preferred liberty to slavery, even in the inhospitable deserts of America. That as they were still extremely poor, and as they had gone into those parts to enjoy liberty, so nothing could be more unreasonable than to attempt to deprive them of it. Many arguments were made use of out of Lock, Puffendorf, Harrington, Montesquieu, and several other writers on natural law.

To all this it was replied by those who opposed the repeal of the act, that the arguments brought in defence of the Americans, did not apply to any given proposition that had been advanced in the debate. That the precedents brought from history actually defeated their own intention; for as to Wales, a conquered province, it was considered a great and valuable privilege, to suffer them to send representatives to parliament, nor had they obtained till they first solicited for it, in the most earnest manner. That they had been long cruelly oppressed by the lords of the marches, who under pretence of demanding subsidies for the crown, enriched themselves while the poor inhabitants were starving. That the counties palatine of Chester and Durham, ought not to be brought in as precedents; for instead of being held by charters, they were so by prescription; and the earl of the one, with the bishop of the other, although exempted from being taxed, either in the Wittenagemote, before the conquest, or the parliament after it, always contributed their quota towards supporting the government. That the duchy of Lancaster was entirely out of the question; for it was a regality constituted in favour of John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III. according to the principles of the feudal law. That it was extremely diverting to hear men of learning, produce the account of Carthage, and mention a charter, while it remains a doubt whether letters were so much as known in the age that those emigrants left Tyre, and as to the Americans being poor, it was confuted by daily experience.

Such were the arguments made use of by both parties, and the reader is left to judge for himself, for as long as there are prejudices remaining in the minds of men, the impartial historian will only relate facts without drawing inferences from them. The debates being finished, a bill was brought in, which passed without the least opposition, to secure the sole dependence of the colonies on Great Britain, and then another bill was brought in for the repeal of the stamp-act, which also passed into a law.

On the sixth of June his majesty went to the house of peers and put an end to the sessions of parliament in a speech, wherein he informed them, that with respect to his connection with foreign powers, every thing wore a peaceable aspect; for as to the distractions in Poland, we were but very remotely concerned with, though he had done all in his power to bring about a reconciliation between the contending parties.

He told them, that the public business settled by them, had been of a very intricate, as well as an accumulated nature, and applauded their conduct in being so assiduous in the discharge of it. He added, that nothing could give him greater pleasure than to hear that all his subjects, whether at home or abroad, were united in principles of harmony, so as to promote the good of each other, and concluded by telling them, that notwithstanding the encrease of his family, he would attend to the strictest economy, in order to make the public expences as little as possible.

The ministry, at the head of whom was the marquis of Rockingham, were now in the height of

glory; every scheme proposed by them had been carried into execution; and (what perhaps will surprize all future ages) they were beloved by the people. No changes were supposed to take place, and none were wished for; but the minds of sovereigns, as well as private persons, are equally subject to changes, and even for the same trifling reasons.

For reasons, that may be discovered by every sensible reader, the king, on the thirtieth of July, made the following changes in the ministry; changes that not only surprized the subjects of Britain, but likewise all the courts in Europe. The duke of Grafton was constituted first lord of the treasury, in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; lord Camden was sent for from Northampton, where he was on the circuit, and created lord high-chancellor, in the room of the earl of Northington, made president of the council; the earl of Shelburne was made secretary of state in the room of the duke of Richmond, Mr. Pitt was created earl of Chatham, and made lord privy-seal, and Mr. Townshend was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Mr. Dowdeswell. With respect to these changes it must be remembered, that for some years the ministry had been so often changed, that some supposed the people were not to be acquainted with any thing transacted at the helm of affairs; but the political writers brought every thing to light, for the discontented parties vented their spleen on each other.

Such was the state of political affairs in England, when, on the first of October, the princess Caroline Matilda, youngest daughter of the late prince of Wales, and sister to his majesty, was married by proxy at St. James's, to the king of Denmark; and next day set out for Harwich. She was accompanied by her royal brother the duke of Gloucester, and on the eighteenth of the same month she arrived in safety at Altona, where she was met by the king, and the nuptials were solemnized according to the form of the Lutheran church.

The parliament met on the eleventh of November, and there having been great complaints concerning the high price of provisions and insurrections in different parts of the country, his majesty recommended the state of the nations to both houses, and desired that they would, in their deliberations, fix on some plan for the relief of his distressed subjects.

He told them, that the discontents among the people had led them to commit many acts of violence on the rest of their fellow subjects, from mistaken notions that they had been the voluntary cause of all their sufferings. That contrary to his own inclinations, but consistent with the necessity he was under to support the dignity of government, he had issued special commissions for the trials of the rioters, that the public peace might be preserved, and the minds of the lower classes of people so much intimidated, that they would be afraid to offend. He added, that he had concluded a commercial treaty with the empress of Russia, which he hoped would be of great benefit to his subjects; and took notice of the marriage of his sister to the king of Denmark, a circumstance that would strengthen the protestant interest. He concluded, by telling the commons that he confided in their wisdom and fidelity for raising the supplies, and recommended unanimity to all the members.

As the ministry had been recently changed, great opposition was made in the house to every thing proposed by administration. Nay some of the discarded adherents went so far as to attempt, to palliate, and even excuse the rioters, who had risen in different parts of the country. However, it was agreed upon by the greatest majority in both houses, that addresses of thanks should be presented to his majesty, and then they adjourned till after the holidays.

A. D. 1767. The first object that attracted the notice of parliament this session, was the state of the East-India company, which was now become extremely rich, and actually exercised a sovereign authority



thority over their settlements. To all wise ministers such a circumstance must have been very alarming; and therefore a committee was appointed to examine into the affair. The charter of the company was ordered to be produced, and that a perfect knowledge might be obtained of every thing relating to their transactions, they were obliged to deliver up to the house the originals of such treaties as they had entered into with the princes in the East-Indies; and also an account of all the expences incurred by the government for the support of the company.

This was a most mortifying affair for the proprietors of East-India stock; and what was still worse, all these papers were printed and published. The question stated by administration was, "What right had the East-India company to territorial jurisdiction?"

By their charter they were even excluded from making any conquests; and yet it was certain that they had subdued several of the princes in India, and annexed their dominions to their own settlements. It was urged further, that such powers vested in a corporate body of merchants was inconsistent with the nature of government, derogatory to the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the generality of the subjects. That if the government was to support them, then all those acquisitions of territory became the property of the crown, otherwise a principle would take place similar to that in the feudal law, where regalities were established, and the chief enjoyed a commutative jurisdiction with the sovereign. That such practices would contribute towards the promoting confusion among all ranks of subjects, and might in the end lead us back to a state of barbarity, equal to that in which our predecessors were five hundred years ago.

On the other hand, those who contended for the rights of the company, argued in the following manner. They said, that the words of the charter were general, and therefore the notion of acquisitions was implied by inferences drawn from consequences, without an assigned specification. That by such a chain of reasoning, all the new settlements made in America, beyond those that were specified in the charters, might be claimed by the crown, although it was evident, that they were private property. That people who went to settle in foreign parts, especially among uncultivated savages, were obliged, for their own safety, to extend the bounds of their territories; and if the government is at some trifling expence in supporting them, it is no more than what they owe to the subjects in general. It was further urged, that if the crown had any claim on the company, the courts of law were open, where there was not the least doubt but justice would be done to all parties; and as the house of commons was not a court of judicature, so it had no right to meddle with points of law, nor could it decide on any legal privileges. That if ever such an event should take place, as that of the commons assuming a power to judge in matters of law, it would prove fatal to the subjects in general, who would chuse that their respective properties should be intrusted in other hands.

The disputes were carried on with great warmth by both parties, and the result was, that the company should, during the space of two years ensuing, pay a certain sum to the government; and that no dividend of their stock should be made without the consent of a general court of proprietors.

On the twenty-fourth of June his majesty put an end to the sessions of parliament, and on the seventeenth of September following, his royal highness the duke of York, who had gone abroad in order to make the tour of Italy, died at Monaco, a small district a little beyond Provence.

With respect to public affairs on the continent of Europe, an event took place little expected, and which surprized most people. It is well known that Italy, once the seat of learning, has been for many ages the mother and nurse of superstition; and from

thence originated all those ridiculous ceremonies that debased the christian religion, and made it resemble the grossest paganism, for such is the nominal worship performed in popish churches, that a stranger would consider it in much the same light as the idolatry of the antient heathens.

For some time popery had been losing ground in those countries where it is by law established, and encreasing where it was prohibited, owing to the disgrace into which the jesuits had brought themselves. That society had been established above two hundred years, and in that time had risen to such fame, that they became objects of jealousy, and even resentment to the other orders. It is true, they were become so affluent that even princes might have looked upon them as dangerous rivals; but that was, not the sole cause of their ruin. It had been a constant practice with princes, and other great men, to make them their confessors; and it is well known, that he who acts the part of a confessor to a prince, may, with propriety, be considered as his prime minister. All secrets had been trusted with them, and as some of them were, at the same time, confessors to those in opposite interests, jealousies took place; and the king of Portugal, having been attacked in his carriage in consequence of a plan laid by these fathers, resolved to banish them out of his dominions. This happened several years before the period we are now treating off, and Spain followed the example of Portugal, by banishing them out of all their dominions, whether in Europe or America.

One would have imagined that they would have found an asylum in Italy, and it is true, they did so for some time; but during the former part of this year, they were banished from Naples and Parma, and all their estates confiscated. Under various characters, such as those of tutors, clerks, surgeons, &c. many of them have settled in protestant countries; but it is to be hoped, that parents and guardians will take care to prevent youth from being seduced by them.

In Russia, the empress had summoned all the learned men in her empire to assemble at Moscow, in order to compile a code of laws, which was the more necessary, as many of the provinces consisted of subjects governed by different laws, and these frequently clashing with each other contributed towards injuring claimants to private property, and retarded the regular course of distributive justice.

In Poland, the diet once more assembled, but as it was impossible to bring the contending parties to an agreement, the nobles, who were at the head of the dissidents, formed themselves into a separate body for their own preservation.

The attention of all the people in Europe was, this year, directed to Corfica, an island in the Mediterranean, almost adjoining to the island of Sardinia. It is extremely fertile and populous, and some centuries ago, had been given by the pope to the republic of Pisa; but the Genoese took it, and for many years treated the inhabitants in the most arbitrary and cruel manner. The spirit of liberty, however, was not extinct, it wanted only the breath of a hero to kindle it; and such a one was found in the person of the famous Paoli, a native of the island, but had travelled into other countries, where he had learned the art of war. The prudence and valour of that hero, will be transmitted to the latest ages, but we shall see in the subsequent part of this work, that overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to abandon the island.

On the twenty-fourth of November the parliament met, and was opened by his majesty, who told the members that he had assembled them at so early a period, that they might have time to deliberate with steadiness and judgment; and, in particular, he recommended to them the state of the nation with respect to the price of provisions.

The first, and indeed the principal subject engaged the attention of both houses was of such a nature, that nothing equal to it happened since the revolution.



tion. The dreadful hardships to which the poor had been reduced by the exorbitant price of provisions, became matter of serious consideration; and petitions having been presented to his majesty during the recess of parliament, a proclamation was issued, prohibiting the exportation of corn for a limited time. It is certain, that as there was an act of parliament, allowing the free exportation of corn, while at or under a certain price, the dispensing with it by proclamation was unconstitutional, especially as the parliament might have been assembled, and a bill brought in to set aside the former act. But if the dispensing power was this once exercised, certainly it was to promote the most benevolent of all purposes, namely, that of alleviating the distresses of the poor. However, as such a practice had been solemnly condemned at the revolution, and lest it should set a most dangerous precedent for succeeding princes to copy after, a bill was brought in and passed into a law, declaring the measure illegal; but at the same time to indemnify all those who had acted either in making or obeying the proclamation. The debates on this bill ran very high, and happy was it for the ministry that their intention in issuing the proclamation was good; for it was insisted on by the adverse party, that no excuse, not even absolute necessity could be pleaded in favour of those who promoted the dispensing with an act of parliament.

Those who spoke in defence of the ministry, urged the opinion of Mr. Locke, who says, it is ridiculous to suppose that there should be a single state in the world, where the prince had not, on extraordinary occasions, a right to provide for his distressed subjects; nay that it was his duty to do so, for otherwise he could not, with any degree of propriety, be called the father of his people. They maintained, that this doctrine was not contrary to the security of the civil constitution, or to the spirit of liberty, since they admitted that it could be legally exerted only in cases of the greatest necessity during the recess of parliament, and when parliament cannot conveniently be assembled.

To this it was answered, that the doctrine of necessity was the foundation of all the troubles in the reign of Charles I. especially in the affair of ship-money, when it was pretended there was a state necessity for it. That no discretionary power was left in the crown, but what was at the same time limited by some act of parliament; so that the crown could never dispense with positive laws. They urged farther, that to suspend an act, was but another name for a temporary repeal, and if the king could repeal acts, then he could make them. But the parliament did not allow this dispensing power to lodge any where but in the three branches; namely, king, lords and commons; because, though it might be once exercised for the good of the subjects, yet such were the passions of men, that it would more frequently be prostituted to the basest purposes. That if the exigencies of the case required it, let the parliament be immediately assembled, and the matter laid before them, for if the king can break through one law, he can break through all. Upon the whole, it was said, that if the doctrine of suspension, on the plea of state necessity, was admitted as constitutional, the revolution could be called nothing but a successful rebellion, a lawless and wicked invasion of the rights of the crown, and James II. was actually robbed.

Such were the arguments made use of by both parties, and certain it is, that the ministry had no right to dispense with a statute, seeing they might have assembled the parliament for that purpose. But candour will draw a veil where the action arose from motives of benevolence, although the means made use of might not be altogether constitutional.

A. D. 1768. The public business having been dispatched in parliament, the king went to the house on the tenth of March, and having thanked the commons for their generously granting the supplies for the year, desired them to preserve peace among

their neighbours in their counties and towns, especially during the next general election. He then prorogued the parliament to the last day of March; but on the twelfth a proclamation was issued, whereby they were dissolved. At the same time writs were issued for electing new members; and in many parts of the country the contests between the different candidates ran so high, that many scandalous actions were committed.

The new parliament met on the eleventh of May, and the commons having chosen Sir John Cust for their speaker, the lord chancellor Camden opened the session by virtue of a commission from his majesty. Both houses presented loyal addresses to his majesty, beseeching him to put the laws in execution against all those concerned in riots or tumults. The growing price of provisions had driven many of the lower classes of people to a state of distraction, and several irregularities had been committed, especially in Spital-fields; where many poor families did not only struggle under the dearth of provisions, but were also destitute of work. Undoubtedly the keeping the price of provisions as low as possible, is the grand object that all government ought to have in view; for by attending to that, commerce is encouraged, and the people are kept in proper subjection to the laws; but when such things are neglected, all runs into the utmost confusion, which forbodes the ruin of a state.

Nothing further was done this session, besides choosing the proper committees, and then the parliament was prorogued. The affairs in England being not very interesting, we must now consider such transactions as happened on the continent of Europe, especially the north and east, where war had broke out between the great empires of Turkey and Russia. The Russians, who a century ago, were no better than barbarians, are now become a most powerful people; and in many parts of that vast empire, learning is cultivated, and commerce encouraged. So rapidly indeed have the people in Russia proceeded in the cultivation of their intellectual faculties, that there are but two things wanting to make them the most powerful people in the world, namely, a settlement on the Black Sea, and the resignation of all claims to those extensive countries in Asia, which border on China, and over which they have no more than a nominal sovereignty. By the former, they would be able to extend their commerce with great facility along the shores of the Mediterranean; and by the latter, they would be relieved from the necessity of keeping up too great an army to govern barbarous nations not worthy of their notice, and unable to repay the expence. Like the Roman empire at the death of Trojan, Russia is too large to be governed by one head; and however willing sovereigns may be to give up their claims to nominal territories, yet we are assured from history, and convinced by daily experience, that an empire too large is never well governed. The empress of Russia was sensible of this, and as she had nothing more at heart than the civilizing of her people, by compleating the great plan laid down by the Czar Peter, so she considered the distresses in Poland, and the conduct of the French in stirring up the Turks against that unhappy country, as a favourable opportunity for her to extend her conquests to the Black Sea, and from thence to Constantinople.

What gave great countenance to this scheme, was the religion of the Russian empire. From the times of the emperor Justinian, who flourished about the middle of the sixth century, down to the middle of the fourteenth, the christians called Greeks, had settled themselves and propagated their religion from the eastern extremity of Dalmatia to the Hellespont, and in all the islands of the Mediterranean that lay eastward of Malta. They were likewise very numerous in the Lesser Asia; and from Armenia and Georgia, their sentiments had been inculcated among the Russians, so that the inhabitants of that vast



empire were of the same religion with the greatest part of the inhabitants of Turkey in Europe. The Greeks, throughout every part of the Turkish empire, had been long considered in the same light as if they had been slaves; and the oppressions they groaned under, from the tyranny of their inhuman governors, the bashtaws of the provinces, made them wish for any change, especially such a one as might be in their favour.

All these things being duly considered by the empress of Russia and her ministry, it was agreed upon that her army should march into Poland, under pretence of assisting the dissidents. The regular troops of Poland were then under the command of count Branicki, master of the ordnance; but many regiments deserted, and joined the dissidents, who were now become so strong, that they took the field. Scarce a day passed without skirmishes between the contending parties; and while the diet of Poland was sitting, the Russians entered the senate-house, and carried off such of the members as were most averse to their measures. Confederacies were formed every where, according to the inclinations of the parties; but a body of them, under the marshal Potochi, was defeated by a party of the Russians, and obliged to seek shelter in Turkey. The Russians pursued the fugitives into Moldavia; which so exasperated the balhaw of that province, that he sent an express to the Grand Signior, who returned for answer, that the Russian general had infringed the faith of treaties, and insisted upon his making satisfaction. This, however, he would by no means comply with, and contented himself with pleading ignorance of the bounds of the Turkish empire; after which he retired, while Potochi harassed his rear, and cut off many of his men. Potochi soon after having gathered together the remains of his army, marched through Moldavia, and from thence into Poland, where he was joyfully received by his friends, and invited to join a strong confederacy that had been formed at Bar. There they were attacked by the Russians, and a most bloody battle ensued, in which the confederates came off conquerors, though not without considerable loss.

But this was a victory from which the confederates reaped but few advantages; for the Russian army, under general Apraksin, having attacked them, they were defeated, and above four thousand killed on the spot. The town and castle of Bar were then given up to the Russians, who seized all the arms and ammunition; and so vast were the riches deposited in these places, that the prizes to the private soldiers were near a thousand pounds sterling each.

At Cracovia, an ancient city in Poland, the confederates made a most vigorous defence, which was owing to the king having sent a most supplicating letter to the Russian general, not to demolish the houses of the inhabitants. However, a train of heavy artillery was sent from Warsaw, upon which the place was taken by storm, and many of the inhabitants put to the sword.

It might reasonably have been thought, that these distresses in Poland would have brought their great nobles to hearken to the voice of reason; but they were all to no purpose, for they seldom met together to transact public affairs, without coming to blows, and, on such occasions, much blood was spilt. The Greeks in the Morea having taken up arms, were defeated by a party of the Turks; and such as were taken prisoners suffered the most cruel tortures; all which furnished an excuse for the Russians to act with more vigour against the confederates in Poland, who had not only been instigated to take up arms by the Turks, but were also secretly supported by them, otherways they could never have been able to hold out so long as they did.

The connection which Great-Britain hath long had with Russia, of a commercial nature, makes us more than ordinarily concerned in every thing relating to that extensive empire. It is certain that the Russians

could not long conceal their real intentions; and therefore the divan, or council of the Grand Signior, proposed that the ambassador from Petersburg should be imprisoned. This was a flagrant breach of the law of nations, which grants protection to the persons of ambassadors; but the Turks are either too ignorant, or too obstinate to pay any regard to such sacred rights. This occasioned an open declaration of war by the empress of Russia; and, from a manifesto which was transmitted to her ambassadors at foreign courts, it appears that she imagined all those in alliance with her would give her every assistance she should require; but this was what they would by no means comply with.

In the mean time, the empress raised a great army from all the different parts of the empire; and one out of ten of the regular troops was draughted, to teach the new-recruits military discipline; for some of them had been brought from the banks of the Wolga, where fire-arms had scarce ever been seen.

While these preparations were making in Russia, hostilities were renewed between the Russians and the confederates in Poland, and many bloody battles were fought; but the latter not being united, and less numerous than the former, were most commonly defeated with great loss. In one of these engagements, the Russians pursued a party of the confederates to the other side of the Borystenes, a river which divides Poland from the Turkish dominions; and the fugitives, having taken shelter in the town of Balta, in Lesser Tartary, the Russians took it by storm, and indiscriminately put all to the sword whom they found in arms, without so much as enquiring whether they were Turks, Tartars, or confederates. Nay, it is even asserted, that near a thousand women and children were barbarously murdered, which is not to be wondered at, when we consider what numbers of savage irregulars always attend the Russian armies.

This act of hostility enraged the Turks to the highest degree; and as their grand vizier, or prime minister, was of a very pacific disposition, he was deposed, and another appointed in his room. At the same time, a manifesto was given to such of the European ambassadors as were then at Constantinople. But it was one of the most foolish that ever was read: it sets forth, that the king of Poland was not fit to reign, because he was not of a royal family; altho' it is well known that the Poles had, time immemorial, elected one of their own nobles to be their king, nor had that practice been ever set aside till the death of the famous Sobieski, in 1697, when Augustus, elector of Saxony, was, by his intrigues, elected in his room.

The preparations made by the Turks for war, was, in some measure, similar to the conduct of Darius, when he went to meet Alexander the Great. The officers seemed to vie with each other in making the grandest provision of tents and equipages, and furnishing themselves with large sums of money; all which was joyful news to the Russians, who doubted not but they should be able to share in the spoils. Great bodies of troops from Egypt, Syria; and all parts of the Lesser Asia, were daily brought over the Hellespont; but many disorders having been committed by them in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, an order was issued, commanding all the new Asiatic troops to cross at the Dardanelles, where vessels would be ready to carry them to Gallipoly, on the opposite shore of the Black Sea. All the Greeks throughout the empire were ordered to deliver up their arms; but some of them, having refused to comply, the janisaries attacked them with their swords; and some on both sides were killed.

The eyes of all Europe were fixed on the emperor of Germany, to see what part he would take in the war: for although there had been long a natural enmity between his family and the Turks, yet he knew that the Russians were already too powerful to need any assistance, nor did he desire that they should



ever settle on the Black Sea. However, the young emperor attended so strictly to the raising recruits to fill up his regiments, that many began to imagine that he intended to take the field; and it was even given out, that he was greatly offended because the Russians did not depart from Poland.

The king of Prussia, ever attentive to his own interest, did not remain idle; for his regiments were all completed, that he might be ready, on the first emergency, to take the field. He enlisted as many foreigners in his service as he could procure, lest agriculture should be neglected in his dominions. Nor was he less attentive to the domestic safety of his country; for he gave encouragement to all those who promoted manufactures; and rewards were bestowed on the widows and children of such as had been killed during the war.

The French, although professed Roman Catholics, pay but little regard to the pope; for this year they took from him the province of Vanaissan, with the fine city of Avignon. It is true, the pope thundered out his bulls and curses; but however terrible they might have been in former times, they were now very little regarded.

During the month of August this year, the French concluded a treaty with the republic of Genoa, of a very extraordinary nature, and such as ought to have been opposed by all the maritime states in Europe. The brave Corsicans still continued to defend those rights which the Genoese sought to deprive them of; and the latter despairing of ever bringing them into subjection, agreed to give up that valuable island to the French king, upon condition of his sending an army thither to subdue the people. It was really surprising that other nations should have suffered such a treaty to be put in execution; for if a war should break out, the French will have an opportunity of sending a swarm of privateers from Corsica, and to this island they could bring their prizes without being obliged to sail to Marseilles, so that the trade along the south and west coast of Italy would be wholly their own.

Such was the state of affairs on the continent, when the attention of the English ministry was directed to America, where several disturbances had happened on account of some duties having been laid on glass, salt, and some other commodities imported from England. It was thought that the repeal of the stamp-act would have given some satisfaction to these people, but they still insisted that it was their inherent privilege to tax themselves.

At Boston, the people met in a large body, and entered into several resolutions not to import any goods of a superfluous nature; but to attend to the strictest economy, both in dress and furniture. A subscription was opened for the encouragement of their own manufactures, and the establishment of new ones. This was done to elude the payment of the duties upon such articles as should be sent from England; and, at the same time, an association of gentlemen from all the old colonies was formed, in order to propose the most likely means to be used in preventing English acts of parliament from being put in force there, or in any other of the American provinces, or the West-Indies.

The freeholders, and, in general, all the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, had placed the greatest confidence in their representatives, and there was a continual contest between them and their governor. The earl of Shelburne had sent over a letter to the governor, complaining of these abuses, and it was read in the open assembly of the representatives. This occasioned most violent debates; and some of the members went so far as to declare, that the governor had misrepresented their conduct to the ministry. They denied the charges in the letter, and wrote to the earl of Shelburne on that subject, vindicating themselves, and throwing the whole blame on the governor. At the same time, the merchants of Boston ordered their agent to represent to the lords

of the treasury, that unless these duties, which had occasioned so much mischief, were taken off, the trade of the province would be destroyed, as they seemed to them contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and inconsistent with their charter. These representations occasioned the establishment of a new officer, who was to act as secretary of state for the colonies in America; and the first person made choice of was the earl of Hillsborough, at that time first lord of trade. The first thing done by his lordship, was to send circular letters to the governors of the provinces, informing them, that his majesty was highly displeased at the conduct of the people, as it was apt to create confusion, and throw every thing into the utmost disorder. He said, that their conduct in opposing the legislative power of Great-Britain was little better than an act of open rebellion; for, by giving encouragement to such practices, the government would be overturned, and no regard paid to the laws. He concluded by recommending to them to preserve the public peace, by punishing all disorders of an evil tendency; but as to mere opposition in words, or in scandalous libels, they were to treat them with contempt.

Governor Barnard had dissolved the assembly of representatives, and new ones being chosen, it was insisted on by him, that they should make a public act to disapprove of the conduct of the late assembly. This was going too far; because, unless representatives are left free to act according to the will and orders of their constituents, they do not deserve the name. They desired to see a copy of the governor's instructions, which was granted them; and, to their surprise, they found, that in case they refused to comply, they were to be dissolved, and an account of their conduct sent to England, in order to be laid before the next sessions of parliament.

This set the whole assembly in a flame; and when the bill was brought in to pass a censure on the conduct of the last assembly, ninety-two voted against it, and no more than seventeen for it. The rest of the colonies took the alarm, and followed their example, while combinations were formed almost every where not to take any goods from England, except such as were absolutely necessary.

The discontents among the people of Boston now broke out into open violence: for a ship having landed a cargo of wine, and taken on board another of oil, without paying any regard to the new laws by which the new customs were to be regulated, the officers made a signal to the Romney man of war, who sent her boats, and having cut down the masts of the trading vessel, hawled her along-side of the king's ship. This was so severely resented by the populace, that they rose in great numbers, demolished the houses of the custom-house officers, and laying hold of the commissioner's boat, dragged it on shore, and then set it on fire.

While these disorders continued in the town, the governor dissolved the assembly; but that had not the desired effect, for the disturbances increased every day, so that two regiments were sent over from Ireland to support the civil power. Their place of rendezvous was to be at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia; and no sooner had the people of Boston received news that they were landed at that place, than they met, and chose a president among themselves, who was deputed to wait on the governor, to know for what reason, or with what view, his majesty's forces were to be sent among them. They desired, at the same time, that a general assembly might be summoned to meet; but he refused to give them any satisfactory answer, and only told them, that it was their duty to break up their tumultuous meetings, and submit quietly to the laws. He added, that as they seemed ignorant of the offence they had committed, he must freely tell them, that unless they submitted to the government, he should be obliged to treat them as rebels. From this time he refused to receive any messages from them; upon which they sent a long detail



detail of their grievances to London, in order to be laid before the ministry. In the mean time, the transports, with the two regiments, and a train of artillery, arrived from Halifax, and were quartered in the houses of townsmen; but as the military laws did not extend to America, any farther than providing barracks for them, it was ordered by the governor that they should have barrack provisions, so as to be as little burthenome to the people as possible. This part of the governor's conduct gave general satisfaction to such of the people as were moderate in their sentiments; but notwithstanding, a great majority were still discontented. They could not behold without jealousy an armed force quartered amongst them in time of peace; for, with respect to their late combinations, they considered them as efforts to maintain their freedom.

The domestic peace of England, during this summer, which was not interrupted by any incident but one, which will hereafter be taken notice of, induced the king of Denmark to visit his royal brother-in-law, our sovereign. He was attended by most of his great officers of state, and the utmost respect was paid to him by all ranks of people. But nothing less than the most unbounded dissipation seemed to have taken place. His Danish majesty gave orders for a masquerade, which was one of the most magnificent ever seen in England; and while the preparations for it were going on, he visited Cambridge, where he was elegantly entertained in the hall of Trinity College. From thence he proceeded to York, Leeds, and Manchester; and, on his return to London, coming through Oxford, he was met by the whole university in procession. When he came to the senate-house, the public orator complimented him in a most elegant Latin speech, to which his majesty replied in the same language. He was then presented with a diploma, as doctor of the civil and canon laws, and walked in his honorary robes along with the doctors and regents. In the beginning of October, his majesty left England; and, much about the same time, several changes took place in the English ministry; for certain it is, that the political state of this country had, for several years, been of a very fluctuating nature.

In the East-Indies, during the latter end of the last, and the beginning of this year, things began to assume a new form; and it was even feared that a revolution would take place much to the disadvantage of the English East-India company, whose stock was now advanced to a surprising height. Hyder Ally, a person who had served some time as a common soldier, having received some affront from his officers, left the army, and raised a chosen band of followers, with a view of driving the English out of all their settlements in that part of the world. Although brought up in the most humble station, yet, like Tamerlane, or Caius Marius, he had all the qualities of a great general, which were only obscured for want of a proper opportunity of displaying them to public view.

Such was the character of the man with whom the English had now to contend, and it must be acknowledged, that it required the greatest skill to oppose him. He had conquered several provinces on the coast of Malabar, and, upon the whole, was considered as one of the most formidable princes in the east. He was sensible, however, that the East-India company would be so powerfully supported, that policy must be added to force, otherwise he should never be able to accomplish his schemes. Accordingly, he brought over the Nizam of the Decan to his interest; and having raised a large body of forces, prepared to take the field. Colonel Smith, in the company's service, was sent to oppose this formidable alliance; and a most desperate engagement ensued, in which Hyder Ally discovered all the courage and conduct of the bravest general. He made his dispositions with so much prudence, that it was no easy matter to attack him; so that colonel Smith, in order

to avoid the force of his cannon, which galled the company's troops on the right, marched to a rising ground on the left, and so turned his lines. The Asiatic general rode from one place to another, to encourage his men; but at last they gave way, and the English continued pursuing them with great slaughter. All their cannon and ammunition fell into the hands of the English, besides a vast quantity of treasure; and the Nizam perceiving the danger he was in from his connections with Hyder Ally, made peace with the company. This, however, did not put an end to the war; for Hyder Ally finding himself deserted by the Nizam, transferred the seat of war into a mountainous part of the country, where it was extremely difficult to attack him, as he was well acquainted with all the passages and defiles; and could defend himself even against superiority of numbers.

During the latter part of this year, the war was carried on with great violence in Corsica: for altho' the French had landed there with a numerous army, the brave islanders disputed the ground with them inch by inch. Paoli had some hopes of assistance from England, and, for that purpose, sent notice of his distress to our ministry by one Mr. Boswell; a young gentleman with whom he had become acquainted while on his travels: but no assistance being given him, he had nothing to depend on besides the justice of his cause and the bravery of his countrymen. At first, the French obtained some considerable advantages; but the Corsicans killed such vast numbers of them in straggling parties, that had they not been reinforced by fresh succours continually sent to them, the whole army that first landed would have been totally cut off. The Corsicans concealed themselves in bushes and caves near the roads where the enemy were to pass, and galled them so much, that many of them deserted, while such as fell into the hands of the Corsicans as prisoners were instantly put to death. Some persons may be apt to blame the conduct of the Corsicans on this occasion, as inconsistent with the law of nations; but whoever does so, must be unacquainted with the peculiarity of their circumstances. They had been so much oppressed by the Genoese, that they had, consistent with the opinions of the best writers on natural law, asserted their own freedom; and when the republic of Genoa found that they could not again reduce them to a state of subjection, they gave them up to the French, as if they had been a parcel of sheep or oxen. The French, upon their landing in the island, commanded all the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and take an oath of allegiance to their sovereign, otherwise they were to be treated as rebels. Thus these innocent people, knowing that no mercy was to be shewn to such of themselves as were taken prisoners, resolved to treat the French in the same manner, and sell their lives and liberty as dear as possible. Such was the state of the Corsicans; and their putting the French prisoners to death was no more than an act of retaliation, which stands justified by Grotius, Budin, Locke, and Puffendorff.

Paoli, who still hoped for assistance from England, as well as from some of the other European powers, called an assembly of the Corsican chiefs, and asked their opinion concerning the most proper methods to be used in the prosecution of the war. He laid before them all the papers which the French had caused to be distributed throughout the island; but no sooner did the chiefs perceive that they were looked upon as vassals to the crown of France, than they tore them into a thousand pieces.

Although this campaign was but short, yet so great was the loss the French sustained, that, notwithstanding the new reinforcements which were daily sent them, they were on the point of being totally routed. Adjoining to Corsica are some small islands; and as the harbours of them were safe and commodious, so the Corsican privateers prevented, in a great measure, the enemy from receiving such supplies as had been sent



sent them from France. This induced the French, in the month of November this year, to embark a considerable body of forces on board thirteen transports, in order to attack these small islands.

Their first attack was made on the island of Pietra; but although they made good their landing; they were repulged with great loss by a few Corsicans; who, animated by the love of liberty, fought like lions. From thence the French proceeded to Isola Rossa, another island, where the Corsicans kept their magazines, and attacked it with great fury. At first the Corsicans were driven from their posts; but no sooner had they recollected themselves, and recovered from their first surprize; than they faced about, and not only recovered the posts they had lost, but drove the enemy, with great slaughter, back to their ships. Above nine hundred of the French were killed in this fruitless expedition, and their general began to despair of ever taking the island. But we must now return to Britain.

The English ministry were thrown into a little confusion by the death of Mr. Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, a gentleman of great natural parts, universal erudition, and a perfect knowledge of the constitution. Indeed, the ministry were far from being popular, and some parts of their conduct seemed to border on weakness; so that it was necessary that some person should be made choice of, who would be able, by a firmness of temper, to add some lustre to their fading characters.

In consequence of that resolution, lord North was made chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Thomas Townshend paymaster of the forces, earl Gower president of the council, lord Weymouth one of the secretaries of state, and Mr. Rigby was appointed one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland. Several other changes took place; but as they were all of an inferior nature, and dependent on the above, they do not deserve a place in a work that only treats of general things, without defending to trifling particulars.

On the twenty-fourth of November, the parliament met, which, although their second sessions, was the first one in which they did any business of a national concern. In the speech from the throne, his majesty told the members of both houses, that his reasons for calling them together at so early a period, was to give them time for their public deliberations; and, in particular, it was recommended to them to promote our commercial interests in America, and other parts of the world, as the sole basis of all our riches. He told them, that it gave him no small concern to consider that the other powers in Europe had not attended to the articles of peace so strictly as was consistent with the faith of treaties; by which his majesty meant the conduct of the king of Prussia, in meddling with the affairs of Poland. He added, that other sovereigns might do as they pleased, but, for his part, he would take care that none should ever accuse him for the breach of treaties, these being of so sacred a nature, that they ought to be religiously adhered to. His majesty laid great stress on the conduct of the Americans; and it was even said that Boston was in an actual state of disobedience to all manner of government; that they had proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances which manifested a disposition to throw off their dependence on Great-Britain. He concluded by recommending harmony among the members, as the only free way of promoting the national interest, both at home and abroad.

When the addresses were moved for, great debates arose in both houses, and many severe strictures were thrown out on the conduct of administration. The ministry were censured for suffering the French to take possession of Corsica, by which the commercial interests of Great-Britain would be much injured in the Mediterranean. It was likewise insinuated by the same party, that our commerce in Portugal had not been properly attended to; that our merchants had been injured in their property, and that many of our

ambassadors at foreign courts spent the greatest part of their time in England.

To this it was answered by the partizans for the ministry, that addresses to the throne were no more than compliments of loyalty; that the least notice of such a measure as that of refusing to thank his majesty, would be circulated throughout all Europe, and give foreign courts a wrong impression of the British nation: that there was time enough, during the sessions, to enquire into the conduct of administration, and to censure such parts of it as should appear, in the least, exceptionable.

At last the addresses were presented in the same form as drawn up by the ministry; and his majesty was thanked, in the most grateful manner, for his attention to the state of Europe in general, and the commerce of Britain in particular. They told his majesty, that nothing should be wanting on their parts to establish the sovereign power of Britain over the colonies. The first thing done this session of parliament, was to bring in a bill to prevent the exportation of corn for a limited time, which, after long debates in both houses, passed into an act, to the great satisfaction of the poor in general.

A. D. 1769. On the nineteenth of January, the parliament met, after their adjournment during the holidays; and the first thing taken into consideration was the state of public affairs in America. A petition was presented, signed by Mr. Danforth, president of the council at Boston, praying that the revenue acts might be repealed. The petition was penned in the most modest manner, with a promise, that if these acts were repealed, the people would make an ample compensation, by taxing themselves. Great debates arose in both houses concerning the petition, those of the antiministerial party making use of the same arguments which had been urged in the debate concerning the stamp-act.

The lords agreed to address his majesty on the American affairs; and their resolution being adhered to by the commons, became the joint act of both. By these resolutions it was declared, that all the acts made in the different colonies, which tended towards throwing off the sovereignty of the British parliament, were illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory to the crown and dignity of his majesty. It was farther resolved, that the town of Boston was in a state of the utmost disorder and confusion, disturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, in which the officers of the revenue had been obstructed in the discharge of their duty, and their lives endangered: that neither the council of the province, nor the ordinary magistrates, had exerted their authority for suppressing these riots and tumults; and that the execution of the laws would be rendered abortive, without the assistance of a military force to support the civil power, and protect the officers of the customs: that the resolutions of the town meetings in Boston were unconstitutional, and calculated to excite sedition and insurrection against the government. It was also agreed to by both houses, that all those who had written circular letters to the other colonies, were guilty of a high indignity to the crown, and that they had committed a daring insult on the legislative power of Great-Britain. In the end, his majesty was desired to issue a special commission, to enquire into the causes of these disorders, according to the statute 30th of Henry VIII. The debates on this occasion, with respect to his majesty granting writs of habeas corpus, to bring over the persons concerned in the riots, to be tried in England by virtue of special commissions, was strongly and learnedly opposed in both houses. It was said by those who opposed the bill, that the laws already made for the preservation of the British rights over the colonies, were so complete, that there was no reason for an amendment: that the ministry, having lost all credit with the people, wanted to make the cause of the Americans their own, by establishing their authority on the ruin of the colonies: that, with respect to bringing



prisoners over from America, to be tried here for crimes supposed to have been committed there, was contrary to the spirit of the English constitution. A man charged with a crime in England, is usually tried in the county where it is said to have been committed; for this reason, that those who carry on the prosecution may have it in their power to produce proper evidence, and that the accused person may likewise be able to vindicate himself, if innocent. But if an American was brought over here to be tried, it would be next to impossible for him to produce one single witness, although he might be entirely innocent. If an American has committed any breach of the laws, let him be tried there, where justice can be done to both parties. It was farther urged, and represented as a strange measure on this occasion, to drag out of obscurity an obsolete law, which was a dishonour to the statute-books: that it was made during the reign of a tyrant, to serve the most arbitrary purposes, because our constitution of government had not then arrived at a state of perfection: that when the above act was made, we had not one colony in America, for it had then only been recently discovered; and that it would be much to the honour of the legislative power, to expunge from the records all such iniquitous statutes as that already mentioned: that it was the duty of all those in power to promote the interests of the people, both at home and abroad; but if the above measure was carried into execution, it would increase the seditions complained of in the colonies, and, consequently, injure the trade of the mother-country. They concluded by calling upon the ministry to produce the person who had advised his majesty to put the above act in force.

Such were the arguments made use of by those who opposed administration, and certainly they were very rational, and consistent with the spirit of our most excellent constitution. The ministry were so sensible of the error they had committed, that they became weak and languid in their answers. They referred back to the repeal of the stamp-act, and imputed all the troubles which had happened in America to the ill-judged lenity shewn on that occasion: that nothing but the vigorous use of coercive authority could ever reduce them to obedience, and convince them of the necessity of their dependence on the mother-country: that unless this measure was adopted, the most flagrant acts of treason and rebellion, with all other public crimes, might be committed with impunity: that such crimes had already been committed, and being attended with several circumstances of an aggravating nature, the perpetrators were not objects of compassion: that, with respect to there being no colonies in America when the act of Henry VIII. was made, it did not in the least apply to the argument in hand, for the act was made for the trial of all his majesty's subjects who should happen to commit crimes in any part of the world. For example; supposing a ship lying at anchor near an island not belonging to Britain, and two persons go on shore, fight, and one of them is killed; then, by the above act, a special commission is granted by the king for the trial of the offender, in whatever country he pleases. And, in proof of this doctrine, they mentioned an instance of a man of war lying at anchor in the Baltic, in 1720; and a quarrel happening between the lieutenant and the surgeon, they went on shore, fought, and the former was killed. Upon the ship's arrival in England, a special commission was granted for the trial of the surgeon, who being found guilty, was executed at Tyburn. They concluded by taking notice, that the revival of the act was not to promote punishment, but to preserve peace; and that the colonists, seeing the vigorous measures which the government intended to pursue, might be brought back to a sense of their duty. Such were the hopes of administration at that time; but experience, as will appear in the sequel, has convinced us, that they were wrong in their conjectures.

It is now necessary that we should attend to an affair that has made a considerable bustle, and, perhaps, will be looked upon by foreigners as a proof that our constitution is very much on the decline. We have already seen, that Mr. Wilkes retired to France, where he had not resided long, when a writ of outlawry was issued against him, while the commons expelled him from their house. This gentleman, who had acquired a large share of popularity, in consequence of the ministry's having singled him out as an object of their vengeance, and imprisoning him illegally, was accused of being the author of a poem of so blasphemous a nature, that no virtuous person would repeat a single line of it: but although it had the most dangerous tendency towards corrupting the morals of youth, yet the means made use of in procuring copies of it were so base, mean, and illegal, that those who hated the vices of the man abhorred the manner in which their fellow-subject had been treated.

Mr. Wilkes had, for some time, kept a printing-press in his own house; and having employed a poor, needy fellow, as a compositor, one of the under-secretaries of the treasury prevailed on him, for a trifling consideration, to steal one of the printed sheets of the poem in question. This was such a flagrant act of injustice, that almost all ranks of people condemned it, except those who were the perpetrators; for no man of honour or generosity will attempt to corrupt the servant of another person, for the mean purpose of being revenged for a supposed affront. The ministry did not fail to blast his character as much as possible; and, under such circumstances, an exile from his country, distressed in his circumstances, and, in a great measure, abandoned by his friends, Mr. Wilkes seemed not only ruined, but also forgotten: but when he found the parliament was dissolved, and that there might yet be some hopes of his getting the outlawry reversed, he came over to England, and offered himself a candidate to represent the city of London in parliament. There, however, he did not succeed; but seeming to rise superior to every misfortune, he addressed himself to the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, and was chosen their representative by a very great majority. Having succeeded thus far, he surrendered himself to the court of King's-bench, where, after many learned arguments by council on both sides, the court reversed the writ of outlawry, but, at the same time, committed him to prison for two years, as the author of a political paper called the North-Britain, and a poem intitled, An Essay on Woman. This seemed to be the last effort of ministerial vengeance; and the populace, who, though irregular, on many occasions, in their conduct, yet are generally compassionate, assembled in a body in St. George's Fields, to see the unfortunate prisoner. Whether they intended to rescue Mr. Wilkes, or whether they only went there to signify their resentment of the treatment he had received, certain it is, he gave them no encouragement; for he had not only voluntarily surrendered himself, but likewise, when he saw them at the gate of the prison, he advised them to disperse in a peaceable manner. This conduct of the populace was just what the ministry wished for, and therefore a detachment of the guards was sent to disperse them; but, as it commonly happens in such cases, several innocent persons lost their lives, among whom was a young man, the son of an inn-keeper, who had come there only from motives of curiosity.

As the parliament was not then sitting, Mr. Wilkes remained silent till the winter following, when happening to lay hold of a copy of the letter sent by the secretary of state to the chairman of the Surrey justices, he caused it to be published, together with an introduction written by himself. This gave great offence to those in power; and therefore Mr. Wilkes was brought to the bar of the house of commons, where he freely acknowledged that he had caused the



letter to be published; upon which he was expelled the house, and a new writ issued for the election of a member to represent the county of Middlesex in his room.

But still the majority of the freeholders adhered to this man, whose cause was considered as that of the public. He was re-elected a second time by a majority greater than before; but that election being declared void, he was a third time elected, and again expelled. Those who wished well to the constitution, expected that this mode of election and expulsion would be continued till the end of the parliament; but a new and unheard of one was adopted.

A gentleman in the army was made choice of to offer himself a candidate for the county; and altho' Mr. Wilkes had a great majority, the house voted the military gentleman the sitting member, which most people considered as a subversion of the constitution. It was urged by those who opposed the measure, that the right of electors to chuse their own representatives was an essential and an inherent part of the constitution; that the house of commons, being composed of persons intrusted with delegated powers, they had no right to act in a judicative capacity; that the law of the land had regulated the qualifications of members to serve in parliament, and that Mr. Wilkes was not, by those laws, disqualified; that the house of commons has the right incidental to its judicative authority of declaring what incapacities are legal; but, at the same time, the house must take care in what manner it exercises that power, lest it should swell to an enormous height, and one branch of the legislative power assume to itself the privileges of the courts of law. It was further insisted on, that the power granted to the house in expelling members was already sufficiently great, for none called in question their privilege of expulsion; but then they had no right to hinder the electors to make choice of the expelled person as often as they pleased; nor was it consistent with the first and fundamental principles of our constitution, that the house should super-add to expulsion disqualification, because that would be an encroachment on the rights of freeholders, which they had enjoyed time immemorial; that reason cries aloud against such a power being lodged in any body of people whatever; and precedents were produced from the journals, to shew, that, till this time, the house had never assumed such a prerogative, nor was it believed they would suffer the present to take place after it had been duly considered.

These arguments were answered by the adherents of the ministry in the following manner. They said, that the house of commons had, time immemorial, a prescriptive right to expel their members; and that, unless the person expelled was, at the same time, rendered incapable of serving, expulsion would be no more than an open farce, by representing powers to have existed where they never had a being: that the right claimed by the freeholders of Middlesex stood reprobated in the eye of common sense and right reason, for they claimed a privilege to do wrong, by making choice of a person to represent them who had been declared incapable by the house, notwithstanding his being otherwise in the eye of the law: that if the house was obliged to receive all those who were returned by a majority, then the freeholders were equally obliged to return persons properly qualified, and not throw the drudgery upon the house of expelling members: that the law could not foresee every possible event, nor could it have been supposed that the freeholders would have acted in the manner they did, otherwise a law would have been provided: that our ancestors never imagined, or never intended, that blasphemers and infidels should be the guardians of our holy religion, nor beggars the protectors of those properties by which individuals subsisted: that the house of commons was, to all intents and purposes, a court of judicature with respect to controverted elections, and that

this authority was derived from the first principles of our constitution. Did any other court possess this power, members might be obtruded upon the house who had no right to sit: that if the house did any thing which seemed to injure an individual, or even a collective body of people, then there could not be any other method of obtaining redress, than that of petitioning for a new statute to regulate all future elections.

If it is asked, Under what head of legal disability is the present expulsion to be found? The answer is easy; the records of parliament will inform those who have any doubts on their minds. Neither judges nor clergymen can sit in the house of commons; and for this reason, that, by an order of the house, they are rendered incapable. It was said, that a very extraordinary principle had been adopted in the course of this debate, as if the commons wanted to infringe on the liberties of the people; without recollecting that the commons and the people are virtually the same, and that any endeavour to make them separate bodies is no less dangerous than it is preposterous. If the commons, in their representative capacity, have privileges which render them important, that importance increases the consequence of the people in their capacity of delegation: the people cannot be secure, unless the commons are secure; they are inseparably connected, both in interest and freedom: and though, upon some occasions, the privilege of parliament may be a seeming oppression to individuals, the loss of it would be attended with very fatal effects to the whole community: that if the house of commons had not, in their collective capacity, a title to peculiar privileges, no member of the community could claim them with any degree of propriety; and yet individuals not only claimed such privileges, but were protected in the enjoyment of them by the laws of the land. That nothing could be more misrepresented, than by saying that this measure was an injury to the freeholders of the county of Middlesex; for, on the contrary, the injury was attempted by themselves, who would obtrude an improper person on the house as a member, and obstinately persevere in the attempt, though all England was open for them to make a proper choice: that the supposed violation of right, of returning a person with a manifest inferiority of votes, will vanish, if the subject is properly considered, and a liberal construction put upon the law: that those who obstinately persevere in voting for an unqualified person, are to be considered as not voting at all; their right of suffrage is acknowledged; but if the elector obstinately refuses to exercise this right according to law, he has only suspends his own right for the time, and his act being illegal, is, consequently, void: he suffers no injury, because he knows the consequence of what he does; and if he will indulge himself so far, it can never be called a hardship: that an unqualified, incapacitated person, can be no candidate, and therefore all votes given in favour of such a person must be null and void. Such were the arguments made use of by the ministry; and they, as well as the opposite party, sheltered themselves under precedents in former parliaments.

On the ninth of May, his majesty prorogued the parliament; and, in his speech, told them, that every part of their conduct gave him the greatest satisfaction. He applauded them in the warmest manner for having attended with so much care to the interests of the people, and the suppression of riots and tumults, which had been so frequent, not only in London, but in many parts of the country. He added, that he had done all he could to bring about a negotiation between the Turks and Russians, to no purpose; but he hoped the calamities of war would not extend to any other parts of Europe. He thanked the commons for having so generously contributed towards supporting the dignity of government; and promised, that, in the whole of his conduct, he would attend to the most regular œconomy. Finally, he concluded



concluded by recommending to them to promote peace among their neighbours, so that public justice might not be obstructed; and that a proper regard should be paid to the laws.

Such was the internal state of Great Britain during the former part of the year, which naturally leads us to take notice of the affairs of the continent.

In Poland, the inclemency of the season had, for some time, prevented the contending parties from coming to action, by which the poor distressed inhabitants, who were all divided against each other, had time for a small respite.

The Turks had posted an army of six thousand men near Bender, to prevent the Russians from making incursions beyond the Ukraine, while their grand army was assembled in the neighbourhood of Adrianople; from whence parties were dispatched to guard the coasts of the Black Sea. The Turkish troops, many of whom had come from the warmer climates of Asia, were extremely sickly; and as their commanders doubted not but the Russians would avail themselves of such a circumstance, by attempting to bring on a winter campaign, they ordered all the bridges to be broken down, and the provisions to be removed. This was a most fatal stroke for the Russians; who, in consequence thereof, were deprived of the means of subsistence, and reduced to the greatest hardships. The kan of the Tartars having broken through the Russian lines, entered the province of New Servia, and committed the most horrid depredations on the innocent inhabitants; but the fatigues he underwent put an end to his life, which was a great loss to the Turks; for he was a man who had a perfect knowledge of military discipline, and was capable of conducting the greatest army whatever.

About this time the confederates of Bar in Poland took the field, assisted by several regiments of Turkish janizaries, and the whole began to make a very formidable appearance; but the Russians, who had the advantage of discipline, attacked them with such order and regularity, that they were defeated with great slaughter, and obliged to cross the Niefter with the loss of their cannon, and such magazines as they had formed.

In Constantinople, the greatest preparations were making for opening the campaign, and as the grand vizier was to take the field, the standard of Mahomet was to be displayed. Previous to this ceremony, a proclamation was issued, commanding all Christians, under pain of death, not to look at this celebrated banner. But notwithstanding this violent prohibition, yet it was impossible to prevent every one from seeing it; for it is a common observation, that curiosity is stimulated by restraint.

The wife and daughter of the sieur Bronyard, ambassador from Vienna, disdained the thoughts of giving up their Christian freedom to Mahometan bigotry, and therefore placed themselves at a window opposite to where the procession was to pass. They were soon taken notice of by the Turks, who flew into the most violent rage, and in an instant the ambassador's house was surrounded. The servants, who were well provided with fire-arms, made a most vigorous defence; and a dreadful fray ensued, in which several persons were killed, but the mob being numerous, they broke into the house, and laying hold of the ambassador's lady, were going to strangle her, had not a party of Janizaries arrived to assist her.

The grand vizier, who was a man of knowledge and generosity, expressed great sorrow for the insult that had been offered to the lady; and told the ambassador that he hoped he would impute it to the real cause, namely, the blind fury of an ignorant rabble, who could not be brought under proper restraints.

He assured him, at the same time, that he should have all the reparation that was possible, and soon after the vizier sent a present of jewels to his lady with a bag, containing the heads of the three prin-

cipal rioters. Nor was the grand seignior himself less complaisant to the ambassador, for he sent his own interpreter to make an apology for the indignity offered him; and, at the same time, delivered him a rich present. This part of the conduct of the vizier and seignior does great honour to their good sense, and may serve to convince us in this island, where we esteem ourselves for our politeness, that generosity, benevolence, and all the other virtues are to be found among those, whom we are too apt to consider in the same light as barbarians.

The Turkish army had been long incumbered with women, a practice that has existed time immemorial in the eastern countries; but the grand vizier, who had the most enlarged sentiments concerning the duty incumbent upon him as a vicé-roy, ordered them all to be sent home, well knowing that they would, in a great measure retard the military operations.

In the mean time prince Gallitzin, who commanded the Russian army on the banks of the Neister, thought this a proper time to attempt something decisive, before the Turkish army should arrive. Accordingly having crossed that river, he marched to Choczim, where he encamped in sight of a body of thirty thousand Turks, under the command of Caran Pacha, who were strongly entrenched under the cannon of that town. In the beginning of April the prince made the necessary disposition for attacking the Turks in their entrenchments; and notwithstanding a most vigorous defence, he drove them from all their advanced posts, and obliged them to take shelter within the pallisades of the fortress. The fire was so violent from the Russian artillery, that the greatest part of the town was reduced to ashes; while the Jews and Christians, who lived in it, having abandoned their most valuable effects, made their escape out of one of the posterns, and took refuge among the Russians, rather than give themselves up to the inhuman barbarity of the Turks.

The Russians began to form great hopes from this successful event; but in the midst of their rapid progress, they were obliged to retreat and cross the Neister, while the Turks harraressed them in the rear with unremitting fury. The circumstances of this retreat were so extraordinary, that the Russians did not so much as attempt to guard the passages of the river, and the Turkish cavalry over-run the neighbouring provinces, burning and destroying all the houses where the Russians had deposited their stores and provisions. A most pompous account of this affair was published at Constantinople, and the grand seignior went in public procession to the mosque to return thanks to heaven, where the mufti or chief priest bestowed upon him his solemn benediction, and invested him with the title of conqueror. It is true, hyperbole, or an extravagant use of words, has long been the custom of the eastern nations, and consistent with sound policy it may, in some measure, be justified; for such exaggerated accounts fill the minds of the vulgar with surprize, and keep them in proper subjection to government.

In the mean time, general Romanzow, who commanded a part of the Russian army, made an attempt on the important fortress of Oczakow, the capital of the Budziac Tartary, where the great river Boristhenes falls into the Black Sea; a place of great importance, because it opens a communication with the mouth of the Danube, and with several Turkish European provinces. The place was strong both by nature and art, and in it was a garrison of about twenty thousand Turks, so that notwithstanding the Russian general attacked it with great fury, yet he was obliged to raise the siege, and in his retreat was so much harraressed by the Turks, that he lost a great number of men. This action, though no way very considerable, was represented at Constantinople as a most signal victory, and great rejoicings were made upon it. The common people were told that the Russians were almost totally defeated; which had such



an effect upon their minds; that had they not been restrained by the civil power, they would have put to death all the Christians in that city.

In the mean time, the grand Turkish army moved slowly, and the grand vizier had many difficulties to encounter, for it was no easy matter to bring an army under proper rules of discipline; that had been collected from above fifty different nations. In general they either hated or despised each other, some valuing themselves on the courage that their ancestors had displayed in the field of battle, while others had nothing to boast besides that of their being born in the fertile plains of Syria, or the romantic mountains near the Caspian sea. Nor was it much better with the officers, for they were continually quarrelling among themselves, and on many occasions refused to obey their orders. The Janizaries, a sort of militia, though the standing army of the Turkish empire, had been always accustomed to set the example to the other troops of obeying their officers and fighting in defence of their court; but now they became so licentious, that discipline was trampled under foot, and the whole army exhibited one scene of riot and disorder.

During the continuance of these disorders, the grand vizier acted like a man of wisdom and prudence; for confiding in the power that was reposed in him, he insisted that every soldier in the army should attend to his duty, or be punished in the most exemplary manner. In the mean time, he knew that nothing would be more dangerous than to suffer an irregular undisciplined army to engage with the veteran forces of Russia; and therefore he ordered several detachments to advance in the front, that they might learn the art of war by skirmishing with the enemy. Such was the conduct of the grand vizier, and those who have read the Roman history must acknowledge, that it was not inferior to any thing performed by the great Fabius, when he was sent to oppose Hannibal. Great abilities are often concealed under the covert of supposed ignorance; but all mankind being by nature the same, the latent seeds of knowledge will break forth notwithstanding every opposition.

While the Turkish vizier was going on in this prudent manner, prince Gallitzen was making preparations for crossing the Niefter; and for that purpose he detached general Rennecamp with a considerable body of forces to divert the attention of the enemy on the other side of the river. This measure had the desired effect; for the Russian army having marched a few miles to the south, crossed the river without the least molestation.

Before the Turks were aware, the Russians attacked them with great fury, while the Turkish army did all they could to defend themselves; but discipline overcame numbers, and the Russians drove them once more to their entrenchments under the walls of Choczim. This victory was owing to the bravery of the Russian infantry, who stood immovable, and proceeded gradually as the Turks retreated, killing them in great numbers. During all these misfortunes the grand vizier did not despair; he knew that his army was, for the most part, an undisciplined rabble; but he knew that action would bring them into exercise, and therefore he resolved to persevere in his duty.

Whenever the Turkish arms are not successful, those who command them are sure to be disgraced, if not executed, and the more elevated their rank, the greater their danger. Thus the grand vizier, who had hitherto acted with great prudence, and gone great lengths in establishing military discipline, fell a sacrifice to misguided fury, and Ali Pacha Moldavini, a man of a most violent temper, was appointed his successor. Many other changes took place both at court and in the army; and while the vizier Carman Pacha went to meet him in the most humble and respectful manner, but for some secret grudge that the vizier had against him, his head was ordered to be

cut off. The unfortunate bassaw endeavoured to retire, and for his own safety drew his sword, but he was soon surrounded by numbers and cut in pieces.

In the mean time his felictar or sword-bearer, fired with indignation at the fate of his master, drew out a pistol and aimed the shot at the head of the vizier, who would have been shot, had not one of his faithful domestics saved his life at the expence of his own. The felictar was soon overpowered and cut in pieces, and both their heads cut off and exposed, according to the Turkish custom, on the front of the grand vizier's tent. From the fate of these two brave men, we may learn that the Turks, although not such barbarians as they were when they conquered that extensive empire, yet they are still far from being a polished people.

General Romanzow committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Bender, where he burnt and plundered several towns and villages; defeated a detachment of Turks, and drove off a great booty of cattle. The Tartars also committed great ravages in Poland, where they almost totally destroyed the palatinate of Bricklaw, besides doing much mischief in other places. In the beginning of September the Russians lay encamped on the banks of the Niefter, and defended the passage of that river against the Turks, whose whole army, under the new vizier, arrived on the opposite banks.

The vizier next night ordered a detachment of his best troops, consisting of eight thousand, to cross the river, a few miles below, and attack the Russians in flank. This they did, and for some time the battle was extremely furious; but at last the Turks were obliged to retreat across the river, after losing four thousand of their best troops.

The sending detachments across rivers where a great army is encamped, is a strong proof that the vizier was utterly destitute of skill in military affairs; for how could he expect that they would be able either to oppose the Russians, or to retreat, seeing there was no communication between them and the main army but by crossing the river. Indeed the vizier was too rash and obstinate to hearken to the advice of his officers; for as his predecessor had been displaced for being too cautious, he resolved to succeed by an opposite extreme.

In consequence of a resolution bordering on madness, the vizier ordered three bridges to be laid across the Niefter, and began to cross that river in sight of the whole Russian army. Prince Gallitzen suffered a considerable number of them to cross, and then about seven o'clock on the morning of the ninth of September, he attacked them with his infantry in three square columns, and the battle was obstinately disputed till noon, when the Russians pushed on so furiously, with their bayonets fixed, that the Turks were obliged to give way.

It must be acknowledged that the Turks behaved with great bravery, but such was the ignorance and obstinacy of the vizier, that he never considered the nature of the ground, so that his men were taken in both flanks before they could possibly form, and in the battle and retreating across the bridges, the flower of their best troops were destroyed. Seven thousand Turks were left dead on the field, besides those that were wounded and taken prisoners; and a great number were drowned in crossing the river.

This dreadful carnage, the signal and immediate punishment of folly and rashness, would have struck any mind, except that of the vizier's. It seems unaccountable that the soldiers, who were so turbulent and ungovernable under the late vizier, should now bear the continual destruction that attended this extravagant conduct, without flying into any act of extremity. It may, however, serve to shew that there is nothing an army will not attempt or endure for a general who keeps the soldiers warm in continual action; if, at the same, he directs his conduct in such a manner as seems consistent with real courage, though some degree of prudence may be wanting.



The vizier, not in the least dispirited by his loss, laid one bridge only across the river, and had the precaution to cover it with several batteries of cannon, his resolution being to cross the river with the whole army, let the consequences be what they would. This was such a bold attempt, that we scarce find an instance in history parallel to it; and had it been mixed with prudence, the name of this vizier would have been much more respectable than it is.

Four thousand cavalry, with eight thousand janizaries, had already crossed the river, and with them was a large train of artillery; and the rest of the army was in motion to follow them, when a sudden swell of the river carried away the bridge. Thus were twelve thousand brave men inclosed by the Russian army in the front, and the river now rendered impassable in the rear, without time or an opportunity of entrenching themselves.

The Russians seeing them in such a deplorable situation, resolved to avail themselves of so favourable an opportunity. An engagement, truly desperate, ensued, in which the Russians fought like men who were assured of success, while the Turks resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. The severity of the Turkish manners, which has not admitted of the civilized and humane custom of exchanging prisoners, prevented a capitulation from being desired, or any proposals for laying down their arms. The battle was severe, and the slaughter prodigious. About three hundred, out of twelve thousand, escaped by swimming, the rest being either killed in the field, drowned in the river, or taken prisoners. Sixty-four pieces of cannon were taken, with one hundred and fifty standards; and, for several miles, nothing was to be seen but dead bodies.

The agitation of mind which the Turkish forces must suffer, who were the unhappy spectators, on the opposite shore of the river, of the cruel slaughter of their friends, may possibly be conceived, but cannot be described. Perhaps, to a feeling, tender mind, the momentary agony was more severe to him who was the looker on, than to the immediate sufferer. While the bloody contest continued, the whole army was buried in silence; but when the slaughter was finished, and all hopes lost, they expressed their rage and grief in the bitterest cries and lamentations; at the same time, imprecating the most bitter curses on the vizier.

In the midst of their rage and despair, they broke up the camp; and throwing off all obedience to their leaders, abandoned the strong fort of Choczim, and retired, in a tumultuous manner, towards the Danube. Immediately prince Gallitzin sent a detachment to take possession of the place, and there they found the whole of the stores and ammunition belonging to the Turks; for such was the terror they were thrown into, that they never once thought of securing or destroying them.

Prince Gallitzin having placed a garrison of four regiments in the fort, under the command of count Romanzow, who, at the same time, was to remain commander in chief of the army till his return, set out for the court of Petersburg, to receive the thanks of his royal mistress. Another army of Russians over-ran the province of Moldavia, and took possession of the capital of Jassy, situated on the river Pruth, about one hundred miles eastward of Choczim.

While the war was carried on in this manner between the Turks and Russians, the pope died at Rome in a very advanced age, and was succeeded by cardinal Ganganelli, who assumed the name of Clement XIV. He had been brought up, from his most early youth, for the church; and, to an universal acquaintance with learning in general, he had added moderation in his conduct; and was an enemy to all combinations among princes, which tend to prolong civil disturbances. He endeared himself to the people of Rome, by issuing orders for lowering the prices of provisions; and he suppressed the custom, so long in use

with his predecessors, to oblige all foreign ambassadors to kiss their toe.

A.D. 1770. In England, during the preceding summer, several remonstrances had been presented to the throne, complaining of an undue election of a member for the county of Middlesex; but all the answer the remonstrance received was, that his majesty would do nothing without the consent of his parliament. That the ministry might be supported effectually, it was resolved on in council to adhere to their grand scheme, the Middlesex election, as a perpetual rule of policy. "Besides," said they, "if the subjects are permitted to go on in this manner, remonstrating against the conduct of their own representatives, we shall be sure of a majority in parliament."

While the minds of the people in general were agitated in considering what would be the event of these things, both houses of parliament met; but not the least notice was taken of the remonstrances in the speech from the throne, which surprised people still more; but then it was considered, that the ministry had determined to add fortitude to their conduct, whether it were right or wrong.

Some notice was taken of foreign affairs, particularly the state of the war between the Turks and the Russians; but the principal things insisted on by his majesty, were the following, namely, the distracted state of America, and the distemper which had broke out among the horned cattle. The former was, in the strongest terms, recommended to their serious attention, as a thing of the utmost importance to the dignity of government. The other was mentioned as a most dreadful calamity to the nation in general; and it was recommended to every one to exert themselves in endeavouring to put a stop to the infection, before it should spread any farther.

This speech was severely handled by the public in general, who thought that nothing should have been so much touched on as the petitions and remonstrances. Ridicule was circulated with great freedom, especially as the existence of the distemper among the horned cattle was not believed to be of so universal a nature as had been insinuated and represented.

It was immediately moved by the ministry, that an address should be presented to the throne; upon which a most violent debate arose, and it was carried on with a heat of temper and severity of expression scarce ever known in the house before.

It was insisted by those who opposed the ministry, that, in the address, it should be recommended to his majesty to take into consideration the grievances of the people. On the other hand, the existence of those pretended was denied, and all the discontents among the people were ascribed to the conduct of those gentlemen who had been disappointed in their ambitious views. It was farther urged, that even allowing grievances to exist, as stated in the remonstrances, yet the methods used in seeking redress had been very indecent and unbecoming: that not one tenth of the freeholders, and but very few of the clergy or justices of the peace, had signed these petitions; and although there might be some respectable names found to them, yet the whole could be considered in no other light than as the act of a rabble.

Such were the outlines of the arguments made use of by those who stood up in defence of administration; and many virulent epithets were thrown out on the other party, whom, in derision, they called Petition-hunters. These charges drew from the gentlemen in the opposition a spirited avowal of the part they had taken in respect to the petitions, and of the sentiments they delivered to their constituents. They insisted, that they were under obligations to give an account of their conduct in parliament to their constituents, and to give them the most early notice of every measure adopted by the court, that might, in the least, threaten the subversion of their rights and privileges:



privileges. That in the present instance, they had not hunted after petitions, for the petitioners had sought them, and had charged them with their commands, which they were bound to deliver. It had been insinuated by some of the ministry, that these meetings were seditious; but those in the opposition treated the expression with every term of ridicule, and threw back the charge, by calling every meeting of the ministry these two years, no better than a seditious one; because in them were laid schemes for trampling on the rights of the subjects. These debates, which were carried on with too much heat by both parties to bring any honour to the speakers, being ended, the address was voted for and carried by a great majority.

Before any business of importance was undertaken, some very remarkable changes took place in the ministry. The seals were taken from lord Camden, and the honourable Charles York was created chancellor in his room, but he died within three days afterwards; and then the chancery was put into commission, the seals being delivered to baron Smyth, and the justices Bathurst and Aston. The marquis of Granby resigned all his places, except the royal regiment of blues, and was succeeded as master of the ordnance by general Conway. The duke of Beaufort resigned the place of master of the horse to the queen; the earl of Huntingdon his place of groom of the stole; and the duke of Manchester, with the earl of Coventry, their places of lords of the bedchamber. Mr. Dunning, the solicitor-general, and Mr. Grenville, one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, resigned at the same time. The whole of the administration seemed to be falling in pieces, a general panic prevailed; but the court, resolute to its purpose, was determined to fight the battle notwithstanding the desertion of so many of its principal commanders. Sir John Cust, speaker of the house of commons, resigned at the same time; but that was owing to his age and infirm state of health. In his room was elected Sir Fletcher Norton, a gentleman who had made a very distinguishing figure at the bar, and who had lately been advanced to a most valuable sinecure.

Within a week after these changes had taken place, the duke of Grafton, to the astonishment of the whole nation, resigned the place of first lord of the treasury, and was succeeded by lord North, who had been some time chancellor of the exchequer. Various were the causes assigned by the public for this act of the duke's, some attributing it to fear, and others to treachery; but as he still continued to support all the measures of government, it appeared evident that the sole reason was, the necessity of having one of the members of the house of commons to be at the head of public affairs.

The first thing that came before the commons was an enquiry into the validity of the Middlesex election; but after warm debates it was held, by a considerable majority, that no court of law was to meddle with any of their rules and orders. This measure astonished the whole nation, and many persons began to look upon the house of commons as a standing council for the crown. Nor was this important subject agitated with less heat in the house of lords. The earl of Chatham with lord Camden, and many other peers, opposed it with great strength of argument, and produced proofs from many of our law books and parliamentary journals, that no such step had ever been taken, not even in the most despotic reigns. But notwithstanding the force of these arguments, ministerial interest prevailed, and the proceeding of the house of commons, in the affair of the Middlesex election, were all just and equitable.

A motion was made to bring in a bill to disqualify certain officers of the revenues from voting for members of parliament. It was said by those who supported the motion, that at the revolution the produce of the customs and excise were both extremely small, nor was there at that time any probability that they

would ever amount to the enormous sum of six millions sterling, as they then actually did. To this they attributed the inattention of the patriots of that age, who, if they had foreseen the unconstitutional weight that must have been thrown into the scale on the side of the crown, by the appointment of officers to collect so vast a revenue, they would undoubtedly have taken proper and effectual measures to prevent the dangerous influence which it must afford, in the election of representatives for the people.

On the other side it was urged, that the bill was altogether unnecessary, and in its own nature extremely cruel. That it was no less than the disfranchising a great number of men who had long enjoyed that privilege, and as the motion then stood, it might extend to all the officers under the crown. It was added, that no evidence had been so much as suggested of any undue influence used by the crown, and therefore the motion was rejected by a very great majority.

The popular party, having lost this motion, desired that all the papers, containing a list of the expences of government, should be laid before them. It was said in support of the motion, that the civil-list revenue if misapplied; instead of maintaining the dignity of the crown, served only to besiege it with parasites, and in the place of promoting arts and industry, to subvert the liberties of the people. That though the funds allotted for this purpose were fully adequate, not only to every necessary, but to every liberal expence, that was necessary to support the dignity of the regal character; yet neither the greatness of the fund, nor the confessed œconomy of the times, were sufficient to prevent an enormous debt from being contracted, and the people from being applied to for more money, at a time when men in the kingdom were of opinion that too much had been granted already.

That necessary expences had been much more considerable in the latter reign than the present, because the branches of the royal family were then grown up, and consequently demanded larger allowances. The journeys to the continent, however expedient, were frequent, and at all times expensive; and none would pretend to say, that magnificence was not as well understood, and perhaps better supported, than at present; yet his late majesty not only lived within the bounds of the civil-list, but a sum of one hundred and seventy thousand pounds wholly saved from that revenue.

That it was neither intended nor wished, to limit the crown to a salary inadequate to its real dignity and greatness; for if it should appear that the money had been spent in promoting useful purposes, those who made the motion will be the first to give their approbation. But if on the contrary, it should appear that the money had been squandered away among time-serving wretches, who sought to ruin their country; then those who advised such measures should be called to a severe account.

To this it was answered by those who stood up for the ministry, that if an application had been now made for an additional sum to make good any deficiency in the civil-list establishment, an enquiry into the causes of it would be natural and justifiable; and it would be but reasonable, that the ministry, in such a circumstance, should give the utmost satisfaction to the people; say, that it was even their duty to do so, and shew the reasons why the provision already made was not sufficient; but till such a requisition was made, it would be improper and very disrespectful to the crown, to scrutinize into the manner in which the money for the support of the royal family had been expended. It was urged farther, that a certain sum of money was allowed annually for the support of the civil-list, and while the expences do not exceed that sum, there can be no reason for making any enquiry. They concluded by taking notice, that as the civil-list was the property of the crown, his majesty had a right to dispose of it in whatever manner he



he pleased. At last, the vote being put, the motion, like all others opposed by the ministry, was rejected by a great majority.

This affair, which had made no small noise out of doors, being over, the next thing was to take into consideration the state of the colonies in America. A petition had been presented by the merchants trading to North-America, setting forth the great hardships they laboured under in consequence of an act, by which a duty had been laid on some trifling articles exported from Great-Britain; and this had so much enraged the people, that they refused to purchase the goods, after they had been sent there at a considerable expence. This affair being of a very serious nature, the house took it into consideration, and repealed every part of it, except what related to tea, which was still continued. The debates concerning this bill were managed by great force of argument on both sides, for the popular party fought a repeal of the whole, while the ministry insisted, that the Americans, instead of deserving any such indulgence, ought to have had more severe laws binding upon them.

While the greatest part of the nation was agitated by reflecting on the consequences that would result from these measures; while individuals were seeking to promote their private interests, and the government to establish its authority, a bill was brought into the house of commons by one of the leading men in the opposition, for regulating the proceedings on controverted elections; a bill equally just and popular, and which all the subjects of Great-Britain were more or less concerned. It will be proper to make the reader acquainted with the nature of this bill, that he may be the better able to judge of its utility, and how far such a law was, in a manner, absolutely necessary.

It had been the custom formerly in all contested elections; to refer the matter to a select committee of the most learned and upright members in the house; and, in general, their opinion was seldom called in question; but in time the committees had been enlarged, and all who came in having votes, a shameful partiality prevailed; which in the end induced those, who thought themselves injured, to apply for remedy at the bar of the house.

This method, however, was found to be very defective; and attended with many inconveniences, owing principally to the vast number of those who were to try the cause in dispute; and who, besides being biased by the ties of private friendship, were not bound by any oath to prevent such influence from operating on their minds.

At the same time, the method of trying these causes at the bar became an obstacle to many branches of public business, especially in the last sessions of a new parliament, when there was scarce time to attend to any thing else. It was at the same time very disagreeable to the members themselves, who were continually teased with applications in favour of both candidates, that they would give their attendance, and although it was not said that they were to vote contrary to truth and equity, yet their attendance was considered as equivalent to their approbation. To all this it may be added, that as the ministry have always a majority on their side to support them in all their measures, so if they chuse to stand up in defence of any one of the candidates, they can, by promises and threatenings, get a sufficient number to vote him the fitting member.

To remedy these defects this bill was brought in, and the plan of it was consistent with the first principles of the constitution. When a petition was to be presented, a day was to be fixed for hearing both parties, who were to attend with their witnesses and council; and if one hundred members were not present, then they were to wait till such time as so many were present; when the names of the whole, altho' they should exceed that number, were to be put into six boxes or glasses, to be drawn alternately and read

by the speaker, till forty-nine are chosen; the fitting member and the petitioner being allowed to chuse one each. Lifts were then to be given to the fitting member, the petitioner, councils, witnesses, &c: who, with the clerk, were to withdraw, and strike off one alternately till the number should be reduced to thirteen; who, with the two named by the parties, were to make a committee to determine the affair in dispute. Such was the nature of this new bill, and it must be acknowledged that nothing could be more just or equitable for the freedom of elections, and every measure used to prevent corruption and bribery must at all times be the life of the British constitution.

While the house of commons were engaged on this grand subject, the city of London met in their common-hall, and agreed upon another petition, address and remonstrance, for redress of their pretended grievances in the affair of the Middlesex election. In this address it was expressly declared, that the house of commons had acted in the most unconstitutional manner, and therefore they prayed that they might be dissolved; that the people might be left at liberty to make a free choice. In answer to this, his majesty told them, that he had never done any thing but by the advice and consent of his parliament, and therefore he could not comply with their request.

Violent disputes arose in parliament on this affair, and many opprobrious expressions were made use of on both sides. It was said that the citizens of London were the support of the government on every occasion; that it had been the custom, time immemorial, to consult them on the most important matters; to which the ministry answered, that no affront had been offered to the citizens of London, nor any thing denied them, except such as was in its own nature improper to be granted.

It is now necessary that we should take some view of the affairs of Ireland, which for some time had been thrown into great confusion, in consequence of a bill being brought in and passed, by which a new parliament is to be elected every eight years. From the Revolution down to the year 1769, the parliaments of Ireland continued till the death of the king; so that the members became a standing council to administration, while the people were deprived of their privileges. One would have thought that an act of so popular a nature as that of having frequent parliaments, would have met with the approbation of all ranks of people; but in many instances the reverse took place.

Many of those who had been long in parliament considered themselves as injured, because they had been made to believe, that they should not vacate their seats till the death of the king. These brought over all their dependents to second them, but their resentment was concealed for some time. When the new parliament met nothing but harmony was to be seen among the members, and the lord-lieutenant was treated with every mark of respect: but this good humour was of short continuance.

The lord-lieutenant, according to orders received from the ministry, thought this a fair opportunity for bringing in a bill for the augmentation of the forces, which had failed of success at the breaking up of the last parliament. Accordingly, a message was sent, recommending this measure in the strongest terms from the throne, as a matter his majesty had much at heart, for the honour of the crown and the safety of the kingdom.

This augmentation was to consist of private men only, without any additional officers; and it was proposed further, that as soon as the old staff officers died, no more new ones should be appointed, except one commander in chief, and five generals. Great opposition was made to this bill, for it was alledged that such a requisition was unnecessary in time of profound peace; that the military establishment in that kingdom was already too expensive, while the nation was loaded with taxes to support them, that

although



although the nation paid for twelve thousand effective men for the security of the state, yet above four thousand of these were abroad in different garrisons. It is impossible to express the warmth of contention that arose between the court and the popular party.

It was considered as a most odious measure, that a bill brought into the house of commons in Ireland should have been framed by the privy-council in England. It is true, there is a law for that purpose, commonly called Poyning's act; but as it was made in the arbitrary and tyrannical reign of Henry VII. so all sober men thought that in this enlightened age, it ought to have been set aside.

It was urged further, that this was a money bill, with which the privy-council of England had nothing to do. Nay, they could not meddle with such things, even in their own country. That money could only be raised by the representatives of the people, and it was known to every one that no body of men were represented by the privy-council, they themselves being taxed in parliament by every new bill, which becomes binding on them as well as on the rest of the subjects.

Those who stood up for the ministry in support of the bill had very little to say, for they saw that they had begun the bill in a very improper manner. Had it originated in the Irish house of commons, there is reason to imagine that the bill would have passed; but the clamour was so great that it was rejected by a very great majority.

But notwithstanding the bill was rejected, yet the commons voted the most liberal supply for the support of the civil-list, and all other expences attending the government. The lord-lieutenant was so much disappointed at the loss of his favourite bill, that he went to the house of peers and entered a formal protest against it, as an act of disobedience to the privy-council. He then made a long speech from the throne, after which he prorogued the parliament. Some suspicions that the lord-lieutenant was going to prorogue the parliament had taken place a week before, and those lords who had opposed his measures, made a motion, that no protest should be entered in the journals, unless signed by a lord of parliament. This occasioned a most violent debate; but the motion being rejected by a small majority, the minority entered a protest against it. The house of commons, previous to their breaking up, forbid the lord-lieutenant's speech from being entered in the journal's.

Such were the proceedings in this first session of the first limited parliament. No business had passed, except that of granting the common supplies. All the national business was left undone; the temporary acts, which are either altered or reversed every year, whether relative to agriculture, trade, the preservation of the public safety, the supplying the capital with provisions, and the support of public charities, were now at an end. The whole kingdom was filled with the utmost consternation, discontents took place every where, and nothing but confusion was to be seen.

This affair being of the utmost importance, a motion was made in the English house of commons, that all the instructions sent to the lord-lieutenant should be laid before the house. In the debates on this subject, the conduct of the lord-lieutenant was treated with particular marks of severity; for it was said, that he had cajoled the parliament of Ireland out of a considerable sum, and then prorogued them before they had time to enter on the national business. It was added further, that the English parliament was called upon by every motive of justice and humanity, to enquire into the state of our sister kingdom, and to grant them that redress which their own parliament could not.

On the other hand it was urged, that a controuling power must be lodged somewhere. That Poyning's law had lodged that controuling power in the king and council, and as the Irish house of commons had

refused to obey that law, the lord-lieutenant was under the necessity of proroguing them. That they had, by their conduct, struck at the root of the constitution; and that if the lord-lieutenant had not prorogued them, he would have been liable to an impeachment. However, this motion, like others brought in by the ministry, was over-ruled, and Ireland was left, for some time, in a state of confusion and distress.

Near the close of this session of parliament, several proposals were made in the house of lords relating to the state affairs in America; and these were chiefly supported by the duke of Richmond. These were introduced by some severe strictures on the conduct of administration. He said, that the state of America had been recommended from the throne in a speech at the opening of the session, and yet the session was near spent without any thing being done, though the business was of the utmost importance. The ministry were now sensible that they had been too rash in recommending the care of America before any settled plan had been laid down; and therefore, perplexed to the utmost, they saw no other method left, but that of adjourning the debate till a future day, well knowing that the parliament would be prorogued.

On the nineteenth of May his majesty went to the house, and, in a speech from the throne, applauded them for the zeal they had shewn in supporting the interest and honour of the nation. He assured them, that he should, on all occasions, seek the happiness of his people; and that it should be the sole object of his care, to watch over their interests. He concluded, by recommending to them the preservation of public peace, and the discountenancing of tumultuous meetings of the people, which, if encouraged, must end in general confusion.

Before we return to take notice of the state of affairs on the continent, we shall here observe, that on the twenty-seventh of July, about four o'clock in the morning, a most dreadful fire broke out, or was discovered in the great dock-yard at Portsmouth. It burnt with the most rapid fury, and communicating itself with the hemp-house, and other offices, consumed every thing before it. Whether this was an accident, or the work of some vile wretch and incendiary, has not yet been discovered, and perhaps never will. Some impostors, indeed, pretended to have been concerned in it, particularly one Dudley, who has since that time been transported for perjury; and the other, whose name was Britain, has been since executed for forgery. The most remarkable circumstance attending this fatal affair was, the fire was discovered in five different places at once, which gave strong suspicions that more than one person must have been concerned; for accidental fires generally break out in one place only. Had this accident, or whatever it was, happened during the heat of the war, it might have proved fatal to the nation in general; for the whole loss, amounting to one hundred and forty-nine thousand, eight hundred, and eighty-eight pounds, could not have been made good without great difficulty, till such time as the parliament met. But even supposing one individual could have advanced it, yet the time necessary for replacing the stores, might have given the enemy an opportunity of doing great injury to the place.

While the Russians seemed to triumph on the Danube and Neister, a large fleet of men of war was fitted out, by order of the empress, to pass the Sound, and from thence proceed up the streights to attack the Turks by sea as well as land. It will appear evident to those persons conversant with history, that extraordinary events are seldom brought about but by a concurrence of circumstances to facilitate their execution; and it may perhaps be asserted, that all the great revolutions of which we read in history, would have failed had they not been attempted at one particular period; namely, that in which they took place.



The efforts of Peter the Great to create a navy, and bring up sailors, had been looked upon as the extraordinary attempt of a great man, and it was imagined the project would die with him, but the reverse took place; for although Russia has been, almost since his death, governed by women, yet their empire has been advancing gradually to a state of perfection. Her navy is now as respectable as can be imagined; and her sailors, naturally robust and hardy, think no dangers too great.

The last vizier, who had acted in so rash and unguarded a manner, was deposed, and banished to one of the Greek islands; and that honour was conferred on Hiliel Bey, a man of great abilities and unshaken integrity. He knew that the provinces of Moldavia and Walachia were the grand objects the Russians had in view; and therefore, contrary to the custom of the Turks, he resolved to venture on a winter campaign. This was a design worthy of a great commander; for he imagined that the Russians would be too much flushed with their late successes, to think of any attack being made upon them. In that, however, the vizier was mistaken; for the Russians were too vigilant to be surprised, and both armies continued skirmishing, in small parties, during the winter and spring. In general, the Russians were successful in these engagements, so that the grand vizier's plan did not succeed in its full extent; but still, by keeping his men in continual action, they became more and more acquainted with the art of war.

In the mean time, the country where the seat of war lay presented a scene of the most dreadful desolation: almost every thing had been destroyed; and such of the miserable inhabitants as had not time to escape to the neighbouring countries, were either made slaves by the Tartars, or butchered, to satisfy the rage and fury of the Turks.

The army under the command of general Romanzow having crossed the Neister, and marched on slowly towards the Pruth, a river which rises in Poland; crosses Moldavia, and falls into the Danube. From thence he continued his march to Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, about two hundred miles east of Choczim. Great part of the country through which he passed was little better than a desert, being totally destitute of water, so that they were obliged to carry that necessary article along with them. Such impediments may easily account for the slowness of general Romanzow, who seemed to move in a similar direction with count Panin, who was at the head of an army on the banks of the Neister, his design being to lay siege to the important fortress of Bender.

Every thing seemed now to give way to the Russian power; and several detachments of the Turks having been cut off, the grand vizier resolved to venture on an engagement. About eight o'clock in the evening, both armies came in sight of each other, near the banks of the Pruth, and the Tartars were drawn up on the left of the Russians; but soon afterwards, they spread themselves out into small parties, in order to cut off a convoy of waggons, containing the provisions for the Russian army.

In some situations, and under several circumstances, boldness is prudence, and then it is that great minds are discovered, by their actions, from mere common abilities. General Romanzow was one of those great men; for had a less experienced commander been at the head of the Russian army, they might have been totally cut off. The Russians had been very much weakened by sending out detached parties, and therefore it seemed little better than madness to venture on an engagement. The general, however, confiding in the goodness of his troops, and the confidence they had in him, from a long series of successes, resolved to attack the enemy next morning. Accordingly they began to move, in order of battle, about day-break; and, as soon as it was light, the general found, that, notwithstanding the vast superiority of numbers, the Turks had thrown up strong entrench-

ments before their camp. This did not in the least damp the spirits of the Russian general, for he had formed a resolution, and, let the consequences be what they would, he persisted in going through with it. His situation, indeed, was truly critical; for, had he been defeated, the army under the command of general Panin would have been taken in the rear, and the heavy artillery must have fallen into the hands of the Turks.

The Turks, notwithstanding their having thrown up entrenchments, no sooner saw the Russians advancing, than they marched out to meet them; but the good order and regular discipline of the Russians bore down all opposition, and they drove the Turks back to their entrenchments. The battle now became dreadful; for the grand vizier seeing the critical situation he was in, made a sally at the head of his best troops; but the Russians, with their bayonets, forced them back, and took possession of the first entrenchment. The battle now became more bloody than ever; and, after the Turks had used every effort to retrieve the honour of the day, the Russian discipline overcame, and all the entrenchments were taken.

The route now became general; the Turks fled on every side; while the grand vizier, seeing the battle totally lost, made the best of his way for the Danube, which was distant about twenty-four miles.

This was one of the completest victories that we read of in history; for the whole camp equipage, with the tents, one hundred and forty-three pieces of cannon, and above seven thousand carriages loaded with provisions, fell into the hands of the Russians. Seven thousand Turks were left dead on the field; many were made prisoners; while the rest were pursued as far as the Danube, in which some thousands of them were drowned.

While the Russians, under general Romanzow, were gaining victories every day in Moldavia, count Panin laid siege to Bender, which the Turks had fortified in the strongest manner. The garrison made a most vigorous defence; and, in the compass of fourteen days from the opening of the trenches, they sallied out seven different times upon the Russians. The governor was so overcome with grief and despair when he heard that the grand vizier had been defeated, that he took poison, and so put an end to his own life. The garrison, determined to hold out to the last, made choice of another in his room, who behaved with great bravery; for the siege was carried on with unremitted fury, and the place as gallantly defended, till the Russians, tired out with delays, resolved to make one vigorous effort, which was done by three different columns in the night of the seventh of September.

The walls had been undermined, and a vast quantity of gunpowder put into the aperture; which being set fire to, blew up in the most dreadful manner; while the different columns having joined each other, entered the breach sword in hand, and carried destruction along with them. A most dreadful carnage ensued; for the Russians spared none who came in their way, and the greatest part of the town was reduced to ashes.

The misfortunes of the Turks were not confined to the Danube or the Neister; for the most northerly, as well as the most southerly parts of their dominions in Europe, seemed doomed to all the calamities of war. The time seemed to be arrived, when the most wretched state of their government, which, for many years, had suffered their military, as well as their naval force, to fall into decay and ruin, should be punished both by sea and land. The conduct of the Turks, in suffering themselves to sleep into a stupid security, is similar to an error which all great empires have fallen into at one time or other. For the truth of this, we have no more to do than to turn to the histories of those great empires which once made such distinguishing figures; but are now only known by name. They grew up to a state of maturity by virtue and valour; their middle ages were distinguished



guished by well regulated institutions; but sloth, effeminacy, and the relaxation of every moral obligation, undermined their foundations, and brought on their ruin.

The Russian fleet, the first belonging to that empire that ever passed the Sound, failed from England, and passing the streights of Gibraltar, arrived at Port-Mahon, in the island of Minorca, in a very shattered and sickly condition. There they received all that friendly assistance for which the English are so justly celebrated; and the salutary air, with the use of fresh provisions, soon restored the men to health; so that the fleet was enabled to weigh anchor, and proceed on its voyage. In the mean time, application was made to the maritime states of Italy, to know on what terms they would act with respect to the Russians; and whether, in case of their being reduced to distress, they would allow them shelter in their harbours. Those states gave but a very reserved and equivocal answer, till at last pressed to it, they promised to allow some of them to come in, under certain restrictions.

During the latter part of the last year, some Russian officers had been employed in carrying on a negotiation with the Greeks, which was no difficult matter to bring about, seeing they were both of the same religion, and had been long oppressed by the Turks. They now hoped to shake off the yoke of slavery; and their hopes rose to a pitch of extravagance equal to that of the Jews, when they imagined the Messiah was come among them.

Count Orlow, who commanded the Russian fleet, set sail from Minorca in the beginning of February; and, after a very dangerous and tedious voyage, arrived at Cape Metapan, the ancient promontory of Tenarus. This country, the ancient and famous Peloponnesus, once the seat of philosophers and poets, being all classical ground, is too well known to require any description. Indeed, if it did, modern travellers can supply that defect, though their accounts are far inferior to those of the ancients.

The Russian admiral having landed the forces which he had on board, at Maina, the capital of the ancient Sparta, the people of the country, the descendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, who still retained some of the spirit of their ancestors, flocked in great numbers to join his standard. The other Greeks in general followed their example; for, in general, the inhabitants of the Morea only waited for an opportunity of asserting their freedom.

Arcadia, Mistra, and many other places, were soon taken; and the Greeks massacred every Turk whom they laid hold of, without regard to age or sex. From this we may infer, that although the Greeks assume to themselves the name of Christians, they are destitute of the first principles of humanity; for whatever cruelty had been inflicted on them by the Turkish government, yet that did not warrant their murdering individuals.

The Turkish governor of Messalougi finding himself unable to defend the place any longer, and expecting no mercy from the Russians, put his person under the protection of the Greek Syndic, the chief magistrate of the town; but no sooner had the villainous Syndic got him in his power, than he caused him to be put to death.

Nor was this unnatural fury confined to the continent; for revenge, novelty, and the hope of plunder, operated every where, and even extended to the islands, where the most horrid murders were committed, with circumstances of the most savage barbarity. Three Turkish ships, with some recruits on board, for the service of the army on the continent, having put into the island of Milone, one of the ancient Cyclades, the greatest part of the crew going on shore, were all barbarously murdered. At Maina, count Orlow published a manifesto in the name of the empress of Russia, wherein, among other things, it is expressly declared, that she looked upon herself as under a religious obligation to set the Greeks at

liberty from the Turkish slavery, promising, at the same time, protection to all those who would join her army, and threatening military execution to such as refused; for it is remarkable in the Russians, that they seldom publish a proclamation that is not clogged with some oppressive mark or condition.

From Maina count Orlow sailed for Corom, a strong town at the extremity of the peninsula; but the fortifications of it had been long neglected, like most other towns in the Turkish empire, so that it was soon taken. The harbour was good, and capable of admitting a great number of ships; and therefore the Russian admiral ordered that it should be their place of general rendezvous.

Petras was taken in the latter end of March, it being one of the most important places in the Morea. It is celebrated in history for being the metropolitan city of Claventia, and is situated on that arm of the gulph which separates it from the ancient Livadia, about sixty miles west of Corinth, and one hundred and twenty north-west of Mistra. This great and once flourishing city was not able to make any defence; and the Greeks, who accompanied the Russian army, no sooner made a breach in the walls, than they broke in, and murdered the innocent inhabitants, without any distinction of age or sex. Such as could make their escape from the hands of the murderers, (for they merit no better name) took shelter in the castle, which the Russians and Greeks instantly besieged. The Greeks, however, were but of little service to the Russians, for they minded plunder more than military discipline.

In the mean time, a body of Albanians and Turks having passed the Isthmus, marched to its relief, and engaged the Russians in the most furious manner. At the same time, the governor made a sally, and a mine bursting, the city was set on fire, and burnt down to the ground. The Turks took a severe revenge on the Greeks for their cruelties, for they put every one to the sword, not even sparing their priests at the altar. All the foreign consuls had made their escape, except the son of the English consul, who, on this memorable occasion, acted with such spirit and humanity, as will ever do honour to his memory. This young gentleman had shut himself up in his father's house, which he looked upon as a sanctuary, consistent with the established laws of nations; and took under his protection seventy persons, some of whom were ladies of distinction. In the height of the confusion, a body of Albanians, armed with axes, came to break open the door; but he representing to them that he belonged to a nation that was in alliance with the Grand Seignior; they, in the most generous and humane manner, carried him, with all those under his protection, to the castle. There, however, their fears were redoubled, for the first scene which presented itself to their eyes, was a heap of mangled bodies, and several Turkish executioners, according to their forms, employed in cutting off the heads of all the Greek prisoners as fast as they were brought in. The English gentleman, with his companions, would have shared the same fate, had not the governor, who knew him, arrived at that instant, and taken him, with all his companions, under his protection. The same night they got on board a vessel in the harbour, which conveyed them safely to Zante, to the great joy of the English consul, who imagined that he had been killed.

From this time forward the Greeks began to suffer in their turn, for those cruelties which, in their rage, they had inflicted on the Turks. A large body of them having advanced to the isthmus of Corinth, in order to cross over into Achaia, the Turks came up with them, killed above two thousand, and took a great number of them prisoners, whose heads were instantly cut off. All Greece, now called the Morea, exhibited murder, famine, and putrid bodies in every place. The Greeks and Turks were equally cruel to each other, nor could two meet together without one being killed.

Indeed,



Indeed, it is, in many striking instances, painful to treat of these cruelties, or even of this war in general, which has, through all its different parts, been sullied and disgraced by acts of ferocity, oppression, and cruelty, which are happily but little known in the middle or western parts of Europe. The enmities of these polished nations are tempered with a generosity and humanity which alleviate, and, in a great measure, conceal the deformity and horrors of war; and a list of the killed and wounded after an engagement, causes little more emotion than the sight of an adjutant's roll would before it.

Soon after the Greeks had been defeated in the isthmus of Corinth, the bassaw of Bosnia arrived in the Morea, at the head of thirty thousand men, mostly Albanians; and he ordered all the Greeks who were found in arms, or any way distant from their villages, to be instantly put to death. The Greek archbishop of Trippolizza, with many other persons of great distinction, shared the same fate, under pretence that they had stirred up the people to revolt.

The chief force of the Russians was now, in concert with some Greeks, engaged in the siege of Modon, about one hundred miles west of Corinth. It is a place of great strength, with a castle, and an exceeding good harbour; so that, while the Russian army attacked it by land, the fleet seconded their operations by sea. Had they taken this important place, they would have been able to maintain a footing in the peninsula, at least till some reinforcements came to their assistance. But a body of Turks and Albanians having crossed the peninsula, attacked the besiegers with great fury, and were seconded by a vigorous sally made by the governor. It now appeared evident that the spirit of the ancient Spartans had forsaken these their degenerate descendants; for the Greeks, dispirited by their late overthrow, which taught them the difference between massacring an innocent multitude of people, and engaging in battle with an enemy, abandoned their posts as soon as they were attacked, and were cut in pieces without resistance. The Russians, however, made a noble stand, and fought in the most courageous manner, to protect the cowardly Greeks, who, if they had acted with only a common degree of resolution, a complete victory might have been obtained. But at last the Russians were overpowered by numbers, and obliged to retreat to the shore, under the protection of their ships.

The Albanians and Turks, now flushed with the thoughts of success, gave themselves up to plundering the camp; which the Russians observing, turned upon them, and routed them with great slaughter; so that they once more got possession of their camp and battery. This success brought some more of the Greeks to their assistance, and now the siege was renewed with redoubled vigour. The Russians were now convinced that no time was to be lost, and that they must endeavour to take it before any fresh forces could come up. Accordingly, an attack was made; but the Greeks, who were quite dispirited, separated themselves from the Russians, who were again obliged to abandon the place.

During these transactions in the Morea, the Russian fleet was reinforced by more ships, which had sailed from England in the beginning of the year; and both being joined, they came up with the Turkish fleet in the channel of Scio, which divides Natolia, in the Lesser Asia, from Europe. The Turkish fleet was considerably superior to that of the Russians, and the engagement began with great fury. A Turkish and a Russian ship got fastened together, and both blew up with a dreadful explosion, so that only a few of the hands on board were saved. The dreadful fate of these ships occasioned a panic on both sides for some time; but the engagement being again renewed, it continued till night separated them, without any material advantage on either side.

As soon as it was dark, the Turkish admiral, contrary to the advice of his bravest officers, ordered the

cables to be cut, and then sailed into a small bay on the coast of Natolia. This was a most imprudent step, for the Russian fleet surrounded them in the morning, and came to an anchor beside them. Admiral Elphinston then began to make preparations to send in four fire-ships among them; but this being a piece of service with which the Russians were but little acquainted, they seemed very unwilling to engage in it. An English lieutenant then undertook the dangerous expedient, and commodore Greig, another officer of the same nation, undertook to conduct the ships that were to cover them. At twelve at night commodore Greig, with four ships of the line and two frigates, approached the mouth of the harbour, and engaged the enemy within four hundred yards. A most dreadful cannonade begun and lasted an hour, when, about one o'clock, a signal was given for Mr. Dugdale, the English lieutenant, to run in with the fire-ships, which he instantly performed, and bore down upon the Turkish fleet. At the same time a shot having set the rigging of one of the Turkish ships on fire, it added greatly to the confusion, in a place where they had scarce room to act. It was impossible for the brave lieutenant to keep the Russians in order, and at last they flung themselves into the boat, and left him on board alone. Presence of mind, and that courage by which the British seamen have been so long distinguished, enabled him to surmount difficulty; for having lashed the helm, he set fire to the ship, and then threw himself into the sea, and swam to one of the Russian ships.

The three other ships took fire at the same time, and rushing into the center of the Turkish fleet, the whole was consumed, except one ship the Russians towed off. They then bombarded the town, in which was a strong castle; but a shot from one of the Russian ships having set fire to the powder magazine, the whole blew up, and the place was reduced to a heap of rubbish. Thus through the obstinacy of the Turkish admiral of a fleet, a castle and a town that existed at one o'clock in the morning, was, in eight hours after, reduced to a heap of rubbish. It is said, that the Turks lost six thousand men on this memorable occasion, and such of the sailors as had the good fortune to make their escape, murdered all the Greeks that came in their way, and even attempted to set fire to their cities.

These Russians, to whose rage nothing could set bounds, marched as far as Smyrna, where they murdered three hundred Greeks; and had it not been for the interposition of the Janizaries, they would have served all the European merchants in the same barbarous manner, and even set fire to the city. In the mean time, the Turkish admiral was beheaded, by order of the grand-seignior, for having run his ships into a place where they became an easy prey to the Russians. Indeed it would seem, that he had been no way acquainted with naval affairs, for no admiral ought ever to come near land till he is in a manner sure of victory.

The Russians, who were now triumphant at sea, blocked up the passage to the Dardanelles, and interrupted every ship that attempted to pass them, without any regard to the nations to which they belonged; but when they found that they had no intention of assisting the Turks, they suffered them to proceed to some other port. Count Orlov, the Russian admiral, preferred the brave lieutenant Dugdale to the command of the Turkish ship that had been saved, and which carried sixty-two brass guns; and commodore Greig was made an admiral. The Greeks, filled with revenge against their cruel masters the Turks, murdered the people in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles; so that the whole Archipelago was filled with their barbarities.

The ancient and once famous city of Smyrna, where many great men have been born, and which, for two centuries, has been a place of great trade, was now in a very critical situation. The inhabitants expected to be attacked by the Russians every day,



and the foreign European merchants; who had factories there, gave up all for lost. It was a most dangerous expedient for them to apply to the Russian admiral, lest the Turks should have been jealous of them; but at last the common danger cemented them together for their mutual safety, and the Turks joined with them in the application. Accordingly, an English merchant was sent to count Orlov, whom he found engaged in the siege of Lemnos, and by whom he was told, that he had strict orders to protect the Christians of all nations, but more particularly the English; because there was a treaty of peace and commerce at that time subsisting between them and the English. He dismissed him with marks of the greatest politeness, and told him, that he and the other gentlemen in the factories might make themselves quite easy, as no harm would happen to them.

During the whole of this year, France was torn with intestine divisions. The arbitrary proceedings at court were such, that the parliaments in the provinces refused to register the edicts. The king wanted money to support his extravagance, and the most illegal taxes were imposed on the people, at a time when the necessities of life were so scarce that the people were, in a manner, starving. The parliaments, on this occasion, acted with integrity and firmness, and nothing could force them to give a sanction to what was both unjust and oppressive. Dragoons, however, extorted that which faithful magistrates refused to grant; the taxes were raised by force, and the members of the different parliaments were sent to different prisons, where they were not suffered to converse with their friends or relations. In a word, the state of France, during this year, was the most miserable that could have been imagined. Justice was obstructed, the decrees of the courts, that seemed to affect the payment of the oppressive taxes, were all ordered to be erased, soldiers were quartered on such of the counsellors as had spoken boldly in defence of the people; and it may justly be said, that all France was groaning under military power.

Italy, which has often been the theatre of war, now enjoyed perfect tranquillity; and the different states seemed to vie with each other in promoting commerce and agriculture. Several regulations were made with respect to the clergy, for the Italians are far from being such bigots as they were formerly. Indeed, they have in that instance acted with moderation and prudence, so as not to do any thing violently; and there is no doubt but that will in the end bring about a general reformation.

The pope, by his good sense and the peculiar happiness of his temper, acted with such moderation that these states, who were on bad terms with his predecessor, freely acknowledged his power in all things of a spiritual nature. By these means enmity died away, and the blessings of peace were diffused from Sicily to the Alps.

Portugal, that had long been at enmity with the see of Rome, now admitted a nuncio from the pope; so that by prudence and moderation this great ecclesiastic was doing more than ever could have taken place by the thunders of the vatican. He abolished many ridiculous customs, and on the whole seemed to have nothing so much in view as the reducing the Roman catholic religion to a rational system.

In Corsica, during this year, the wretched inhabitants felt all the severity of a French despotic government. Many of them still refused to submit, and such of these unhappy people as were taken, were instantly put to death. Some of them were transported to France; but this was little more than shifting the scene: for as in Corsica they beheld the ruin of their country, so in France they saw a whole nation of people ruined. But here their suffering did not end; for such as were brought to France, after a journey of six hundred miles on foot from Marseilles to Brest, were put on board several vessels and sent as slaves to the West-Indies. What havoc has

the ambition of tyrants made among the children of men!

This year a war was likely to have broke out between Great-Britain and Spain; on account of the following affair:

In the year 1592 captain Davies, who commanded an English man of war, sailed to the South Seas, where he discovered some islands, since called Falklands; but little notice was taken of them for more than a century, till commodore Anson, in his voyage round the world, discovered the importance they would be of to us, if properly cultivated. Accordingly, soon after the late peace, when lord Anson was at the head of the admiralty, he mentioned the affair in council; and it was proposed to send out some frigates to visit them. This scheme, however, was not so well conducted, but the Spaniards got notice of it before it could be carried into execution; and such remonstrances were made by their ambassador at our court, that it was again laid aside.

It was again revived; and in 1764 commodore Byron was sent out with a small squadron to make discoveries, and, if possible, establish a settlement on the coast of Patagonia. During that voyage, he took possession of Falklands islands in the name of his Britannic majesty, with all the forms used on such occasions.

Much about this time the French, stimulated by their losses during the war, undertook an expedition of a similar nature, namely, to make discoveries in the South Seas; and the care of it was committed to one M. de Bougainville, colonel of a regiment of foot. This gentleman entered into this adventure with all that life and spirit so peculiar to his countrymen. Having fitted out a frigate of twenty guns, with a sloop to carry provisions, he took on board one hundred seamen, and about one hundred and fifty people, who chose to try their fortune in that part of the world. The French ships set sail from St. Malo, and arrived at the Canaries, where they were kindly received by the Spaniards, who gave them every sort of assistance. From thence they proceeded to the river Plata, and took in fresh provisions, the Spaniards still continuing to treat them with every mark of respect. At length, they came to Falklands Islands, where they formed an establishment, and built a small fort.

These French adventurers had formed the most sanguine hopes from the discovery of these islands, but they did not answer their expectations; for it cost them more money to support their settlement than the profits arising from it could afford; so that they gave it up to the Spaniards in the most formal manner.

These islands are situated in latitude 51 south, and about one hundred leagues on this side the streights of Magellan. The settlement, which had been given up by the French to the Spaniards, was on one of the islands that lay to the west, and was called Port Solidad; and Port Egmont, belonging to the English, was one of the islands to the eastward. It is not certainly known, that these settlers knew of each other for some time, and certain it is, that in commodore's Byron's account of them, he mentions nothing of any settlement but the English one at Port Egmont. However, in the year 1769, we had a frigate and a sloop upon that station, and captain Hunt, in the Tamar frigate, being on a cruise, fell in with a Spanish schooner belonging to Port Solidad, and according to his orders, commanded the Spanish captain to depart, because these islands were the property of Great-Britain. In two days afterwards, the captain came on board the Tamar frigate with a letter to captain Hunt, written by the governor of Port Solidad, telling him, that if he had been driven in there by stress of weather; he was ready to give him every assistance; but if he came there in violation of the faith of the most solemn treaties, he had far better depart immediately. Captain Hunt, not in the least intimidated with these threatenings,



asserted the right his Britannic majesty had to these islands, and warned him to depart from them, giving him six months for that purpose. The Spanish officer entered a formal protest against captain Hunt, and declared, that if he offered any insult to the settlement at Port Solidad, or removed from these islands, he should consider it as a breach of the peace, and transmit an account thereof to Spain. Soon after this affair, two Spanish frigates of considerable force arrived at Port Egmont, under pretence that they wanted fresh water; and the commander in chief sent notice to captain Hunt, that he was astonished to see the English flag hoisted in an island that belonged to his master the king of Spain. He charged captain Hunt with violating the peace; declaring, at the same time, that he would send an account thereof to Spain, that his master might assert his right to those islands which had been made over to him by treaty.

Captain Hunt still continued to found his possession on the claim of right, justified his conduct by the orders of his sovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart from these islands. The frigates continued eight days at Port Egmont, and were supplied by our people with water: the captain and officers behaved with civility, but they declined going on shore though they were several times invited. As these transactions seemed to indicate an approaching rupture, captain Hunt set sail for England, and arriving at Plymouth on the third of June, sent an express to the lords of the admiralty. The *Swift* and *Favourite* sloops of war, each bearing sixteen guns, were left to take care of the settlement; but the *Swift* having sailed as far as the straits of Magellan, was overset, and such of the crew as could get into the boat, undertook a voyage of three weeks, which brought them to Port Egmont, after experiencing an innumerable variety of hardships. Five Spanish frigates arrived at Port Egmont, and captain Farmer, not doubting but they came with hostile intentions, resolved to be upon his guard. He accordingly hoisted his flag, which the Spanish commodore seeing, fired two shots, and being asked what were his reasons for so doing, he said they were only by way of signals.

In the mean time captain Farmer wrote to the Spanish commodore, that as he had received the refreshments he wanted, he was obliged in the name, and by the authority of his master, to command him to depart, and totally evacuate all those islands known by the name of Falklands. In answer to this letter, the commodore put captain Farmer in mind of his great power, and how easy it was for him to destroy their defenceless settlement. He begged that he and the other English officers would not force him to any extremities, but depart quietly from the place, as the islands belonged to his master the king of Spain. Next day he wrote again, both to captain Farmer and captain Maltby, telling them, that if they would depart peaceably they should have leave to take all they had along with them from the settlement, and what they could not take, he should give them a receipt for, that the whole affair might be settled by their respective courts. But on the other hand, if they refused to comply, he would, contrary to his inclinations, be obliged to obey his orders, by attacking their settlement both by sea and land, and that he would spread desolation every where before him; for he had, under his command, a large body of marines, besides a train of heavy artillery.

He concluded by assuring them, that if they did not, in fifteen minutes after the receipt of his letter, give him a plain and favourable answer, he would immediately commence hostilities; and, at the same time, desired them to think of the dreadful consequences which their obstinacy would be productive of to the subjects of his Britannic majesty.

To these, and all his other menaces, the English captains returned for answer, that words are not always considered as acts of hostilities; and that they could not believe that he would, in a time of profound peace, when the greatest harmony subsisted

between the two nations, put his threats in execution: that he did not doubt but he was thoroughly convinced; that the king of Great-Britain, their master, was capable of demanding satisfaction throughout every part of the globe where any insult was offered to his flag; and therefore they were, in consequence of their orders, obliged to defend the place to the last extremity. Accordingly the Spanish commodore ordered the frigates to row close to the shore; directly opposite the Block-house, where there was only a small battery; and at night captain Maltby brought fifty seamen, belonging to the *Favourite*, on shore, with two six pounders, ten swivels, and a quantity of small-arms and ammunition. Next morning, part of the Spanish troops and artillery landed about a mile to the northward of the Block-house; and when they had advanced about half a mile, the rest of the boats, with the troops and artillery, put off from one of the Spanish frigates, and rowed right in for the cove, being covered by the fire from the frigates, whose shot went over the Block-house. The English seamen, who were then on shore, fired some small shot; but seeing the utter impossibility of defending the settlement, and the Spaniards having broke through all the limits of peace, even to the actual commencement of hostilities, so that their conduct could neither be denied nor explained away, our officers, as they had judiciously led them to this open avowal of their conduct, and had, at the same time, supported the honour of their own country, as far as the means in their power would admit of, with the same propriety preferred saving the valuable lives of their people; and leaving the injury to be redressed by those in power; they thought it most prudent to hang out a flag of truce, in order to know what terms of capitulation the Spanish commodore would grant.

All the conditions which he would grant were; that the English should immediately, or as soon as possible, so as it did not exceed forty days, remove from the settlement, and what stores they left behind them should be produced as soon as orders for that purpose arrived from Spain. This was one of the greatest insults, perhaps, that had ever been offered to the British flag; but the English, who had not strength sufficient to defend themselves, were obliged to comply, and in September arrived at Portsmouth.

The navy of Great-Britain was then in a very indifferent condition; and political debates ran so high, that people in general were dissatisfied with the conduct of the ministry. Press warrants had been issued for raising seamen, but the legality of them was, in several places, called in question. In the city of London, Mr. Crosby, the lord-mayor, refused to back the press warrants; Mr. alderman Wilkes discharged a man who had been impressed; and although the opinion of council was taken on this important subject, yet, among the more sensible and judicious, the practice itself was looked upon as inconsistent with the nature of the British constitution.

In the mean time, such as were averse to a war, or dreaded the consequences of it, looked back with resentment to the last peace, and to those who had advised the making of it. All the arguments made use of in defence of it were treated with the utmost contempt, and the whole was considered as a measure which, in its consequences, must for ever dishonour the British nation. Indeed, many sober persons, whose minds were free from passion or prejudice, and who, judging of the disputes between the rival nations only by the same equitable and disinterested principles which should at all times take place between private persons, had not, at that time, in general, disapproved of the conditions of peace, could not now refrain from the utmost indignation, at beholding the flagrant insult we had received from an enemy we had so lately in our power to chastise, and from thinking that those who said, that the fruits of one of the most glorious and successful wars mentioned in history, had been bartered away for an inglorious and insecure peace, had but too much reason on their side; and therefore there



there was no wonder that the people should find fault with the measures of administration.

In this state of anxiety, doubt, and expectation, all people longed, in the most eager manner, for the meeting of parliament. No change had taken place in administration during the recess; and as lord North had successfully weathered all the storms of the winter, supported by a prodigious majority in both houses, he seemed now to be as securely fixed in his seat at the head of the treasury, as the precarious circumstances of the times would admit of. The state of the different parties in opposition had not hitherto suffered any material change. The death of Mr. Grenville, which happened in the beginning of November, having left that party to which he belonged without a leader, some of the most distinguished of them, and who appeared the most sanguine in opposition, went over to the court. The party that adhered to the marquis of Rockingham, and who were called the Whig party, still adhered to their former principles; and such as were attached to the earl of Chatham, earl Temple, and the earl of Shelburne, consisting of a mixture of whigs and Tories, generally coincided with the Rockingham party.

On the thirteenth of November, both houses of parliament met at Westminster, and was opened by his majesty with a speech from the throne. He told them, that the Spanish governor of Buenos Ayres had acted in such a manner as was inconsistent with the honour of Great-Britain; and demanded the utmost satisfaction: that, under these circumstances, an immediate demand had been made for proper satisfaction, in consequence of the injury received; that the necessary preparations had been made, without loss of time, in order to be enabled to obtain justice, in case the requisition to the court of Spain should fail in procuring it. An assurance was given that these preparations should not be discontinued, until proper reparation had been made; and that sufficient proofs should be given, that all other powers on the continent disapproved of such proceedings. He said he had called them together so early, that they might be ready to assist him with the best of their advice, and provide for the honour and security of the nation. With respect to the colonies in America, it was observed, that many of the factious people had desisted from those combinations into which they had inadvertently entered; and which had been attended with many fatal consequences to their peaceable fellow subjects: that the people of Boston, and, in general, the inhabitants of the province of Massachusetts Bay, could not yet be brought into a proper state of obedience; but continued in carrying on the same violent and unwarrantable practices as before. He added; that the estimates for the present year would naturally exceed the former; and that it would be neither consulting the inclinations nor the interests of his people, if they should decline any expence that should seem necessary towards promoting the national honour; that as to foreign measures, no doubt was held, that there could be any other contest, than who should appear most forward in support of the common cause, in upholding the reputation, and promoting the prosperity of the kingdom. He concluded by telling them, that the crown had no interest separate from that of the people; that they were all members of the same body; and, consistent with the order of nature and the laws of society, they must stand or fall together.

The addresses were the most spirited that had been presented for some years; and the most unreserved assurances were given, that every degree of requisite support should be cheerfully granted. The most unreserved confidence was placed in his majesty; that he would never be induced, by a mistaken tenderness for the present ease of the people, to sacrifice their more essential and lasting interests. The commons concluded by a declaration, that if any hopes had been conceived, or it should have been any where surmised, that there were any such differences sub-

sisting among the people, as could, in the least degree, abate the ardour of their affectionate attachment to his majesty, or prevent their joining, as one man, in maintaining unfulfilled the lustre of the crown, and preserving undiminished the rights of the people, they would, by their proceedings, convince the world how false and scandalous all such surmises were; and make it manifest, that, whenever they were called upon in the cause of their king and country, there would be but one heart and one voice among them.

Although these addresses were carried by a vast majority, there arose considerable debates upon them. It was said by those in opposition, that as one insult is always the forerunner of others; so the present outrage offered by Spain was a natural consequence of our passive and shameful conduct with regard to Corsica: that the speech was an ostentatious display of ministerial conduct, and the address an approbation of it: that before such a public approbation was given, it was necessary to know what that conduct had been, which merited such applauses: that it was necessary to know what the Spaniards had done, and what previous information our ministry had received of their designs: that by our conduct for twelve months past, it seemed as if we had not an enemy in the world; and yet, by the speech, it was evident that a war was apprehended: the bad state of our navy, and the defenceless manner in which the valuable island of Jamaica was left, were much insisted on, and with great force of argument; that, independent of any private intelligence, the accounts publicly avowed to have been received on the third of June, that the Spaniards had warned our people to depart from their settlement on Falklands Islands, was, in itself, a sufficient indication of their ill designs, and of what was naturally to follow; but between that and the twenty-second of September, when our people brought the account of the insult on our flag; what had been done to put us in a state of security at home, or enable us to protect our dominions abroad? Were the regiments completed, or was the navy manned and put in a proper condition? None of all these things were done, and yet we are to return thanks to the ministry, not for any thing; but only because they have not done something worse than we are yet acquainted with.

It was farther insisted, that while the rights of the people were violated at home, it was absurd to expect such unanimity among them as was necessary to support the honour of the nation against any foreign power. That part of the speech which mentions the governor of Buenos Ayres, was most severely censured; and even ridiculed, both without and within doors. It was said; Why should an officer, who acted only under command; be considered, instead of the king his master, as the principal in an injury offered to this great nation? The answer is evident; the same temporizing, mean and cowardly policy, prevails, which beheld the seizure of Corsica, in defiance of faith and of treaties; and now hopes, under this subterfuge, to find some means of prolonging its existence, though at the price of the national honour and dignity.

Upon the whole, it was asserted, in positive terms, that the conduct of our ministry had neither been honest in the design, nor able in the execution; they had lost the confidence of the people; and yet imagined they would support them: that they had threatened the colonies with unrelenting severity, in pursuit of an unconstitutional measure; and yet suppose that we shall suffer nothing from an alienation of their affection: that Ireland was ruled with a rod of iron, and yet they constantly declared that they were not making strides towards arbitrary power. Lastly, that, with respect to the designs of our enemies, they had been totally blind and improvident, and yet we were in danger.

In answer to this, it was said by those who stood up in defence of the ministry, that all Europe, friends as well as enemies, were attentive to, and would found



found much of their opinion upon the issue of the present day: that the sentiments contained in the address would serve nearly as much as our military preparations, to intimidate Spain, by convincing them, that whatever differences in opinion; or even transient animosities, might occasionally subsist among us, yet we have but one heart and one hand against the common enemy: that an address was a compliment to the throne, and not the approbation of a minister; and that if a minister had acted amiss, there were other methods of enquiry and censure well known, and which would involve no other character; but that the present objections were meant as an invidious attack on the crown: that nothing could be more absurd than the idea, that any private differences, discontents, or political squabbles among ourselves, could operate in such a manner upon the minds of the people, as to prevent their defending their own rights and interests, as well as the dignity of the crown, against any confederacy of our enemies: that no man would sit still, while his estate was ravaged, or his house burned, through his dislike in the manner in which public affairs were conducted: that therefore, if any domestic quarrels still existed, it would be time enough to adjust them when the common danger was removed: that the charge of alienating the colonies is so far from being well founded, that the reverse is the fact; and, except a part of one inconsiderable province, they have been brought back to a sense of their duty, by a spirit and prudence which do equal honour to administration. The charge of not arming sooner, and of making it a crime that some of our West-India islands were liable to danger, would, upon examination, it was said, appear equally groundless: that the truth was, the nation could not have been armed sooner; our fleets cannot be fitted out, except when our trade is at home, or just coming home, as sailors are not to be had at any other time; and that it is well known, that the trade was not at home, nor near coming home, in the present instance. As the ministry, therefore, could not arm effectually, it was an act of the greatest prudence not to excite a general alarm by attempting it; which would have been a signal to our enemies to have done the same, as they are not under the same disadvantages, to have effected that, which we could only have attempted; whereas now we are upon an equal footing, if not before them.

As to the other charge, it is only to ask, Whether there can be a possibility of undertaking to secure every part of the British dominions, in their whole extent, from every sudden blow that might be given in case of a war; and if there is, what given number of troops would be required to answer such an undertaking? It was said, that our character for courage was too well, and too generally established, to leave any room for our being concerned about it; and as war was never desirable while peace could be preserved with security and honour, therefore it was right to leave an opening, whereby the king of Spain might, if he chose it, withdraw himself with honour, and, by disavowing the act of his servant, avoid the alternative of a war, or of making disagreeable concessions, and of acknowledging himself the author of a rash and hasty measure.

The address being carried and presented, the duke of Richmond in the house of lords, and Mr. Dowdeswell in that of the commons, both made motions, that all the papers which had been sent to the ministry should be produced, but this the ministry would by no means comply with. In defence of their conduct, they said, that we were now engaged in a negotiation of the utmost importance with the kingdom of Spain, by which it was expected that matters would be brought to an accommodation; that the honour and happiness of two great nations were now at stake, and that if the papers were produced, it would, in a great measure, contribute towards making all Europe acquainted with secrets

which ought to be concealed till the event they related to had taken place.

That if it had been prudent on our own account to unlock the English cabinet to all Europe, yet it would have been very wrong to betray the secrets of the king of Spain; that they were now treating with us, and a rude publication of what was delivered in secrecy, must at once put and end to all amicable intercourse; that the king of Spain had openly disavowed the conduct of his servant, and promised the most equitable satisfaction; that by acting with temper and prudence we might avoid the horrors of a long, bloody and expensive war; that administration had not been negligent on this occasion, for the same day the intelligence arrived, a messenger was dispatched to our ambassador at Madrid to demand satisfaction; that disputes had now arisen between the two kingdoms, on account of the ignorance or insolence of officers, while there was no intention of a quarrel between their respective governments; for in some instances our officers had not been always guarded in their conduct.

That therefore in the present instance, as well with regard to the honour as the interest of the nation, it was necessary to demand satisfaction; first, in a peaceable manner, for nothing was more reasonable than to enquire whether we had a warrantable right to resent before we commenced hostilities; otherwise it would be said that we courted war. Secondly, if the Spaniards were not to be urged into justice by reason, then they must be compelled; and administration, though willing, if possible, to avoid the calamities of war, had prepared, at all events, for the worst; so that the preparations for the war went hand in hand with the negotiation for peace. In behalf of the motion it was urged, that parliament can never have too ample a field for information; that the members are all counsellors of the crown; and to enable them to give proper council, it was necessary that every intelligence, with respect to what they were to give their advice upon, should be laid before them; that they were now met to consider the business of the kingdom, in a time of public danger; and that they had been told from the throne, that they would be applied for to advice, and although they were not, yet it was their duty to give it; that their advice and interference was now particularly necessary, when by an unparalleled succession of weak and shameful measures, the nation was disgraced, insulted, and dishonoured abroad and at home, weak, divided, and exposed to every danger; that the pretence to negotiation was an indignity to the crown, and a dishonour to the nation; that we had been forcibly robbed by a foreign power, and till what had been in this manner unjustly taken was returned, it was inconsistent with our honour to negotiate; that in fact, there is no ground or matter to negotiate upon; the Spaniards have driven our people from one of our settlements, and taken possession of it, although they had no right to do so, and yet our ministers enter into a treaty with them; that the very terms of the motions obviate all the objections that have been made to it, and which are only founded on the pretended ill consequences that would attend the exposing the papers, while this negotiation is going on.

Such were the principal points upon which this debate was carried on; but the question being put, the motion was rejected by a great majority. Many people blamed the ministry for their conduct in this affair; for they thought, that as parliament alone could grant the necessary supplies, so they ought to have had the perusal of all the papers relating to the controversy; and it is an established principle, that the man who acts from motives of integrity, need never be either afraid or ashamed to have his conduct enquired into.

The next motion, which was looked upon consistent with the fundamental principles of our constitution, was made in the house of lords, to enquire into the legality of



the Middlesex election; and the debates on that important subject were carried on in the most learned and eloquent manner. In particular lord Camden spoke in the most forcible manner, in defence of the rights of the people; but the motion was rejected. As some prosecutions had been carried on by the attorney-general against several booksellers and printers, a motion was made to enquire into the legal power of that law officer, and a long debate ensued. The principal question to be discussed was, whether juries are judges of the law as well as the fact, or whether they are judges of the fact only. That juries are judges of the law as well as the fact; the following case was put by those who supported the motion. A son kills his father, and the matter of fact, which is of the blackest colour, is proved. The jury, however, examine into the circumstances, and find that it was an accidental misfortune, in which the intention had no share, and judging from thence, acquit the criminal, even from the imputation of a crime. If then they have this right, to examine into and separate the guilt and the intention, and to judge of both, upon what principle of law can they be deprived of it, in other criminal cases of less nature, such as libels, scandals, or any such thing.

That with respect to the power of juries we have, in all our general histories, a most remarkable precedent, namely, the case of the seven bishops. There the jury could have acquitted them upon another principle than that of their right to judge of the intention. An order had been sent to the bishops to cause the king's (James II.) declaration for liberty of conscience, to be read in all their churches, and these seven not only refused to do it, as contrary to law, but at the same time presented a petition against it, which being deemed a libel, they were all committed to the Tower. Having moved the court of King's-bench for a writ of Habeas Corpus to be discharged, the attorney-general filed an information, and their trial came on in Westminster-hall. The information was for writing a libel, which they denied, though at the same time they acknowledged writing the paper in question. The judges said all they could to influence the minds of the jurors; but they, like honest men, judging from the intention, found that the paper was no libel, and therefore acquitted the bishops, to the general satisfaction of all ranks of men in the nation. Some severe strictures were thrown against a great judge, who had asserted from the bench, that juries were judges of the facts only; and that upon a trial for murder, the jury had been sent back after they had brought in their verdict guilty, and were peremptorily ordered to find it only manslaughter. It was further urged, that such proceedings had excited an universal contempt among all ranks of people of our courts of law; for if juries were to be threatened and intimidated in this manner, our most valuable privileges would become an empty name, and we should have no more than the shadow, when the substance was gone. That in such cases, juries would become standing councils to an arbitrary administration, and, under pretence of being the guardians of our liberties, would give a sanction to the will of every judge who acted under the influence of the ministry; and who, on every occasion, took his instructions from them.

In answer to this it was said, that nothing in human life should be considered in a more sacred light, than the character of a judge. That in the present instance, a dishonour would be brought upon the nation; because, by implication, it would suppose that those persons who are the sacred keepers of our laws, had all been corrupted. That no specific charge had been made, for the motion was so vague and uncertain, and might have been extended to any man or body of men whatever in the kingdom. It is true, the condemnation of one or two persons was chiefly aimed at; but by an easy implication, all those in office might be included, and the guilt transferred from one to the other. But the principal part of the reply,

consisted in admitting and defending the accusation. They said, they would first admit the charge to be true, that one of the judges had declared from the bench, that the jurors were judges of facts only, and not of law, nor ought they to judge thereof.

They said, that admitting all this, there was nothing at all new in the case; for it was what had ever been maintained by the judges in all ages. They did not desire to go back to the decisions of Scroggs, Jefferies, Pemberton, or Wright, because they lived in violent times; but produced the authority of one of the greatest lawyers that ever England produced, namely, the late lord Raymond. The case of Frankland for publishing the Craftsman was read by one of the members, from the ninth volume of the state-trials; and it was the same with that complained of. Frankland had published the Craftsman, in which were many severe strictures against those in power, and this was considered as a libel. The publisher was apprehended, and being held to bail, the trial came on before lord Raymond, then chief-justice of the King's bench. His lordship told the jury, that the question before them was, whether Frankland published the Craftsman, that they were judges of facts only, and not of law, unless they would take upon them to declare what law was, and abide by their own explanation. This was the very thing complained of, and it had at all times been an established maxim in the law of England. Since Magna Charta, no author had ever asserted, no judge had ever declared, nor had it been so much as ever imagined by any persons that juries could judge of the law. In proof of the above many cases were quoted, all tending to prove, that the fact and nothing more comes under the cognizance of the jury. But the principal stress of the argument was rested on the want of specification in the motion, with which the charges made in the debate had no relation. The general implication of guilt that would attend such an enquiry, when there was no reason to believe that the smallest censure had been incurred; and the injustice as well as the imprudence of raising general clamour against all the judges, when it appeared from the motion, that even the malevolent breath of suspicion falls only on two.

In reply to these arguments, it was maintained that the gentleman who made the motion, as well as those who supported it, acted upon more liberal and enlarged principles than to turn informers, so that there was no reason to brand them with a mean personality. They went on a larger field; for the causes of complaint were too numerous, and the enormities too great to be reached or implied by a specific charge; that no injury would be done, no character destroyed, no particular person ruined, unless it appeared by the result, that his conduct had merited punishment. That the causes which had already been shewn within doors, were sufficient motives for the enquiry, and that the general discontents without, and the public censure of the court, which, both in words and in writing had spread throughout the nation, made it absolutely necessary; that if any thing further need be urged in favour of it, the characters and weight of those respectable names which now required it, whether considered as members of that house, or of the community in general, should, in itself, be a cause every way sufficient to justify the motion.

That though the enquiry had been proposed upon that liberal and enlarged plan, several specific charges had been made; for the characters of the judges, and the great reverence due to our courts of justice, demanded it; that if the censure and obloquy thrown upon them should appear to be ill founded, nothing could so effectually put a stop to it, or redound so much to their honour: that all those who were real friends to the judges, and who believed them innocent, should promote the enquiry; if they were guilty, who would avow a wish to screen them from punishment?

That, in the former case, no mischief or danger can be apprehended to them; if their doctrines are



constitutional, every imputation will fly off, and they will meet with the greatest applause; if they are legal, though not constitutional, it will procure neither censure nor condemnation to them, and a remedy can be sought for the disease, by making the laws and the constitution agree.

It was further insisted, that they had heard, from the mouth of one of their own members, that attempts had been made to corrupt the venerable sages of the law; and that a late judge, (Sir Joseph Yates) equally celebrated for his knowledge and integrity, had been tampered with by administration, and solicited to favour the crown in certain trials which were then depending between it and the subject: that though this, as a death-bed declaration, could not be established in such a manner as to amount to a legal proof, yet the surmise of the possibility of such an attempt was a matter of a most alarming nature, which called upon all their care and attention, and demanded the most strict inquiry into the conduct of the courts.

It was further urged, that the state trials was not one of our law-books, and therefore no precedent quoted from it could be of any authority in the present case: but supposing it to be admitted only for one moment, what consequence is to follow, or what inference to be drawn? It is the opinion of a single judge, and here it is drawn into a precedent: the history of our law is full of the different opinions of different great lawyers; and, unfortunately, few cases could be put, which may not be supported by the sanction of some time serving precedent. The only just inference is, that our laws, particularly those which were the subject of the present debate, stand as much in need of revision as our courts of justice; and it is, in the highest degree, necessary to both: that this revision is the more urgent, as, from the doctrines laid down of late, the office of a juryman appears to be so involved in intricacies, so immersed and enveloped in law, that no two of the greatest sages, who have made the laws the study of their lives, can agree in their definition of it. Let this rubbish, then, be removed, and the line drawn with such precision, that this controverted doctrine may be established on clear, determined principles, so that any sensible juryman, without being a lawyer, may know his own rights and privileges; and a judge, without daring to encroach on those privileges, may rest satisfied with his own legal authority.

Such were some of the principal arguments made use of by both parties; and the candid, unprejudiced reader will see, that passion, prejudice, and truth, were all jumbled together, without that coolness of temper which, on many occasions, has established a bad cause.

The house divided upon this important question; but when the votes came to be taken, it was rejected by a very great majority. But although the motion was rejected, a noble lord, whose conduct had been severely censured, could not rest easy under the aspersions which had been thrown out against him by the most respectable members of so awful an assembly, especially as some of them were lawyers who had made the most distinguishing figure at the bar. This nobleman had lately delivered a charge to a jury, which the popular party complained much of, because it contained sentiments coinciding with the charges already mentioned. His lordship, therefore, left a paper with the clerk, containing his opinion; and desired that it might be read in the hearing of all the peers then present, they having been summoned for that purpose. Each of the members were permitted to take a copy of this paper; and then a question was proposed, whether it was meant that the paper should be entered on the journals? which was answered in the negative. A violent debate then arose concerning the subject matter of the paper, which was managed in the following manner.

Lord Camden took notice, that he had gone through every department of the law, and therefore he con-

sidered himself as able to judge of such matters, exclusive of his title of peerage. He offered to maintain, that the doctrine laid down as the judgment of the court, was not the law of England; declared, that he was ready at any time to enter into the debate, and pressed his antagonist to appoint an early day for that purpose. He proposed several questions from the subject matter of the paper, evidently tending to bring it before the house, but all to no purpose, for his motion was over-ruled, and nothing farther was done in an affair of the utmost importance to the community. This occasioned much censure from the most sensible part of the people in general, because, had the lords decided what was law on this motion, it would have saved many disputes and litigations which may hereafter arise. By such a decision, we should have known what power our law has given to juries, and how far they are judges either of the law itself, or of such collateral evidence as arises out of the given fact.

It was next moved by one of the noble peers, that an address be presented to his majesty, humbly praying, that he would give orders to hasten our preparations, and to put our West-India settlements in a proper state of defence: that as we had the utmost reason to fear that the Spaniards would attack Gibraltar, therefore the garrison of that important fortress ought to be reinforced, and every method made use of for its security. While he was delivering his sentiments on this important subject, he was suddenly interrupted by a motion made to clear the house of all such as had not a right to sit there.

It was said, that when motions were brought in by surprise, and there was no previous notice given of what they might consist, and such things came out upon them which ought not to be divulged to any besides the noble persons concerned in them: that notes had been taken of what passed in the house; and that the enemy might have emissaries there; who would hear the weakness and nakedness of the nation exposed: that it was through indulgence only, that any besides peers were admitted, and the standing order for that purpose was called for and read.

On the other side, it was admitted, that any lord had a right to clear the house when he pleased; but that doing it upon this particular occasion would alarm the people; that they would imagine either public affairs to be in a worse situation than they were acquainted with, or that their proceedings were of such a nature, that they were afraid of making them public: that as the nobleman who had been speaking had not been charged with any act of disorder or impropriety, it was both insidious and irregular, under pretence of clearing the house, to interrupt him in the midst of a most excellent speech, which he was making on a subject of the utmost importance. Instead of an answer to these arguments, the house became one scene of confusion, nothing being heard but "Clear the house." A noble earl attempted several times to speak; but as none present would hear him, he called out, that if he was not allowed the privilege of a lord of parliament, he would retire from the house, which he accordingly did, and was followed by eighteen peers in a body; a circumstance which had scarce ever been known before.

Upon the departure of these lords, all the members of the house of commons who happened to be then present were ordered to withdraw, and then the confusion became general. Some of the commons called out, that they were come there, by order of their own house, to present some bills, upon which they were called to the bar; but no sooner had they delivered them, than they were ordered out of the house.

The seceding lords had gone into the house of commons, to hear the debates on a bill for the augmentation of the royal regiment of artillery; but no sooner had the members, who had been forced out of the house of peers, returned, and given an account in what



what manner they had been treated, than the order of the house was read, and the peers were obliged to depart.

In the mean time, Mr. Harris, our ambassador at Madrid, was negotiating with the Spanish ministry, and expresses were daily passing between the courts of Great-Britain and Spain. It was observed, that the whole conduct of the Spanish ministry on this occasion was one continued act of duplicity and design; and whatever the causes were which operated to the prevention of a war, it does not appear that they are to be fought for in the pacific or friendly dispositions of the court of Madrid. The public opinion, which seems to have been well founded, attributed the convention to the mediation of France; and, it is probable, that the same internal causes which moved her to act as a mediator, were those which prevented her from taking an active part as an ally. It was thought that the power of the duke de Choiseul, who hurried on the war both at home and in Spain, began, at that time, to totter. Other councils prevailed, and that great minister was soon after stripped of all his employments, and obliged to retire to his country seat.

But whatever were the secret motives which induced the court of France to act in this manner, certain it is, that their preparations for war kept pace, for some time, with those in Spain. It would appear, that, the Christmas holidays coming on, there must have been some hopes of an accommodation taking place, especially as both houses of parliament adjourned to a later day than usual.

During the recess of parliament, Sir Edward Hawke resigned the place of first lord of the admiralty, and was succeeded in that important office by the earl of Sandwich. About the same time, some of those gentlemen who had been particularly attached to the late Mr. Grenville, and had, both as to acts and declarations, been among the most violent of those in opposition, now came over to the side of administration; and the earl of Suffolk was appointed keeper of the privy-seal, in the room of the earl of Halifax, who succeeded the earl of Sandwich as secretary of state for the northern department. Several other changes took place; Mr. Justice Bathurst received the great seal as high chancellor of Great-Britain, and was created a peer of England under the title of lord Apsley: Mr. De Grey, at that time attorney-general, was made chief justice of the common pleas, in room of Sir John E. Wilmot, who resigned: Mr. Thurlow was advanced to be attorney-general, and Mr. Wedderburne succeeded him as solicitor, being, at the same time, appointed cofferer to the queen. Such other changes as took place were all subordinate to these, and so connected with them, that it is needless to mention them in this place.

A.D. 1771. On the twenty-second of January, the parliament met, after a month's recess; and the same day prince Maferano, the Spanish ambassador, signed the declaration, with the earl of Rochford, secretary of state for the southern department. By this declaration, the Spanish ambassador, in the name of the king his master, disavows the violences offered at Port Egmont; and stipulated, that every thing should be restored there, in the same manner in which they were before the reduction took place. But, at the same time, he declared, that this restoration is not in any wise to affect the question, of the prior right of the sovereignty of these islands; and, by the acceptance, the performance of these stipulations is to be considered as a satisfaction for the injury done to the court of Great-Britain.

This transaction was immediately announced to both houses of parliament, and copies thereof were laid before them. It was then moved, that all the papers relating to the convention should be laid before the house, which was complied with, except in one instance, namely, that of keeping back such papers as contained the Spanish claims to Falkland Islands. This occasioned a warm debate, but the

ministry screened themselves under pretence that all the offices had been searched, but no more papers could be found. It was, at the same time, charged upon the ministry, that the interference of France was a dishonour to Great-Britain; but the ministry denied the charge, by asserting, that France had never been employed to act as a mediator; but they would neither acknowledge or deny that she had acted in that character. It was then proposed to present an address of thanks to his majesty for ordering the papers to be laid before them, but this was objected to by the minority, who denied that all the papers had been laid before them. Warm debates ensued in both houses; but the ministerial party prevailed, and the address was presented without any amendment whatever.

The number of affairs that came before this sessions of parliament were of so important a nature that history would be deficient unless they were transmitted to posterity.

A most remarkable scene of corruption was, about this time, brought to light, by the committee appointed to determine contested elections; and, in particular, that of New Shoreham in Suffex. The matter of contest was, that the returning officer for that borough had returned a candidate with only thirty-seven votes, in preference to one who had eighty-seven, of which he doubted seventy-six; and so made his return without examining, as he ought to have done, whether they were legal voters or not.

In the course of the examination of witnesses it appeared, that a great number of the freemen had formed themselves into a society, which they called the Christian Club; the apparent ends of which institution were to promote acts of charity and benevolence, and to answer all such purposes as were in any ways consistent with the doctrines of our holy religion. But notwithstanding all these pretensions, they profaned the sacred name they had assumed, by carrying on the worst of purposes, and making a traffic of their oaths and consciences, and setting their borough to sale to the highest bidder; while the rest of the freemen were deprived of the privilege of giving their legal votes. The members of this infamous society, composed of the dregs of methodism, were bound to secrecy to each other by the most solemn oaths, and they had actually entered into written agreements never to divulge their secrets. A select committee was chosen from among the others, who were to manage, in private, all their black transactions; and, lest they should be detected in the act of perjury, they refused to vote at any election, under the stale pretence of scruple of conscience. But having received the wages of iniquity for their borough, they gave directions to the rest of the freemen who belonged to their society, in what manner to act. Thus by an act of the grossest equivocation, they attempted to impose both on God and man, and no sooner was the election over, than they shared the money among them, without any further scruple of conscience.

The returning officer had belonged to this society, but having taken some disgust at his companions in iniquity, he had, in consequence thereof, left their party. Being called before the committee he declared, that his reason for making such an unequal return was, that he knew, from his own own experience, that the majority of votes had taken bribes: nay, that they had even agreed to sell their borough to any one who would bid most for it. Upon these grounds, altho' they had boldly taken the oaths against bribery and corruption; yet he looked upon them as totally unqualified; and having taken the opinion of council, which, it seems, coincided with his own, he returned the candidate who had the smaller number of voters, as they were free from these objections. Upon these principles, and his not acting intentionally wrong, the returning officer vested his plea of justification, for the illegality of his conduct. As the assumption of such an act of power by a returning officer, upon whatever



whatever principle it was founded, would, however, have been a precedent of the most dangerous tendency, he was accordingly taken into custody; but in consideration of the circumstances in his favour, and of his bringing so infamous a transaction to light, he was discharged, after receiving a reprimand on his knees from the speaker at the bar of the house.

As this combination at Shoreham was of too flagrant a nature to be overlooked, and the select committee not having powers to proceed any further, they reported the whole matter to the house, and moved that they would make a further enquiry into it. All those who wished well to the constitution, were glad of this opportunity of displaying their eloquence, and an act passed, by which eighty-one free-men of the borough of Shoreham, were rendered incapable of voting at any election, and the attorney-general was ordered to prosecute all the members of the Christian Club.

The next thing that came before parliament, was of a very important nature to the subjects in general, namely, the manner in which the crown lands could be given away by the sovereign to any of his subjects; and how soon he could again seize on them, or whether he could seize them at all.

To understand this matter right, the reader must consider that in former times, under the feudal law, our kings had lands assigned them for their support, instead of money; part of which they often bestowed upon their favourites, reserving only a quit-rent as an acknowledgment of subjection. By these means the kings of this realm acquired the most solid power, while, at the same time, they exhausted the sources from whence their support naturally flowed. But as many disputes had arisen concerning the right of possession in those to whom the crown-lands had been granted; an act passed in the reign of James I. that every person to whom the king should dispose away any of the crown-lands, should, after sixty-one years possession of them, by himself and his heirs, enjoy them without molestation for ever, in the same manner as if they were freehold.

This was a fine engine in the hands of princes who wanted to govern by parties, and thus we find, that at the restoration of Charles II. when that prince, by a solemn act, gave up all claim to wardships and reliefs, the commons granted him a large sum of money for his annual subsistence. The extravagance of Charles, in consequence of his attachment to pleasure, induced him to give away many of the crown-lands; and his example was followed by king William after the revolution.

Mr. Bentinck, the great favourite of king William, had been naturalized, and the king made him a grant of some lands in Cumberland, which gave great offence to some of the English nobility. Accordingly, a bill was brought in during the reign of queen Anne, and passed into a law, ordaining, that for the future, no grants should be made of crown-lands, without reserving one fourth of the rent to the crown. Nothing, however, material happened in consequence of this act till the year 1768, when the duke of Grafton, then at the head of the treasury, made a grant of the duke of Portland's estates in Cumberland to Sir James Lowther, without conforming to the act of queen Anne, by reserving one fourth to the crown.

This was a most alarming circumstance, because many of the principal estates of our nobility and gentry were held by grants of crown-lands; and that if Sir James Lowther's claim should be sustained, no person could look upon himself in peaceable possession of any thing that had originally belonged to the crown. It was the general opinion at that time, that this grant had been made to serve some election purposes; but these being now over, it was supposed the matter would drop of course. In this, however, they were disappointed; for an expensive law-suit was commenced, the whole county of Cumberland was

in an uproar, four hundred ejectments were served in one day. A motion was then made for bringing in a bill to quiet the subjects in the peaceable possession of their estates; and that it should extend to the proprietors of land throughout every part of the kingdom, according to the statutes already made.

This is what is called the Nullum Tempus bill, and at first it passed through the house by a considerable majority; on the second reading it likewise passed, though with a small majority; but when it came to the third reading, it was rejected by a majority of nine votes, the whole ministerial influence having been thrown in to defeat it. This conduct of the ministry was much censured by the people in general, especially as it was a matter of dispute concerning private property, with which they had no business to interfere.

It was insinuated and even declared in public that the ministry had written circular letters to all the members who had the least dependence on the court, commanding them to oppose the bill, under the penalty of losing their places; and thus by the rejection of an act of a most equitable nature, the ministry have it all times in their power to make those who hold lands of the crown, subservient to their designs, and to oblige them to vote according to their directions, although contrary to the dictates of reason and conscience.

The last thing done by this parliament during the present sessions was, the passing an act to keep up an armed force in the East-Indies, and some restrictions were put upon the company, in order to keep them more dependent on our government. At last, after transacting a great variety of business, of the most important nature, his majesty went to the house and put an end to the sessions on the eighth of May. In the speech from the throne it was observed, that the pacific disposition of the kings of France and Spain furnished an opportunity for disbanding some of the forces both by sea and land. The commons were thanked for the generous manner in which they had granted the supplies; and that was considered as the strongest mark of their attachment to his majesty's person, family and government. The speech concluded, by recommending to their serious attention, the suppression of all riots and tumults which were become so frequent in most parts of the kingdom.

Having attended to the parliamentary affairs of Britain, we must now look back to the continent of Europe, where the war on the Danube seemed to languish in the beginning of the campaign. The great victories obtained by the Russians were not without much bloodshed on their side, and the loss of men by sickness, and all the other casualties that constantly attend the carrying on a war in a distant country were prodigious. The neighbouring provinces were ruined, so as to resemble a desert, and that no subsistence could be procured, but at an enormous expence. Money was borrowed in other countries for the use of the Russians, at the most exorbitant interest, and in some parts the merchants refused to advance any; so that it is impossible to describe the hardships the Russian army suffered. In March a most bloody battle was fought between them and the Turks, on the Walachian side of the Danube; and general Weissman, having obtained a victory, crossed the river, where the enemy had some small parties; but the general drove them from their posts and destroyed their magazines.

The two grand objects the Russians had in view at the opening of this campaign were, the securing such conquests as they had made on the Danube, and at the same time to penetrate with one of their armies into Crim Tartary.

Crim Tartary, so famous among the ancient Greeks by the name of Taurica Cheronesus, is a peninsula surrounded on all sides by the Euxine or Black Sea, except where it joins little Tartary, by a small isthmus not above six miles broad. In this isthmus stood the ancient city of Precop; but the Turks have changed



changed the names of those once celebrated places, which were formerly the seats of learning and arts. The whole peninsula is one of the most fertile spots in the world, abounding with many towns and cities; and the entrance, near where Precop stood, is fortified by strong lines, with a trench forty-two feet deep, seventy-two broad, and from the bottom of the ditch to the crest of the parapet, was seventy feet. Strong towers had been erected at proper distances from each other, and strong cannon were placed upon them.

Prince Dolgorucki was the Russian general appointed to attack this place, and when he arrived before the lines, he found it defended by the chan Selim Guery in person, with an army of fifty thousand Tartars, and seven thousand Turks. But notwithstanding the difference of numbers, the prince attacked the place on the twenty-fifth of June, two days after their arrival. The Tartar prince behaved with great bravery; for finding it impossible to rally his right wing, he went and charged bravely at the head of his left. All his efforts, however, were in vain; for in four hours his whole army was routed, and the lines forced in every place. The Turkish garrison surrendered prisoners of war the next day; and their whole army, cannon, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the conquerors. From this circumstance the reader will see, that no fortifications, however strong, nor troops, however courageous, can hold out against cool, steady, regular discipline, which, although it may sometimes be slow, yet in the end it bears down all opposition.

The Russians, having made themselves masters of this important pass, over-run the whole of the peninsula; the Turkish garrison deserted Kostoff, and having destroyed the fortifications, embarked on board some ships that lay in the harbour, and set sail for their own country. The governor of Arabat made some defence; but the place was taken by storm, and the garrison put the sword. From thence the prince continued his march to Cassa, the capital city of the Crimea, which was immediately surrendered to him; and a thousand men, the remains of the garrison, were made prisoners of war.

The terror was now so great, that the Turks, without waiting for the arrival of the enemy, abandoned the important fortresses of Taman, Jenicola, and Kertsch, which commanded the straits between the Black Sea and the town of Azoph, which now fell into the hands of the Russians, without striking a single blow. The Tartars submitted to the conquerors, who took them under their immediate protection; while their unfortunate leader retired to Constantinople, where he soon after died, not without strong suspicion that he had been put to death in a private manner.

During these transactions in the Crimea, the Turks, under the command of Mousson Oglou, crossed the Danube in three divisions, in order to attempt to relieve the fort of Torre, situated on the north of that river opposite to the ancient city of Nicopolis. The Turkish army, however, did not succeed; but a detachment of them, under the command of a bassaw, attacked the strong fort of Guirgewo, in which was a Russian garrison, and in three days the governor agreed to capitulate, upon being allowed to march out with all the honours of war. As this place was very strong, and had cost the Russians much trouble and loss before they took it, so the conduct of the governor filled the minds of the army with indignation, and prince Repuin ordered all the officers to be put under arrest.

On the seventeenth of August a detachment of the Turks came up with a body of Russians, and the latter were, after a most obstinate defence, put to flight; but they retreated in the most excellent order, taking along with them their wounded men. This was the only field action in which the Turks had hitherto reaped any advantage, and it was magnified at Constantinople as if it had been a complete victory.

The Turks had nothing so much at heart as that of establishing winter quarters in Walachia; and with this view they continued crossing the Danube in detached parties. But these motions could not escape the notice of a general so vigilant and penetrating as Romanzow; who no sooner perceived their designs, than he made such a number of masterly dispositions, as not only overthrew their schemes; but were conducted with such ability, that every one of them took place at the instant of time, and was productive of the effect which was intended.

Instead, therefore, of waiting for the enemy, the Russians boldly crossed the Danube; and attacked them on their own side, a circumstance they had not so much as imagined. Two great bodies of Turks, one entrenched at Tulcza; and the other at Maczin, were attacked at the same time by the Russian generals Weisman and Miboradowitz, and the event was the same in both places. The entrenchments were stormed; the Turks totally routed; and the towns taken, in which were large magazines of arms and provisions.

The night following, general Weisman marched to attack the grand vizier's camp, which was strongly fortified, at a place called Babadagh; and in it was the flower of the Turkish army, covered with a strong train of artillery. Victory, however, was obtained here by the Russians as cheap as before; the Turks were routed with great slaughter; the entrenchments and artillery taken, with the castle of Babadagh; while the vizier and his ruined army fled thirty miles, to seek refuge in mount Hemnus.

A few days after this important event, general Essen attacked a large body of Turks, and totally routed them, after having killed two thousand; and taken four thousand prisoners, besides all their baggage, tents, artillery, waggons, ammunition and provisions. By these rapid successes, the Turks were driven out of Walachia, while the Russians remained masters of that province. When the news arrived at Constantinople, the people became quite outrageous; and would have proceeded to great extremities, had they not been made to believe, that the loss was owing to a mutiny which had taken place in the army.

During this year, the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean did not perform any thing remarkable; and the severe check given the Greeks had deterred the more sober from engaging in the war. The fleet was greatly distressed for want of provisions; and some of their ships having been sent to the Italian ports, to purchase such things as were wanting, they were refused admittance, under pretence that they were infected with the plague. But still, under all these disadvantages, and many others, the Russians, by falling in with a pitiful, cowardly enemy, struck unspeakable terror in the Levant; and made even the Grand Signior tremble on his throne. A most severe blow was given to the trade of the Levant; and throughout all the islands of the Archipelago, the coasts of Greece and Asia; nothing was to be seen but ruin and desolation: but notwithstanding, the Russians reaped but very few advantages, and the climate killed many more of their men than those who fell by the sword.

Whilst war was thus carried on, between those rude and wide-extended empires, and appeared exposed rather to exterminate than diminish the human race, the pestilence, that other dreadful enemy to mankind, claimed a share of the spoil, and seemed too impatient to wait for the gleanings of the sword. When we consider the havoc made by this dreadful disorder in the Turkish army, and that all the provinces near the Black Sea were more or less infected with it, it will appear little less than a miracle that the Russian army should have escaped the fatal contagion. But if their army was so fortunate as to escape, it was not so happy with the interior part of their empire. It first discovered itself in the imperial city of Moscow; but as it was many hundreds of miles from the theatres of the war, and from the



countries infected, it could not be reasonably supposed that it had been communicated from thence. It raged during the summer under the appearance of a malignant fever, but in autumn it assumed its true form, and swept away many thousands before it.

The cruel ravages of the disorder were not, however, more shocking to humanity, than the effects it produced on the minds of the barbarous people. The severity of government had been, in some measure, relaxed, and the most horrid licentiousness took place. A wild enthusiast pretended that he had a revelation from heaven, by which he was informed, that a certain image of a saint was endowed with efficacy sufficient to cure those who were infected, and to preserve those who were not. This drew innumerable crowds of people together, so that many thousands were trampled to death, and the sick dropped down dead in the midst of such as were healthy. Thus the contagion was communicated in such a manner, that no attempts could restrain its progress; while the populace, assembling in such numerous bodies, broke out into the most violent outrages.

The artful impostor, who contrived the fraud, had placed a chest before the image of the saint, to receive such money as the people gave; but the archbishop of Moscow, who seems to have been a prudent man, ordered the chest to be sealed up, and both it and the image of the saint removed out of the church. This act, which deserved the highest commendations, had a quite different effect on the ignorant and superstitious multitude, for they ran to the archbishop's house, and utterly demolished it. The good prelate had escaped, through a back door, to one of the monasteries, where he hoped to be protected; but thither the enraged multitude followed him, and dragging the venerable old man into the streets, put him to death in the most horrid and barbarous manner.

A body of troops having been sent to quell the rioters, they refused to disperse; upon which the soldiers fired upon them, and many hundreds of them were killed. Many prisoners were taken, and being brought to their trials, were punished according to the custom of the country. The most remarkable circumstance attending this tragical affair, was the murder of the good old archbishop, for the Russians regard their clergy in a more sacred manner than any other nation in Europe; but who can set bounds to enthusiasm, when urged on by the violence of a pestilential distemper?

During the whole of this year, the great kingdom of Poland was deluged with blood, from the one extremity to the other: the confederates became more and more inveterate against each other, and yet the fertility of the soil furnished the means of subsistence. Indeed, it may be justly said, that the Russian ambassador was the sovereign of Poland, for all orders issued from him, though they were sanctified with the name of the king. From this circumstance we may learn what an unhappy thing it is to be under an aristocratical government, where the king is elected by a select company of noblemen, who pay no regard to his power, and, in the mean time, make slaves of their own tenants. In short, there cannot be a more perfect form of government than that where all the powers in the state are put upon an equal balance.

In the mean time, the king of Poland, who had been raised to the throne from a private station, supported himself under his misfortunes with the most heroic fortitude. Conscious of the moral rectitude of his own heart, he did not even suspect that his enemies had the least intention to do him any injury; but he was mistaken, as will appear from the following narrative.

About ten in the evening of the third of November, the king, having been on a visit to a nobleman in the country; returned to his palace at Warsaw; but, just as his coach was turning the end of a street, it was beset by several armed men on horseback, the

chief of whom was Koczinski, an officer among the confederates. These desperadoes having fired their pistols into the coach, dragged out the king, and carried him off between two horsemen. The domestics who attended the coach did all they could to rescue the king, but in vain, for one was killed on the spot, and the rest desperately wounded.

The Russian soldiers ran to arms, and found the coach covered with blood, but could learn no accounts of the king; upon which they sallied forth, and alarmed the detached parties which were on the roads leading to the capital. The assassins had been joined by some of their accomplices at one of the gates, and, without stopping, rode off with the king till they came to the village of Willanow, about seven English miles distant from Warsaw. The Russians continued pursuing; upon which Koczinski, with four others, separated from the rest of his companions, carrying the king with him. When he had proceeded a few miles, he sent his four companions to procure intelligence, whether any of the Russian forces were advancing; and no sooner were they gone, than he fell at the king's feet, imploring his pardon, and, at the same time, offering to save his life. They then proceeded to a hut about a mile distant, from whence the king dispatched a messenger to the Russian general, who sent proper persons to attend him, and conduct him home. The king had received two wounds on his head, the one from a sword, and the other from a ball; and his escaping with life may be considered as one of the most extraordinary incidents we meet with in history.

The assassin Koczinski produced a paper, by which it appeared, that he and his confederates were bound by the most solemn oaths to deliver the king, dead or alive, to the confederacy at Czenstochau; but, as he said, his heart failed him, and he was seized with remorse as soon as he saw the bleeding wounds of his sovereign. This, however, will hardly be credited by any person acquainted with human nature, but his reasons for giving him up were merely to save his own life.

It is evident, that the manner in which the king was carried off was attended with much more difficulty than if they had killed him on the spot; but then it must be remembered, that no persons in the world are more bewildered in their minds than those who engage in unlawful schemes: they are bold and resolute in words; but no sooner have they lifted their hands, than all the dreadful consequences present themselves to their minds, and they are unable to proceed any farther. Indeed, the whole of this assassin's conduct shews, that the mind of man has an inherent disposition to virtue; and that, however it may be warped and depraved, and think itself, while at a distance, capable of committing the most enormous crimes, yet it will frequently shrink back with horror, and recover its original disposition, when it comes to the fatal period.

While Poland remained in this distracted state, the empress of Russia, the emperor of Germany, and the ever enterprising king of Prussia, were not idle; they resolved to avail themselves of such circumstances, and divide that unhappy kingdom, by each taking a part; but this greatly offended the Germans, who were afraid of having the Russians too near them.

While Greece and Poland were over-run with armies, Germany, especially towards the south and east, was suffering all those calamities which arise from the scarcity of provisions. This dearth was not artificial, but real; for in Bohemia the scarcity was so great, that a severe famine prevailed, and great numbers of people perished for want of food. These distresses were much heightened by the severity of the winter, for in many places the poor people stripped the thatch from off their houses, in order to feed their cattle with it. Nor was the spring more favourable, for the vast quantities of snow which melted on the mountains, fell down in torrents on the level country, and swept away every thing before it; and the



the great rivers having burst through their ancient boundaries, scenes of confusion, terror and distress, were spread on every side. The calamity continued to increase as the season advanced; and in summer, when the best weather is expected, nothing was to be seen but continual rains, so that the country seemed to resemble the ocean, rather than land for the habitation of men.

The inundations of the Elbe were particularly dreadful; many parts of Lower Saxony, and the march of Brandenburg, were totally ruined. The town of Hamburg was truly distressed: the inundation entered one of the gates, and threatened immediate destruction; so that every person in the place was obliged to assist, in order to divert its course, and prevent its farther progress. The great suburb towards the Elbe, where the gentry had their houses and gardens, was so covered with water, that only the tops of the trees could be seen. The magistrates ordered a public fast to be kept, to implore the divine mercy, and avert the threatened judgments.

At Prague, a riot having happened, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, the governor told the people, that unless they dispersed, he would order the troops to fire upon them; to which they answered, with great coolness and indifference, that they would look upon the execution of his threatenings as a favour, a sudden death by a shot being much preferable to a slow one by famine. The governor had humanity and prudence enough to refrain from fulfilling his threats; and having transmitted an account of these transactions to the empress-queen, she burst into tears, and immediately sent them all the relief that was in her power.

On the twelfth of February this year, the king of Sweden died suddenly, and was succeeded by his son, the present king, then at Paris on his travels. The senate of Sweden met, and having drawn up the common diploma, by which the prince was invested with the regal dignity, expresses were dispatched to him at Paris, to notify the news in form, and desire his majesty would return to his own dominions. He did not, however, leave Paris, till he had concluded a treaty with the French king, and then he set out, accompanied by his brother. At Berlin he spent a few days in close conference with his uncle, the king of Prussia; and then continued his journey to Stockholm, where he was received amidst the acclamations of his subjects.

During this year, one of the most remarkable revolutions in the internal government of France took place, of any we find mentioned in history. That faithful, uncorrupted body of men, the parliament of Paris, had long defended the liberties of their fellow subjects; but integrity, and every other virtue, are little regarded by lawless power. The king, having sent for the members to the palace, ordered them to register some iniquitous edicts; but they absolutely refused, and returning to the parliament-house, entered into a bond to stand by each other in doing justice, although the consequence should be death.

A body of dragoons surrounded the parliament-house, and forced the clerks to register the edicts; upon which the parliament protested against it, and deputed their first president to wait on the king. But all the answer they received from the haughty monarch was, that next day they should be all sent into banishment. This accordingly took place, and these venerable fathers and guardians of the laws were sent to different villages at a great distance from their friends and families. Such was the fate of this noble and disinterested assembly, whose actions would have done honour to a Roman senate. This fall was not more glorious from the cause in which it was engaged, than from the circumstances which attended it; for several of the other parliaments in the provinces resigned their offices in honour of that of Paris.

With respect to the state of parties in England during the long recess of parliament, several changes

gradually took place. Most of the party known by the name of Grenvilles had gone over to the court, so that the ministry acquired a considerable degree of strength, while many others in the opposition relinquished their attachment to any parties whatever. Indeed, in all those parties formed for opposing the measures of government, we still find them inferior to those attached to the court; but that is not the worst that sometimes happens; for dissensions taking place, will ruin the best societies which were ever yet established. Many gentlemen, however, who scorned to mix private resentment against any individual with what concerned the public, remained firm in their principles; but seeing every thing carried by a great majority, in favour of what appeared to them inconsistent with the rights of their country, became wearied with fruitless attendance, while there was not the least appearance of redress.

One event took place during this recess, which surprized the whole nation, and made way for an act, the next session, of a most extraordinary nature. The event alluded to was no other than the marriage of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, a widow lady, and daughter to lord Inham, of the kingdom of Ireland. This step of the duke's gave great offence at court, especially as it had been openly acknowledged by the parties, and not concealed in the same manner as the marriage of the duke of Gloucester with the countess dowager of Waldegrave.

A. D. 1772. On the twenty-first day of January, the parliament met; and his majesty, in his speech, expressed much satisfaction, that neither the foreign nor domestic state of affairs required their more early attendance: that, now they were assembled, they would, no doubt, attend to the interests of the nation, and regulate its internal policy, as well as its foreign commerce. They were likewise informed, that the king of Spain had given up Fort Egmont, and that we were on the best terms with that court. It was, however, recommended to them, to keep the navy on the most respectable footing; to be ready in case of any necessity for the future. The addresses were presented in the usual form; and then the public business was opened, by making proper inquiries into the state of the navy; and the ministry proposed, that twenty-five thousand seamen should be voted for the service of the current year. In support of this motion, it was urged by the ministry, that the French had sent a considerable fleet to the East-Indies; and that we were, on that account, obliged to support a more considerable naval force there than before: that a large squadron was employed in the protection of our West-India islands; for should any misunderstanding arise between us and the Spaniards, those valuable acquisitions, if not properly taken care of, would fall into the hands of our enemies: that the war between the Russians and Turks made it also necessary to employ a greater number of ships for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean and the Archipelago; than had been customary in times of general peace: that by keeping up a reputable body of seamen, we would not be under the cruel necessity of granting press-warrants in case of the breaking out of a new war; and although the expense might be more than is common in times of peace, the advantages would amply repay it.

To these arguments it was answered by those in opposition, that the nation was already groaning under a load of taxes; and, instead of doing or proposing any thing for paying off the national debt, here was a proposal made to increase it in a time of profound peace; that, allowing the exigencies of the times required it, yet it did not appear but that, on every future occasion, the same pretence might be made, whether there was any necessity for it or not.

Two of our greatest naval commanders strongly opposed the motion, and condemned the then present arrangement of the fleet. They observed, that the force already in the East-Indies was either too great



or too little: that if the appearances of a permanent peace, as held out in the speech, were to be relied on, it was too great, and, in case of war, it was insufficient: that the same objections lay to the arrangement at Jamaica, where the squadron consisted only of about four ships, and was altogether unable to protect it, supposing any danger of an attack. Many severe sarcasms were levelled at the ministry for the futility of their conduct, because they accompanied a speech which breathed nothing but sentiments of peace, with all the actual preparation for war. At last, the question having been put, the motion was carried as usual, and the ministry reigned triumphant.

The next business that came before the house was a petition for leave to bring in a bill to excuse some of the clergy from subscribing to the thirty-nine articles of religion. It was urged in favour of the motion, that Christ came to make all his followers free: that they could not subscribe to doctrines of human invention, but only to the sacred scriptures; and that it was their right to explain them according to what they esteemed their genuine sense and meaning. On the other hand, it was urged against the motion, that to grant such an indulgence would be to open a door for all sorts of licentiousness; for, under a pretence that such and such tenets were the pure dictates of conscience, the fundamental doctrines of our religion would be subverted, and blasphemy taught in our churches: that most of those who had associated at the Feathers Tavern upon this sinister business, had been formerly dissenters, but had left their original profession, in order to enjoy some of the spoils of the church, and that they had brought their Arian and Socinian notions along with them: that if their consciences were so very tender, they might throw up their livings, and return to their conventicles, where they would be at liberty to disseminate what notions they pleased: that, by doing so, they would give a convincing proof of their disinterestedness; but nothing could be more reasonable, than for a church established by law to bestow her honours upon those who subscribed her doctrines, and conformed to her discipline. Upon the whole, the motion was rejected by a great majority, and not without some severe strictures on the conduct of those who had promoted it.

But of all the business transacted during this session, none was considered as of such importance, or made greater noise, than that of a message sent by his majesty to the house of lords. In this message it was observed, that his majesty being desirous, from paternal affection to his own family, an anxious concern for the future welfare of his people, and the honour and dignity of his crown, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family, as a matter of public concern, had always belonged to the princes of this realm. He therefore recommended to both houses to take it into their serious consideration, whether it may not be wise and expedient to supply the defects of the laws now in being, and, by some new provision, more effectually guard the descendants of his late majesty, except such as were already married to foreign princes, from marrying without the approbation of his majesty, his heirs and successors, first had and obtained.

In consequence of this message, a bill was brought into the house of lords, which fully answered all the purposes intended. This bill was opposed, with great strength of argument, by some of the most respectable peers in the nation. All the judges were sent for to give their opinion, which was, that the marriages of the immediate branches of the royal family must be approved of by the king, but how far that power extended over collateral branches, they could not say. At last the motion was carried, though not till fourteen lords entered a protest against it, as being inconsistent with the law of nature.

In the house of commons, the bill met with a much stronger opposition; and those in opposition boldly declared, that it had been brought in at a time when

most of the gentlemen of the law, whose opinions would have been of great service, were gone on the circuits. But, notwithstanding all the strength of argument, it passed, and soon after received the royal assent. All that we shall say concerning this bill shall be reduced to a few words. By those who promoted it, it was said, that, abstracting from all principles of natural right, it was necessary that municipal institutions should take place, especially where the public safety was concerned: that during the distractions between the houses of York and Lancaster, some branches of the royal family had married in the most imprudent manner with the daughters and widows of subjects, which was attended with such a train of evils, that the whole nation was deluged in blood: that, properly speaking, no attempt had been made to set aside natural rights, any further than was absolutely necessary to preserve the public peace, which was much preferable to the state of individuals.

On the other hand, it was urged, that all mankind, in the act of marriage, are, by nature, free: that no marriage can ever be a real, legal one, where the consent of the parties has not first been obtained: that no political laws can set aside natural rights: that if choice alone can constitute a real marriage, then nothing can authorize the most dignified person in the universe to lay a restraint on any person whatever. It was urged further, that such an unlimited power given to the sovereign, was, in all respects, inconsistent with the constitution, nor was there one precedent in history to give countenance to it: that, had it been inherent as a principle in our constitution, it must have long since become the subject matter of many of our statutes: that, on the contrary, till the present time, this prerogative was unheard of in English jurisprudence: that there was no remedy in law appertaining to such pretended right in the crown, nor any court of law in which a prosecution could be carried on for such pretended offences; and as, therefore, there could be no right without a remedy, it was evident this prerogative could have no real existence: that the act which regulated other marriages, expressly excepted the royal family; and it is well known, that the common law, until that period, left all men to their natural liberty. Had it been otherwise, had any provision been made, or had the paternal authority, exercised in Rome, been a part of our constitution, such a statute would have been both absurd and ridiculous, because useless and unnecessary. Such were the arguments made use of in this debate, and the reader is left to draw from them what conclusions he pleases.

The petition to parliament relating to dispensation with the subscription to the thirty-nine articles, being dismissed, so far as it related to churchmen in general, the dissenters resolved to try the same method.

It happened that, in the late debate, some favourable expressions had been made use of with respect to the dissenters, in opposition to those who treated them with scurrility. It was considered as a hardship that they should be obliged, under pains and penalties, to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church of England, especially as they received no emolument from the civil power, besides that of protection. Some of the members in the house of commons promised to do every thing in their power to promote a bill for their relief, which occasioned a meeting of some of the chiefs among the dissenters. It is necessary to observe, that, by the act of toleration of the first of William and Mary, the dissenters, who had suffered much during the former reigns, gained a legal right to the exercise of divine worship in their own manner; but this right was conditional with respect to their ministers, schoolmasters, and private tutors, who were obliged to subscribe the doctrinal parts of the articles, otherwise they were subject to very severe penalties.

As the dissenters were strongly attached to the doctrinal parts of the articles when the act took place, the subscription was not considered as a grievance, it being worship and discipline alone which constituted the



the great line of destination between them. However, since that period, a remarkable change has taken place in the sentiments of those people, and there are but few of them now in England who have not run into violent extremes. Those who considered subscription as a hardship, have been accused of teaching the doctrines of Annus and Socinus; while those who still adhere to the doctrines of Calvin, have carried the notions of that reformer more high than ever he intended.

It is true, that some of these Calvinistical divines, joined with those in opposite sentiments, in signing a petition to parliament; but, at the same time, a number of persons, among whom were some common mechanics who had turned preachers, joined in a counter-petition, praying that the clause in the act of toleration, that requires subscription to the articles, should not be on any consideration dispensed with. The arguments made use of on this occasion were nearly the same with those relating to the established church; but the debate was carried on with greater spirit.

Natural and religious liberty were contended for on the one hand, and the rights of the church on the other. Some severe sarcasms were thrown out on the high-church party, by those who supported the bill; and, in a very illiberal manner, they were charged with those blemishes that had stained the characters of their ancestors.

On the other hand nothing was lost; for the high-churchmen retaliated, by charging the dissenters with all the blood shed during the civil wars in the last century, and also with putting the king to death after they had overturned the government in church and state. To this they added, that instead of walking in the rigid road of Calvinism, like their hypocritical ancestors, they had pulled off the mask, some were such professed Arians that they had written against the divinity of Christ; others had denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost; but the major part had gone very near to deism. Some of them had falsified the text of the New Testament, to favour their heretical notions; and others had denied the certainty of punishment hereafter. In a word, it was said, that they were an epitome of all the heresies that ever existed, and to grant them the requested indulgence, would be to open a door for all sorts of blasphemy.

Such, in general, were the outlines of the arguments on this bill in the house of commons; and, at last it passed by a small majority. However, when it came to the house of lords, it had a more severe trial to undergo; for although the English nobility are enemies to persecution, yet there are few among them who would grant that indulgence to dissenters which is denied to their own clergy. Upon the second reading of it in the house of lords, there were no less than one hundred and thirty-one peers, including proxies; and only twenty-nine of these supported the bill; so that it was thrown out, and the dissenters left in the same state as before.

The affairs of the East-India company were now in a very perplexed situation, and it had been recommended in the speech from the throne, at the opening of the session, that some enquiry should be made into them. However, it seems pretty evident, that administration had no serious intention of entering deeply into that matter for the present; and that the movements during the sessions were only made use of to keep it alive, and to make or find some colour for bringing about a revolution, or total change in the affairs of that opulent company, which were now entangled in a labyrinth of uncertainty.

On the thirtieth of March, the deputy-chairman of the East-India company moved the house for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the servants belonging to the company in India. The grand object in view was, to restrain the governor's council; and, indeed, all the servants belonging to the company from carrying on any sort of trade, and

to give the directors of the company a sovereign power over their own servants.

It was urged in support of the motion, that the bad state of affairs in India, was owing to the small power the court of directors had over their servants, as they could not punish them in any other manner than by dismissing them. That nothing was more inconsistent with true policy, than to suffer governors of provinces at a great distance, to become traders and merchants; and that the court of Bengal was not able to administer justice to all the other settlements.

In answer to this it was said, that it was an unpardonable thing to propose bringing in a bill to redress a grievance without producing sufficient proof that the grievance existed. That the house ought first to enter into an enquiry concerning our present situation of affairs in India, and the causes that led to it; that it was to be feared the enquiry would shew, that the evils lay too deep to be remedied by the proposed bill, that it would be almost impossible to prevent the company's servants from trading either directly or indirectly; and that the sending out some gentlemen learned in the laws as judges, was very inadequate to the purpose of administering justice to the people, in such a vast extended tract of land; and that the measure was premature, because we had not yet determined by what code of laws the people were to be governed.

The motion, however, was carried, and this led to an enquiry into the state of affairs in India. All the papers belonging to the company, were ordered to be laid before a select committee of the house, and from the perusal of them, many important discoveries were made. Indeed, it was found that the mode of government in India was in every respect arbitrary, unconstitutional, and no way fit for preserving the rights of the people, nor administering justice to individuals. This committee, finding the business encreasing fast, and the season far advanced, desired leave to continue sitting during the recess of parliament, or, at least, till such time as they could go through with the intended enquiry.

In the mean time, the ill temper which had so unaccountably taken place between the two houses during the preceding session, still continued during the present; and, except in transmitting of bills from the one to the other, there was no more communication between them, than if they had been the jealous councils of two rival states.

In this state of affairs, the lords having sent a bill to the commons by a master in chancery, and a clerk assistant, the whole house considered it as an indignity, and would not accept the message till they had examined the journals, to know if there were any precedents of sending bills in that manner. In the course of a hasty and passionate debate, which ensued upon this occasion, several gentlemen mentioned, that, on the first day of the present sessions, they had been rudely turned out of the house of lords, even before the speaker could get out of the door. A motion was then made to appoint a committee to search for precedents, of the manner of bills being sent from the lords, and also of the improper behaviour of the lords to the commons. Exceptions, however, were taken to the word *improper*, as if it had carried an appearance of prejudging the case; and, after a warm debate, the word was left out.

The report of the committee was, that the lords had behaved in a very improper manner, and that the bill, which still lay on the table, should be sent back. This was opposed by administration, who said it would lay a foundation for a quarrel, which might not be easily accommodated; and accordingly the motion was over-ruled.

A motion was then made for a conference with the lords, but over-ruled in the same manner as the other; and after long debates, and several proposed amendments, the matter ended in a message to the



lords, in which the impropriety of the messengers was the only complaint stated, which, it was hoped, would not be drawn into a precedent. This produced an answer, that the bill had been ordered in the usual manner, and that the matter of complaint was occasioned by the illness of one of the persons who should have presented it; that a good correspondence was wished for, and that it was not meant to introduce any precedent contrary to established usage.

On the ninth of June, his majesty came to the house of peers, and, in his speech from the throne, took notice of the laudable conduct of his parliament, that had conducted the affairs of the public with such spirit and prudence. He thanked them for the care they had taken of his family, in making the act relating to the royal family; and they were informed of the pacific disposition of those powers with whom we had any concern. That there was great reason to believe, that the public tranquillity would not be disturbed. As for the supplies granted by the commons, they were thanked in the most cordial manner; and great joy was expressed, that there were still some hopes of being able to reduce the national debt.

No doubt was made but they would carry to their respective countries, the same principles and the same zeal for the public good, which they had already manifested; and that they would cultivate a spirit of harmony and confidence among all ranks of the people; to convince them, that without a due reverence for the laws, neither their civil or religious rights could be enjoyed in comfort or security; and to assure them, that their interests were considered as inseparably connected with those of the crown; and that his majesty is, and ever was persuaded, that the prosperity and glory of his reign must depend on his possessing the affections, and maintaining the happiness of his people. The parliament was then prorogued; which leads us, during its recess, to consider the state of affairs on the continent. The first thing that engages our attention is, the revolution that took place in the government of Sweden.

It is acknowledged, by most of those who have written of Sweden, that no nation in general ever enjoyed more liberty. Though governed by kings, these kings were originally elected by the people, and their power circumscribed within very narrow limits. The senate, in a manner, exercised the whole executive power; and the general diets, composed of representatives from the nobility, clergy, burgesses, and peasants. Here we find a happy mixture of power, and such as had not been known in any other European nation these many years; for all ranks of people were represented in their diets, or parliaments. It was not, however, without its defects; for the power of the diet being great, such as composed it often played the tyrant over their dependents or tenants, which made the people wish for a change of government.

About the time of the reformation, the popish clergy in Sweden had become so odious to the people, that they embraced the doctrines of Luther, and the protestant religion was established among them. From that time forward, Sweden began to emerge from obscurity; and several worthy princes having, for about a century, conducted the affairs of government, it became at last a flourishing nation. But good princes are not of continual succession. Charles XI. was a bold, domineering tyrant, and joining cunning to the natural cruelty of his disposition, he soon abolished the power of the senate by assuming it to himself, while the states were forced, by a military power, to give up all pretence to legislation. By the same, or similar methods, he greatly enlarged the dominions of Sweden, by new conquests; and, at his death in 1696, left it one of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe. He was succeeded by his son Charles XII. who inherited the intrepidity, obstinacy, harshness, and violence of his father, without any of his

diffimulation. He carried despotism to a still greater height; for, he threw by all the forms of law, and decided prepotently in every thing, without admitting of any discussion. The events of this prince's life are too well known to be recited here, only that his invincible obstinacy, and implacable disposition, brought on his ruin, after a life spent in heroic adventures and absurd pursuits, which seemed to border on madness. He found his nation when he ascended the throne, at the highest pitch of glory; but he left it reduced to misery.

His sister received the crown from the states and the senate, to be held by her in the same manner as in ancient times; so that from the blessings of a mild government, the nation began to assume a new form, and to recover from the miseries into which it had been plunged. In this manner things had been conducted with great prudence, till the death of the late king; and his present majesty, when he ascended the throne, made such protestations of his doing nothing without their advice and consent, that those persons who are well acquainted with the heart of man, and the common occurrences of life, would have imagined that he intended to deceive.

But notwithstanding all these plausible pretences and the strenuous endeavours of the court party, no relaxation could be obtained in the articles which restricts the regal power, although the coronation had been delayed a considerable time for that purpose. The king was obliged to sign all the articles in their original form, without any single exception, and even to confirm them by oath. Indeed, the articles were so numerous, and so restrictive, that scarce any prince could have been brought to comply with them; but this king had so repeatedly professed republican principles, that it might have been said they were framed by himself.

These affairs being settled, the coronation was conducted in the most magnificent manner; and every demonstration of joy was displayed on that occasion. He was next day waited on by the senate and the four orders of the diet, and the speech made to them by the king, was one of the most lively and animated that we meet with in history. There was, however, something of ambiguity in it; for speaking of the articles he had signed, he said, "Unhappy is that king who wants the tie of oaths to secure himself on the throne, and who, not assured of the hearts of his subjects, is constrained to reign by the laws; when he cannot by the love of his people." Such was the manner in which this prince began his reign; and what were his views will appear afterwards.

The diet still continued sitting, when those schemes that been long hatching began to reveal themselves. As it was necessary the experiment should be made at a considerable distance from the capital, in order that it might, in some degree, operate before the senate or diet should receive information of it, and might thereby acquire a considerable degree of strength, before their attempt to crush it could take place, it was resolved that it should break out where such of the military were quartered as the court could confide in.

Scania, a province in the south-west extremity of Sweden, and about two hundred and fifty miles from Stockholm, was the place pitched upon; for as that province is only separated from Denmark by the Sound, consequently great numbers of the military are constantly quartered in it. It was agreed, that the king should remain in Stockholm; that his brother, prince Charles, should set out for Christianstadt, under pretence of meeting his mother, who had been on a visit to the court of Berlin; and prince Frederick Adolphus, went into the neighbouring province of Ostragothia, which lies in the way from Stockholm, under pretence of drinking the mineral waters.

Every thing being now in as good order as possible, one Helichins, a captain of foot, having brought over his company to join him, the magazines and arms



arms were seized on, and then he caused a manifesto to be published and distributed among the people to the following purport: That those persons who called themselves the states of Sweden; had not only usurped that power, but had likewise by their arbitrary proceeding brought the nation to a state of ruin: that they had entered into foreign connections without the consent of either the king or the people; and altho' the people were in a manner starving, yet no corn had been brought into the country to relieve their pressing necessities: that under pretence of promoting the good of the subjects, they had made the most oppressive taxes; that they had stripped the king of the regal power, and left him no more than an empty title; so that however willing he might be to redress their grievances, yet it was not in his power. For these reasons, and for many others that might be mentioned, they renounced all allegiance to this pretended diet, and exhorted all faithful Swedes to join with them in suppressing an order that had brought such evils upon the kingdom. They concluded, in the fashionable strain, with an appeal to heaven, of the rectitude of their motives and intentions; at the same time, begging for the divine blessing upon their undertakings.

From these particulars it will appear, that this manifesto had been first fabricated in the king's cabinet; and that Hellichins, who published it, was no more than a tool for that purpose, and had previously been instructed to act his part. The whole garrison of Christianstadt declared in favour of the manifesto, and they were soon joined by vast numbers of peasants from different parts of the country.

Prince Charles, who was then at Carellsroon, no sooner heard of the revolt, than he assembled the forces in the neighbourhood, and took upon him the command of the garrison, in which was a great magazine of arms and ammunition. He then caused a manifesto to be published, of so mysterious a nature, that no person could well know what part he intended to act. He said, he could not behold with indifference the flames of civil war breaking out in his dear native country; and therefore he was determined to suppress the insurrection, and desired that all those who wished well to their country, would follow his standard. Accordingly, having placed such a garrison in Carellsroon as he could depend on, he put himself at the head of the remainder of the troops, and began his march to Christianstadt, with several pieces of cannon. His brother prince Frederick, taking the same advantage of the insurrection, put himself at the head of the troops in Ostragothia, before any news had reached Stockholm. In the mean time general Rudbeck, who happened to be then in Ostragothia, set out for Stockholm, and having informed the senate of these proceedings, and shewn them prince Charles's manifesto, there remained no doubt what were the real intentions of the court.

As the guards were firmly attached to the king, the senate did not chuse to trust them, nor did they consult the king upon any thing. They ordered the burghers to put themselves under arms, and take their stations in different parts of the city; under the command of count Halling; who was also considered as prime minister. All this time the king seemed perfectly easy; but when the senate sent him an order to sign for recalling his brother, he refused to do it; but the refusal was not regarded, for they put both the king's seal and name to it.

Though the king seemed totally inactive with respect to these important transactions, yet it is evident that he was taking the most effectual measures to accomplish the great design he had in view; to the success of which nothing contributed so much as the secrecy and silence with which they were conducted. The Senate had sent for two regiments from Upland, and upon their arrival, the king assembled the senate, demanding to know why they had sent for troops without his consent. Upon that they, in a manner,

commanded him to shew them some letters that had been sent him by his brothers? but this he refused to comply with in the most positive manner. The altercation between him and the senators grew warm; and one of them proceeded so far as to attempt to seize his sword, upon which he boldly drew it; and the senators were so much frightened, that he had an opportunity of getting out of the door, which he locked behind him, and put the key in his pocket.

Having thus cooped up the senators, he went to the guard-room, where he assembled the officers, and made a long speech to them, complaining of the miseries the people groaned under from the abuse of power in the senators, and that this cruel tyranny became every day more and more intolerable.

He told them further, that he was determined to run all hazards to get rid of of them, and asked the officers whether they would not assist their king in shaking off so ignominious a yoke, and restore the nation to its antient liberty. To this proposal the officers in general assented with great readiness, as well as the soldiers; upon which the king asked them, if they would take an oath of allegiance to him, which they as readily complied with.

Every thing being thus far conducted, the king, in consequence of a previous consultation with his friends, had a white linen handkerchief round his arm, as a signal; upon which many of the nobility and gentry flocked to him. He then put himself at the head of the guards, and seized on all the magazines, without so much as one person venturing to oppose him.

The whole garrison of Stockholm, although commanded by baron Rudbeck, who hated the king, deserted their leader, and followed the king's standard. The old baron ran with his sword drawn, thro' the streets, calling out to the people to take arms in defence of their liberties; but it was too late, for they imagined they might live as happily under one tyrant, as under five hundred.

Thus, in a large nation, a revolution was brought about without bloodshed, tumult, or the least opposition; while the people flocked together in the same inoffensive manner as if they had been going to see some holiday sports. The king then repaired to the castle, where having assembled the foreign ministers, he told them, that it was with the utmost reluctance that he had been obliged to take such a step, as would surprize all Europe; but the safety of his own person, and the security of the state, rendered it absolutely necessary. He entreated them to inform their respective courts, that his motives, when made known would justify him; and that this affair should not make the least alteration in his conduct with respect to the other European powers. The next morning all the magistrates took an oath to obey none but the king, and such of the senators or deputies who refused to take it, were committed to prison, and told, that unless they complied within one month, they must for ever depart out of the kingdom.

The following day being appointed for abolishing the old form of government, and the establishment of the new, the king ordered the states to be assembled for that purpose. Previous to this, guards had been placed round the hall of the palace, so that there was not the least doubt but his orders would be punctually obeyed. The king entered the hall in his regalia, and having made a long speech, complaining of the senate for having presumed to act as if in a legislative capacity, without power from the diet. He said, that the diet on the one hand, and the senate on the other, seemed to claim each a separate power, while he himself, though honoured with the title of king, enjoyed no more than the shadow of royalty. He concluded by telling them, that the senate had actually presumed to receive subsidies from foreign powers, whose counsels governed Sweden; but that he would now assert the honour of his crown, and promote the interests of all his loyal and peaceable subjects.

The king took a most solemn oath, by which he renounced



renounced all claims to arbitrary power; after which he caused the new form of government to be read. It consisted of fifty-seven articles, but they may be all comprized in the following: that the king shall, for the future, chuse the senate, or, in other words, he should appoint to that office such as he approved of: that he shall assemble the states when he pleases, and likewise, when he pleases, dissolve their meeting, so as they have sat one time full three months: that the taxes shall be granted by the states; but if not granted within three months after their meeting, then the old ones shall be levied. In case of any sudden exigence, such as the fear of invasion, the king shall impose taxes till such time as the states can be called together: that when the states are assembled, they are not to deliberate on any thing but what the king shall cause to be laid before them: that the king shall have full power to dispose of the army and navy in whatever manner he pleases, and likewise to give away all places, either in the civil or military departments.

When all the articles were read, the king stood up, and asked the states, Whether they would give their oath to observe this form of government? As they knew that it was in vain to dispute, they all consented with one voice; after which they were immediately sworn in the king's presence, and the speakers of each order signed a bond in name of the rest.

The great work being thus finally accomplished, the king stood up, and told them, that it was necessary they should return thanks to God for bringing about so happy an event, without the effusion of human blood; and then pulling a book out of his pocket, the whole assembly joined with him in singing *Te Deum*, according to the custom of the Lutherans. They were then permitted to kiss his hand; after which the king departed, and the states separated, without knowing whether they were ever to meet again.

Next day, all the old senators were dismissed, and, in their room, fifteen noblemen were appointed, on whose attachment to him he could, with the most unshaken confidence, rely.

This prince was too much of a politician not to ingratiate himself with the lower class of people; and as the distresses of the poor were then very great, in order to throw the greater odium on the senate, he caused ten thousand measures of meal to be distributed among them, each measure weighing twenty pounds; which, although far from being sufficient to relieve all their wants, answered the end designed, namely, to endear himself the more to them. He also caused the diet of the states to be assembled. But now every thing seemed totally changed; for, instead of enquiring into the conduct of the king, as had been customary on former occasions, each order of the states strove who should be the first to flatter him; and every thing he asked was granted, without one dissenting voice. The supplies were granted in the most lavish manner; and a secret committee being chosen from each order of the states, to assist the senate, the king dismissed them, and they returned to their respective habitations with as much good humour as if he had been conferring with them on the most valuable privileges.

It may be considered as one of the extraordinary circumstances of this extraordinary revolution, that not a drop of blood, either by legal or military execution, was shed in the progress, or in consequence of it: a striking instance, how much the manners of mankind have been softened within a few ages; and, that whatever progress the meaner or baser qualities of the mind may have made, the more terrible ones, which proceed from cruelty and ferocity, are, in a great measure, worn out. Indeed, too much cannot be said of the extraordinary wisdom and superior abilities displayed by the king in the whole of his conduct. The profound dissimulation with which he covered his designs, by putting on the republican cloak, so as to elude the eyes of a whole nation, and

to escape the vigilant attention of those whom age and experience had rendered both cautious and suspicions, cannot be paralleled in history, especially when we consider that it was performed by one so young. He never seemed irritated by any passion, but solidity regulated his judgment, and prudence directed his hands.

While the king of Sweden was displaying the greatest abilities in setting up a new form of government, the state of public affairs in Denmark assumed a new face. The king had, for some time, made choice of one favourite after another; but scarcely had any of them gained a share of his friendship and confidence, than they were discarded with peculiar marks of disgrace. Great hopes had been formed of this prince when he ascended the throne, and as great disappointments followed; for the king, who governs his subjects by the advice of foreigners, can never be popular in his own dominions; and, without the love of the people, sovereignty is but an odious name.

Among others who, like needy adventurers, came to settle in Copenhagen, was one Strunsee, the son of a Lutheran minister in Holstein. He was a young man of the most insinuating address, with some very good abilities, but profligate in his manners, and abandoned to every vice, not paying the least regard to the most sacred obligations, and treating religion with contempt.

It is amazing to consider the rapid progress which this adventurer, and one Brandt, his companion, made by their insinuating address. They were both raised to the dignity of noblemen; and Strunsee was made prime minister, a circumstance which could not fail of raising an honest indignation in the minds of the Danish nobility. By his advice, accompanied with that of his friend Brandt, all the old faithful counsellors were disgraced and banished; till at last the two favourites, grown giddy with power, could set no bounds to their madness, but even treated the king with contempt.

It cannot be supposed that the subjects of any kingdom, even the most despotic, could bear long with such insolence. To have done so, would have been a disgrace to them as men, and remained a striking proof, that they were unworthy of a place in human society. Accordingly a conspiracy was formed, and, to give it the greater sanction, the queen-dowager, second wife of the late king, was at the head of it. Every thing being ripe for execution, a masked ball was given at court on the sixteenth of January, and, as soon as it was over, the king, who seemed to labour under great weakness of mind, retired to rest. He had not, however, been long in bed, when the principal conspirators came into his chamber, and told him, that the reigning queen, with Strunsee and Brandt, were that instant employed in drawing up a paper, which they would force him to sign; the contents of which were, that he was to renounce the crown. The queen-dowager told him, that there was no way of saving himself, but by signing an order to take into custody the reigning queen, with the two odious favourites; and the poor weak prince, overcome by fear, readily complied. The warrant was immediately executed, and the queen, with the two favourites, were committed to different prisons. The queen was afterwards sent to the castle of Cronenburg, where she remained some time very closely confined, but, by the interposition of her royal brother, the king of Great-Britain, she was set at liberty, and suffered to reside at Zell, in the electorate of Hanover, with a pension equal to her dignity.

But the fate of the two favourites was otherwise determined. They were confined in close dungeons, and not allowed any thing to subsist on but bread and water, nor were their beards suffered to be shaved. They were examined from time to time during the space of two months, and threatened with being put to the torture, unless they made an open confession. At last sentence of death was passed upon them, that they should have their right hands cut off, and then their



their heads; and that, after their quarters had been exposed on the wheel, they should be placed on the most conspicuous parts in the city. Accordingly, this sentence was executed, in all its rigour, on the twenty-eighth day of April, on a scaffold near the city, in the midst of a vast concourse of people. They both behaved with greater decency and resignation than might have been expected from men who had lived as they did. Strunsee in particular was extremely penitent, and prayed very devoutly with the minister who attended him. Such was the end of two men, who might have been ornamental members of society, had they not aspired to power which they had not proper abilities to manage.

On the twenty-sixth day of November, the parliament met; and his majesty, in his speech from the throne, informed the members, that his reason for calling them so soon, was to take into their consideration some things of the utmost importance. He told them, that he had been informed, from the most undoubted authority, that the East-India Company was in a most distressed condition; and that, as many of his good subjects had their fortunes depending on the credit of that company, therefore its security was now become a national concern. He desired them to take it into their immediate consideration, and, if possible, lay down some rational plan; by which the interest and honour of the company might be restored; and every thing settled on the most permanent footing. He took notice, that he had the strongest assurances from the powers on the continent, that the peace of Europe would not be any farther disturbed than so far as the war was carried on between the Turks and Russians. He concluded by recommending to them the most prudent methods that could be made use of, in order to reduce the price of provisions, as the distresses of the poor were not imaginary, but real; and that nothing would give him greater pleasure, than to hear that those distresses were alleviated.

As soon as the commons returned to their own house, Mr. Fitzpatrick, brother to the earl of Offory, moved, that a loyal address should be presented to his majesty, and introduced the motion with the following remarks. He said, that the affairs of the East-India Company were in the most alarming and ruinous condition: that the immediate interposition of parliament was become highly indispensable to their preservation: that, in 1769, the company had agreed with the government to pay the sum of four thousand pounds at every time when their dividend amounted to twelve per cent. and so on in proportion till it fell to six, when that payment was to cease: that this being the case, and the present distressed state of the company so notorious, it would be necessary to make some provision adequate to the deficiency: that, so far from the company's being able to make a dividend of either twelve or six per cent. at the end of the next half year, it would be an act of the highest fraud in the directors to divide a single shilling. Some of the members opposed the address; but the vote being put, it was carried in the affirmative by a very great majority, and presented accordingly.

The first thing of importance which came under the consideration of the house of commons, was the present state of the navy, and this occasioned very warm debates. The objections made by those in opposition were to the following import. They said, that the number of seamen was too great to be kept up in time of profound peace; and that we were at peace with all our neighbours, was declared in the speech from the throne. It was further urged, that the ministry had not given in an account in what manner the supplies granted last year had been used, so that the house was left quite in the dark.

The ministry, on the other hand, had but little to say; only that they urged the necessity of keeping our navy on the most respectable footing; and set forth, that our fleet in the East-Indies was now much

greater than formerly. Those in opposition said, that when the public granted money, they had a right to enquire in what manner it was to be laid out, that the utmost satisfaction ought to be given to those who contributed towards supporting the dignity of government: that some of those employed in the building of ships for the royal navy, had added to them some very extraordinary decorations, which, although wholly unnecessary, had been attended with great expence. It was added, that the slow payment of the navy bills was a great hardship to those who advanced money on the credit of them; that such an abuse ought to be redressed before any farther supplies were granted: that it was very surprising, that, after the declaration from the throne, that we were in the most profound state of peace; as many men should be asked for as if we were at war with the most formidable power in Europe.

Upon the whole, the arguments were carried on with great heat by those in opposition; and certainly nothing could be more reasonable than to lay before the people a state of the public affairs, that they might be satisfied whether their money had been laid out in promoting the purposes for which it was given. It was asked, If a naval force must be kept up in the East-Indies, what end was it to answer? Had we any enemy to oppose in that part of the world; and if so, who was that enemy? What armament had been sent into those seas to disturb our settlements, or harass our trade? It was further asked, in an ironical manner, Whether the Chinese had fitted out a fleet, whether we had any pirates to contend with, and whether the ghost of the famous Angria had made its appearance on the theatre of this world? If no answer could be made to these questions; if no reason could be assigned for keeping up such a strong naval force, then the motion ought to be rejected, and no money granted for that purpose, seeing there was no reason for it, unless it was to burthen the people with unnecessary taxes. But, notwithstanding the force of these arguments, no sooner was the question put, than it was carried for the ministry by a great majority, and the supplies were granted.

A motion was then made to enquire into the nature of those causes which occasioned the dearth of all sorts of provisions, but nothing was done that could be of any real service to the public. Several regulations, indeed, were made with respect to bread, and some restrictions laid upon the bakers; but, unless the rents of landed estates and farms can be lowered, by the retrenchment of different species of luxury, the legislature itself will never be able to remedy the evils complained of. To redress any grievances, nothing can be more proper, nothing more salutary, than to begin with the effects, and trace them up to the original causes from whence they spring. In vain does the legislative power lay the inferior order of tradesmen under some sort of restrictions, when, at the same time, it is well known that, unless the causes are removed, the effects must remain in the same state as before. Most of those who compose our houses of parliament are landholders; and if they know that the rents of their farms are double to what they were twenty years ago, consequently, the prices of all sorts of provisions must rise in proportion.

A secret committee having been appointed to enquire into the state of the East-India company's affairs, it was found, by their report, that the affairs of the company were both perplexed, and very much distressed. It was therefore proposed, that supervisors should be sent out to the East-Indies, to make a proper enquiry how far the officers and servants belonging to the company had abused the trust reposed in them, and to have power to grant redress to all those who thought themselves in the least injured. Some of the members whose fortunes lay in the East-India stock, made strong objections to this bill, while those who supported it retorted upon them, by declaring, that nothing but oppression had been carried on in that part of the world; and as the com-



pany had, either directly or indirectly, encouraged such practices, it was now high time to call them to an account for their conduct, and prevent them, for the future, from acting in such a manner as could serve no other end besides that of disgracing themselves, and bringing a real dishonour upon the nation. At last the motion was carried in the usual manner; and supervisors were appointed, with plenary powers to make a proper enquiry into all the abuses complained of, and to rectify them as far as lay in their power.

A motion was next made to enquire into the state of the army; and particularly, whether it was necessary that we should, in times of peace, keep up such a strong military force as seemed of no other use but to impoverish the nation, and to be ready at all times to support the arbitrary dictates of a minister. It was said by those who promoted the motion, that the national militia was at all times able to preserve us from our enemies at home; and as for such settlements as we had abroad, a very small force was sufficient, especially as we were not engaged in a war with any of the powers on the continent. In answer to this, the ministry said, that all other European nations kept up standing armies, and therefore it was, in a manner, necessary that we should do the same, otherwise, if a war was to break out, we should be utterly unprepared, and, consequently, we should be exposed to many unforeseen dangers.

A.D. 1773. The holidays being ended, the parliament met pursuant to their last adjournment, and took into consideration the acts relating to penalties inflicted on those who infringed the laws respecting the preservation of the game. This subject is of the utmost importance to the inhabitants of a free country, and therefore it was discussed both upon natural and municipal principles. It is certain that every thing which seems to have an existence upon natural principles, will at all times attract the notice of the public; and such as may, probably, have no concern in the dispute, will, notwithstanding, interest themselves in it. Thus a wild beast in the fields has been, time immemorial, considered as the property of the public; and if either its flesh or skin were of any value, then the person who took or killed it was to consider it as his own. In proof of this, it may be added, that some of the Anglo-Saxon kings remitted the tax which the Welsh used to pay, upon condition that they produced a certain number of wolves heads, by which means that destructive species of animals was eradicated out of the country.

On the other hand, it was urged, that whatever might be the privileges belonging to men in a state of nature, they were all cancelled as soon as civil society took place: that all municipal laws were made for the good of society, and in the preamble to every act, reasons were assigned for the conduct of the legislative power. One reason, indeed, was declared to be unanswerable, and that was, that in a commercial nation, where every person is supposed to get his living by honest industry, gaming in general ought to be laid under the severest restrictions: that poaching, or killing of game, led the lower order of people away from their lawful employments; and while they were spending their time in taking a hare or a fox, their families were left to starve: that although the laws made for the preservation of the game might seem to interfere with private property, yet they were such as would stand warranted by good sense and sober reason. Nothing, however, was done on this subject; and we are sorry to say, that those who pretended to stand up for the natural rights of mankind, were such as had, in the opinion of the public, trampled on some of the most sacred moral obligations. The ministry promoted the bill, in order to acquire some share of popularity; the patriots opposed it for the sake of opposition. It was then moved in the house, that a bill should be brought in to enable foreigners to lend money on the credit of some of our West-India settlements; and

the reason for this motion was, that many foreigners who had money to lend on real security, would be glad to lay it out in that manner, if they could only have it in their power to recover their debts according to the common-law of England. It was further urged, that such a practice would, in a great measure, reduce the price of sugar, and, at the same time, our colonies would become more respectable than ever. That the interest of the colonies and the mother-country were reciprocal; there was no line to be drawn between them, because they must stand or fall together; they were links of the same chain, wheels of the same machine; and no sooner was one decomposed, than all the rest went into a state of confusion.

Some disorders having happened in the West-Indies, a committee was appointed to make a proper enquiry into the causes, and to report to the house, whether the things complained of originated from the arbitrary proceedings of the governors, or the refractory conduct of the people. The ministry did all they could to support this enquiry, but, after the committee had examined a great number of witnesses, no satisfactory account could be obtained, and things stood on the same footing as before.

Monopolies, the curse of every commercial state, came next before the house; and the principal question agitated was, whether those engaged in partnership should be obliged to part with their real estates, in order to satisfy the demands which their creditors had upon them, in consequence of a commercial copartnership. One would think that nothing can be more equitable than that of a man's giving up his all for the benefit of his creditors, notwithstanding any connections he may happen to have; but notwithstanding, the motion was violently opposed, and there is reason to fear that such a beneficial institution will not take place in the present age.

An affair of great importance now came on before the house, which, had it been properly attended to, would, in a great measure, have restored the constitution of this country to its original principles. The question was as follows, Whether it is not consistent with the constitution of this country, that every session of parliament should be itself a real parliament, that the people might have an opportunity, from time to time, to send such persons to represent them as should seem worthy of their choice.

This naturally leads us to take some view of the ancient parliaments of this and other European nations, who rose on the ruins of the Roman empire.

As the people are the fountain of power, and as the rights which princes enjoy are no more than delegated, therefore it is no more than reasonable that the people should be represented. This representation was originally the right of all those who chose to act for their neighbours; but, in time, it was found so burthensome, that four shillings per day for knights of the shires, and two shillings for burgesses, was allowed to all those who gave due attention to the affairs of parliament. Parliaments were called as often as the sovereign thought proper; but prorogation and dissolution seem to have been synonymous terms till the reign of Henry VI. when the unhappy wars between the houses of York and Lancaster took place. From that time till the succession of queen Elizabeth, there seems to have been no fixed rule, till we come to the revolution, when it was ordered that a new parliament should be summoned to meet once in three years, and to continue during the whole of that time, either by sitting or prorogation. This was an attempt towards political reformation, and, perhaps, as much as could have been then effected, consistent with the state of public affairs; but still it called for amendment. No man is infallible, and it is well known that there are but few who can withstand the force of a bribe. This has at all times given wicked ministers the power of trampling on the rights of their country, by bringing over a majority to be, as it were, a standing council. But however great the evils



evils might be which arose from triennial parliaments, they were trifling when compared with those which we shall now mention.

When the rebellion, which broke out in 1715, was quelled, the ministry, for reasons now unknown to us, resolved to take a cruel revenge. Many unhappy wretches were executed; and, had it not been for the natural humanity of the people, thousands more would have shared the same fate. The ministry were so sensible of the general discontents of the people, that, in order to screen themselves from the effects of a parliamentary enquiry, a bill was brought in to make the then parliament to continue seven years, and the same rule was to take place in all future elections. Perhaps this was the first blow struck at the root of our most excellent constitution, and the evils arising from it have been felt by all ranks of people in the nation.

To remedy those evils, and, if possible, give the people leave to make a free choice as often as possible, a worthy patriot made a motion, that a bill might be brought in to shorten the duration of parliaments. This was what every honest man wished for, because, where the time or continuance of office is short, the temptation must be small. Reasonable, however, as this motion was, there was a strong majority against it; and, to the surprize of all those who wished well to the constitution, it was thrown out. Future ages will be surprized, when they read, that, in this age, such an equitable motion should be rejected by those who profess themselves the guardians of the rights of their fellow-subjects; but it is too true to be denied; and, till such time as parliaments revert back to their original form, the people may complain without effect. In vain are they indulged in their choice, if the least restriction is laid upon it; for freedom in common life is but one link of that chain which cements all the bodies in political society.

It is certain that many patriots are still to be found in this country; and although some of their schemes may happen to be overthrown, they ought to be held in the highest esteem by all those who wish well to their natural rights and privileges. Lord Howe moved, that a bill might be brought in to enable his majesty to augment the pay of the naval officers, which, at that time, was too small for their subsistence. This motion was supported by all those who wished well to the brave men, who undergo ten thousand hardships which others never feel. But still it was opposed by the ministry; for although the petition delivered by lord Howe, in name of the naval officers, was conceived in the most modest terms, yet such was the malevolence of those in office, that no regard was paid to it. It was said, that the nation could not afford them any more; so that whatever their merits might be; yet, when it was considered that there was an utter impossibility of complying with their request, they ought to rest satisfied.

Indeed, the arguments made use of by those who contended for so equitable an act, were far superior to those made use of on the other side; and we will venture to affirm, that the hardships suffered by naval officers are of such a nature, that no rewards can be too great for them. Were but a few of the articles of luxury taken away, and, in room thereof, the same money given to reward and encourage those brave men, who venture their lives for our safety, the nation would receive an additional honour.

A motion was then made, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to enquire into the propriety of foreigners being connected in our trade to any parts of the world, exclusive of Europe. This motion took its rise from the following causes, namely, the power granted to the lords of the admiralty to stop all ships which are not wholly the property of British subjects. It was proved, by the evidence of several witnesses, that some ships had been detained at Gravesend a whole month, for no other reason, but because part of the cargoes belonged to foreign merchants. The result of all this was, that

leave was given to bring in a bill to remedy the evil complained of.

It is a maxim in the law of nature, that justice should be freely administered at the expence of the whole community, because it is supposed to be done for the preservation of the whole; and it will often happen, especially in large communities, that an innocent person may be accused of crimes, thrown into a prison, and brought to a public trial. It is true, he may, from a variety of circumstances, be able to prove his own innocence; yet, when the jury has acquitted him, he cannot be discharged, in many parts of England, till such time as he has paid certain fees to the gaoler. Long, indeed, had this practice been a disgrace to the nation, till, about forty years ago, the city of London, at the instance of baron Thompson, their recorder, set the example, of discharging every prisoner, without fees, as soon as he was acquitted by the jury. The noble generosity of the citizens of London was not, however, adopted by those who lived in more distant counties. No provision was made to defray the expences of keeping the felons in prison; so that instances were produced of some poor men lying a whole year in gaol, because they could not pay their fees. To remedy an evil of so glaring a nature, a bill was brought in to oblige every county to make good all the deficiencies incurred to the gaolers by keeping the prisoners. To the honour of the present age, let it be here remembered, that a bill, formed by the heart of charity, and supported by benevolence, passed with the almost unanimous consent of the house. In consequence of this humane resolution, the prisoner who is now acquitted must be discharged without paying any fees. The verdict of the jury shall make him as free as if he had never been in prison; he may go from the bar to his own family without being called in question, or detained for any fees whatever; his imprisonment being considered as a great punishment after his innocence has been proved.

We have already taken notice, that both churchmen and dissenters had applied to parliament for some relief in the article of subscription; and although their request was rejected at that time, yet they both renewed it afterwards. To a liberal and enlarged mind, it will appear, that there can be no medium in this affair between the churchmen and the dissenters. Dr. Tucker, dean of Gloucester, has written a treatise, wherein he proves, that all bodies or societies, whether political or religious, have a right to impose some tie on those who join with them. Now this applies to the established church of England, which, as a national institution, has heaped emoluments on its ministers, and, consequently, has a right to impose some test by which their orthodoxy may be known. It is different with respect to the dissenters; they do not enjoy any of those emoluments, nor can they be admit ed to execute the duties of a civil office till they have taken the sacramental test. These considerations weighed strongly with the house, and a bill to relieve the dissenters actually passed by a great majority; but, when sent up to the lords, it met with a warm opposition, and, in the end, was rejected.

The state of the linen trade was the next object that attracted the notice of the house, and, undoubtedly, it is a subject which requires the utmost attention. In the manufactures of linen, not only men and women, but even children, are employed; and it may, with the utmost propriety, be said to be the staple commodity both of Ireland and Scotland. In both places, this useful art has been brought to great perfection; thousands of useful subjects are employed in it, and therefore any thing to promote or injure it becomes a national concern. But, notwithstanding the vast advantages arising to the community from this branch of trade, it seems to suffer in common with every thing else. The reason is obvious to any thinking person; for as the poor are, in general, employed in the different branches of that manufacture, so it is necessary that provisions should be cheap, in order



order that our merchants may be able to sell their goods at foreign markets, at a lower price than our neighbours. But the present increase of luxury has induced our nobility and gentry to raise the rents of their estates, and, consequently, the necessary provisions have been enlarged in price at the same time, so that the poor could not live by the prices of their labour.

The importation of foreign linen was much insisted on by those who had the interest of their country at heart; and several proposals were made, that no foreign linen should be imported. Perhaps no measure could have been more productive of the public good; but the great misfortune was, that the foreign linens were charged a certain duty, unless some scheme could be proposed to make good the deficiency that would occur in the public imports; so that the motion was, for that time, thrown out.

With respect to the state of affairs on the continent, particularly in Poland, and near the Danube, nothing decisive happened during the whole of this year. Many different engagements happened, indeed, between the Turks and the Russians, but both parties continued still in such an uncertain state, that they were obliged to act on the defensive. Some proposals, indeed, were made by both parties, towards bringing about a lasting peace, but nothing was done, for the Russians were high in their demands, and the Turks were too proud to comply. The king of Prussia, that great politician and general, to whom even rest is painful, proposed, that the wretched kingdom of Poland should be divided into three parts, in the following manner. That vast, extensive tract of land, reaching from the Boristhenes to Muscovy, was to be ceded to the empress of Russia; the emperor of Germany was to have the southern parts of Great Poland, from Warsaw to Cracovia, and from thence to the confines of Hungary. All that part of Poland which reaches from Warsaw along the Oder and Vistula to Dantzick, and afterwards along the coast of the Baltic Sea, were to be given to the king of Prussia. Thus a nation, one of the most fertile in Europe, after being torn in pieces by intestine divisions, was to become the property of three mighty sovereigns who had no right to it besides that of lawless power. The great object the artful king of Prussia had in view, was to seize the opulent town of Dantzick, in order to open a trade to Petersburg through the Sound, and to all the other mercantile states in Europe. This was one of the boldest strokes that could have been struck; but in all things the king of Prussia is such a master in politics, as well as the art of war, that nothing seems too difficult for him; the universe itself is not capable of setting bounds to his ambition, although his advanced years seem to threaten a decay of nature.

During the whole of this year, vast numbers of people emigrated from Scotland, and the north of England, to settle in America. To to an ingenious, rational, thinking person, this emigration of the people from the mother-country to the colonies, must have the most alarming aspect. It is an indication of the approaching ruin of a state; and nothing is more necessary, than that those in power should make a proper enquiry into the sources from whence such mischiefs flow. It is a certain fact, that the madness of raising the rents of small farms has reached even to the barren mountains of the highlands of Scotland; and, unless some stop is put to it, the consequences will prove very fatal at last. It is not reasonable to suppose, that people who work hard for a subsistence, will give more money, as the rents of an estate or farm, than the fruits of the earth will pay. What man in his right senses would run himself into debt to his landlord, while, at the same time, he is under an indispensable obligation of making a proper provision for his family? It is an indifferent matter to people where they thrive, whether in America or England; and it is certain, that in both places the same effects may be produced. This, however, may

be said in favour of the emigrants, that they act as rational creatures: they are oppressed in the most cruel manner by those landlords whose subsistence depends on their honest industry: they cultivate the ground with the utmost care; they think to bring up their children useful members of society; but no sooner do they reap the fruits of the earth, from which they expect an adequate reward, than they find that even that property which they laid out is swallowed, and nothing is left for themselves. Can they then be blamed for leaving that country which denies them the protection which every subject has a right to expect? There cannot, in the eye of humanity, be one reason urged against those emigrations, nor can tyranny itself prevent them, unless all natural obligations are to be trampled on. The thing itself, however, ought to be attended to by those who are proprietors of landed estates; for if the useful working people are thus to be driven out of the country, where are hands to be found to cultivate the ground? This may, in the end, render their estates of no manner of service, and that ground which might have been cultivated at a moderate price will become a desert.

In France, nothing of any importance happened this year. The people in that extensive country are so well accustomed to those chains of slavery first imposed upon them by Lewis XI. that no oppression seems too much for them to bear. The Spaniards continued to go on in their usual indolent manner, while the Dutch continued to be the drudges of all those who would employ them.

In Italy, the pope put a final end to the order of the Jesuits; and those fathers, who have so long domineered over the consciences of men, are now become so truly despicable, that all nations have refused them an asylum, except the king of Prussia, who has, at all times, made religion subservient to politics.

A. D. 1774. We have already seen in what a troubled condition our colonies were; and, now they seem to be drawing towards that crisis, which will either connect them with the mother-country, or create such disturbances as will not be easily redressed.

The parliament met on the twenty-fifth of January, and the king, in his speech from the throne, recommended to them to take into their serious consideration the state of the colonies, who seemed to be attempting to throw off all subjection to the British government. He told them, that the most salutary laws had been treated with contempt; and public acts of parliament had been despised, as if they had been the mandates of single persons: that the colonies were little better than in a state of rebellion; and that, unless some vigorous measures were used to force them to obedience, all laws would be trampled under foot, and the regularity which took place among the different ranks of beings, would once more return to its original state of confusion. He concluded by recommending to them the state of the gold coin, which had suffered much by the illicit practices of wicked persons, and hoped they would put it on a solid foundation.

When the commons had returned to their own house, strong debates ensued upon the words of the address which should be presented to his majesty. Those in the interest of the court insisted, that an implicit acknowledgment should be made, thanking his majesty for his paternal care of the nation, and to promise that every reasonable measure should be complied with. On the other hand, it was urged by those in opposition, that the colonies, so far from being in a state of rebellion, were only contending for the enjoyment of those rights and privileges which belong to all men in common as members of society: that the mother-country had no right to tax those emigrants, unless a consent to that measure was first had and obtained from their own representatives: that the colonies were not regularly, nor in any sense whatever represented in the British parliament; and therefore,



therefore, till such time as that legal representation took place, no taxes could, in justice, be imposed upon them. As to the affair of the gold coin, it was (said they) a great hardship to the honest, industrious trading part of the nation; and that the ministry ought, before any thing of that nature had been proposed, to have laid down some rational plan by which the public would have been indemnified. Such were the outlines of the arguments made use of by both parties; but the question being put to the vote, it was carried by a great majority in favour of the court.

The grand object which the government had in view, was to reduce the colonies to a state of obedience, and convince them of the necessity they were under of being subject to the mother-country; and therefore a bill was brought in of a very coercive nature. Some persons in the town of Boston had plundered a ship which was sent from England with tea; and as this was an act which infringed on private property, it called aloud for an exertion of the regal power. Accordingly an act passed to remove the customs from the town of Boston, to quarter a military force upon the people, and to block up their harbour by several ships of war. It is not yet certain what will be the effects of this act, but it is to be hoped that all these disputes between the mother-country and the colonies will subside, and unanimity take place.

Many important affairs were discussed during this session of parliament; particularly one for the regulation of all acts by which foreigners are to be naturalized. The freedom of this country is so great and uncircumscribed, that many bad uses have been made of it by designing persons. To remedy an evil attended with so many destructive consequences, a new law has been established, by which no foreigner who is naturalized shall enjoy the privileges of a British subject, unless he resides in the country. The gold coin has also been attended to with the strictest care, and there is reason to hope that, in a short time, all the evils complained of will be redressed. Affairs of so much importance can have no connection with any party whatever, and, so far as they are promoted for the general good, they become of service to the whole. Every thing by which the public is likely to be affected, ought to attract the notice of government; and where remedies can be found out, they ought to be applied. But here we are naturally led to take a view of such transactions as have taken place on the continent of Europe during the beginning of this year.

When the war began between the Turks and Russians, Europe in general was filled with a notion that it would have soon terminated in favour of the latter; but those who are conversant with history, and acquainted with the revolutions which took place in this lower world, will not pay much regard to such a conjecture. That the Turks were but little acquainted with the art of war when the Russians first opposed them, is certain; but still, it would be very improper to infer from thence, that they must always remain in the same state of ignorance. Necessity brings hidden principles to life; and sometimes it will happen, that the most illiterate barbarians will, in consequence of opposition, acquire knowledge of what they despised before. This was the case with the Turks, who, in the grossest sense of the word, being slaves to superstition, could not bear the thoughts of receding from their ancient customs. Their janizaries declared, that as their country had been first conquered by their sabres, therefore they would defend it by the same means. But nothing in the world could be more ridiculous, especially as they had fire-arms to encounter; and therefore it was necessary that some blow should be struck at the root of their prejudices.

The French, ever willing to take part with the enemies of Great-Britain, and, at the same time, fearful lest, in consequence of the Turks being driven

out of Europe, the house of Austria would become too formidable, and Russia would penetrate into the German empire, sent several of their most experienced officers to instruct the Turks in the art of war. Continual opposition made these barbarians wiser than before; they saw the absolute necessity they were under of having recourse to military discipline, and the regular order of the Russians enabled them to take the field in a much better manner than they had hitherto done. From this circumstance alone we may naturally infer, that the longer the war continues between these contending powers, the more able the Turks will be to oppose the Russians. Indeed, the climate bears hard against the latter; for it cannot be supposed, that men brought up in the cold deserts of Russia can relish the sweets of a warmer climate, without being reduced to a state of effeminacy. Thus we find that the climate of ancient Greece, the now-seat of war, has fought more strongly against the Russians than the army of the Turks; nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider that Greece has often enervated those who conquered it.

Nor was it better with the Russian fleet; for although the sailors were kept under the strictest discipline, and had been inured to many hardships, yet no sooner did they come into the Mediterranean sea, than they were seized with many diseases to which they had hitherto been strangers. Reinforcements, indeed, have been sent them from time to time; but still they have never done any thing of real importance, nor have they been able to second the operations of the army by land. The Italian states have still remained jealous of them, and the distance from their own country has prevented them from receiving the necessary supplies. There is no doubt but the Russians will, in time, become as expert seamen as any other in Europe, but still it requires some time before that can be brought about. Their best officers are not natives of the country, and, consequently, it cannot be supposed that they will wish to promote its interest in the same manner as if they were immediately connected. Their naval discipline has also some remains of barbarity in it, which, at all times, must give offence to a generous mind; for what man would desire to see his fellow creature punished in such a manner as is shocking to humanity?

Such, for some time, has been the state of affairs between the Turks and Russians, and there is reason to imagine that both the contending parties will end where they began; that the Russians will exhaust their treasures to carry on the war, but the Turks, in consequence of their internal resources, will be able to tire them out.

It is true, the Russians have made some bold attempts, since the commencement of the present year, in order to force their way towards Constantinople; but that appears in a chimerical light, especially as both the season and the climate war against them. Had the European princes considered their own interest, they would all have joined in supporting the Russians in the present war; because, in consequence of the Turks being driven out of Europe, the whole trade of the Mediterranean would have been laid open to them, and the haughty Ottomans, who have so long domineered over their neighbours, would have been forced to acquiesce in that simple proposition, that there is such a thing as the law of nations, by which all civil societies ought to be regulated, and by which every individual ought to make his proper claims.

The British ministry have been very active in providing for the safety of our fellow subjects who are settled, or have business to transact in the East-Indies. It had been long complained of, that the servants of the company, at their principal settlements, had acted in a very oppressive and illegal manner, nor indeed had any code of laws been made for their security. The vast distance from England rendered it difficult, and almost impossible, for any person to obtain redress. It was therefore resolved on in council, that



four gentlemen learned in the laws; and of the most approved integrity, should be sent over to Asia, where we have settlements; and act there as judges. They are to hold pleas of the crown; determine in real, mixed and personal actions; to give judgment in all cases of equity, in every thing relating to the revenue, so that their power includes all that is lodged in the courts of Westminster-hall; but as the settlements are distant from each other, so the courts are not to be fixed, but to move from one place to another, that justice may be equally distributed to all ranks of people.

It is, perhaps, impossible to prevent abuses, unless nature itself could be changed; but certainly the government could have done no more for the good of our subjects in India, than that of sending out judges. It will serve to give some respect to the laws, and impress mens minds with a reverence for justice. The salaries of the judges being very large, it will set them above temptation to corrupt actions; and their authority extending over all ranks of persons, the rich will not have it in their power to oppress the poor.

But the greatest parliamentary business was, the manner in which the supplies was to be raised; and it must be acknowledged that the minister, whatever may be his other qualities, discovered himself to be an able politician, and a perfect master of calculations.

On the tenth of May the French king departed this life, and was succeeded by the present king, his grandson, a young prince about twenty years of age, married to one of the sisters of the emperor of Germany. The late king was born January 15, 1710, and in 1715 succeeded his great grandfather, his own father, grandfather, several uncles and brothers having all died of the small-pox. As he was only five years of age when he was crowned, his uncle the duke of Orleans was, as first prince of the blood, appointed regent during his minority. But the king took the reins of government upon himself when he was little more than sixteen years of age, having previously married the only daughter of the good Stanislaus, once king of Poland, and afterwards duke of Lorraine. His great minister for some years was the cardinal Fleury, a man who had acquired all the knowledge of courts that could be obtained in a close attendance to business above sixty years; but when he died, the king resolved to govern as much as possible without the assistance of favourites.

We have already seen that he carried on two bloody and expensive wars against Britain; in one of which he was very successful; but in the other, namely, the last, his nation, army, and navy were, in a manner, totally ruined. In his person Lewis XV. was extremely handsome, and had a most engaging countenance. In attending on public business, he was very regular; but he has been blamed for too strong an attachment to the army. This, however, ought to be considered as the reigning taste of France, and not solely the foible of the sovereign. The French have never yet, in the midst of all their refinements, been able to divest themselves of that barbarous notion which was so much cherished in former times, to look upon no person as honourable, who was not a soldier. In his pleasures, the late

French king has been much censured; because it generally happened that his mistresses got the ascendancy so far over him, as to occasion several changes in the government, merely by their intrigues.

As great pains had been taken to give him a good education, he was even to the last a lover of learning and learned men. He had such elevated notions of the necessity of a toleration in religious matters, that the power of the church of Rome has fallen into great contempt during his reign. Two reasons, indeed, concurred towards preventing him from following his own inclinations in giving free liberty of conscience to his protestant subjects. The first was, the inveterate prejudices of the vulgar nourished by the clergy; and the second, the wretched bigotry of his son the dauphin. In a word, Lewis XV. was one of the most brilliant sovereigns that has appeared in Europe during the present century; and although some of his acts to his subjects were of a very arbitrary and oppressive nature, yet he was beloved by them. He has left his successor a large fertile kingdom, with able ministers to assist him; but the commerce of France is in a most wretched condition; not does it appear that it will be otherwise, while they keep up such a large standing army.

We have, from time to time, in the course of this work, taken notice of the progress of learning in Britain; but the present age exceeds all others. The encouragement given to the fine arts by our sovereign George III. has brought to light many new discoveries. An attempt has been made to discover a passage by the north pole; but the prodigious shoals and mountains of ice in those seas rendered the scheme abortive; nor does it appear that even it will be practicable, for if such a passage would be attended with great danger, it is not worth the searching after.

In 1768, Mr. Banks, an ingenious young gentleman, and Dr. Solander, a native of Sweden, who had studied under the great Linnæus, undertook a voyage to the South Seas, under the protection of government. They traversed seas and visited islands almost unknown before, and although no beneficial consequences have yet resulted from their discoveries, there is no doubt but others will improve upon them. The same gentlemen have since made a voyage to the North Seas, and visited Iceland, a place though belonging to the king of Denmark, yet but very little known.

His majesty has added several new professorships to some of the public universities; men of learning have had pensions settled upon them adequate to their merit. Upon the whole the age of George III. has been marked with some striking events. More works of merit in the literary world have made their appearance than in any former reign, and the free access that gentlemen have to the books and records in the British Museum has given history an additional lustre, for nothing is now offered to the public without positive proofs. The literary world has sustained a great loss in the united deaths of Lord Lyttleton, Dr. Goldsmith and Dr. Gregory; but it is to be hoped that the deficiency will be made up by some of the rising generation; for as no minds are more susceptible of impressions than those of our youth, so no nation has ever produced greater men.



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N. B. The Binder is desired to beat this Work before the Cuts are placed, in order to prevent the Letter-press from setting off on the Engravings.















